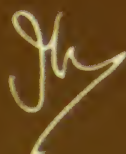


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15 Apr – 31 May 1960

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Nehru**



AT THE PRIME MINISTER'S HOUSE, TEEN MURTI HOUSE, 20 APRIL 1960

FROM LEFT: NEHRU, CHOU EN-LAI, CHEN YI, SWARAN SINGH

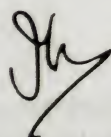
Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

SECOND SERIES

Volume Sixty (15 April – 31 May 1960)

Editor

MADHAVAN K. PALAT

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FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

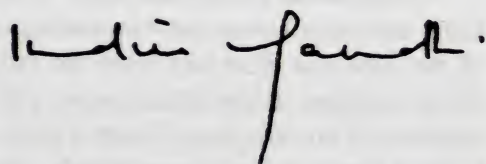
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both

within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.



New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

This volume is a departure from the usual for reproducing the almost complete archive, available at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, of Chou En-lai's visit to New Delhi in April 1960. It includes not only the records of the talks between Jawaharlal Nehru and Chou En-lai but also of the latter's talks with S. Radhakrishnan, G.B. Pant, Morarji Desai, Swaran Singh, and R.K. Nehru. In addition, we have here the records of the discussions between various Indian and Chinese ministers and officials, besides sundry other documents related to this most important event. Unfortunately, the record of V.K. Krishna Menon's talks with Chou have not been found. The rest of the volume follows a set pattern on domestic and foreign affairs. Of special interest would be the correspondence on the constitutional role of the Comptroller and Auditor General besides Nehru's unhappiness with Khrushchev's reaction to the U-2 incident and the subsequent collapse of the Summit. In this context, the exceptionally able analysis of the situation by K.P.S. Menon, the Ambassador in Moscow, is of special interest. It is tucked away in the Appendices.

Some of the speeches have been transcribed; hence the paragraphing, punctuation, and other such details have been inserted. When no text or recording of a speech was available, a newspaper report has been used as a substitute. Such a newspaper report, once selected for publication, has been reproduced faithfully; other information has been added only by way of annotation. Words and expressions which were inaudible or unintelligible have been indicated by an ellipsis between square brackets thus: [...]. Most items here are from Nehru's office copies. In personal letters, and even in official letters composed in personal style to persons like B.C. Roy or Govind Ballabh Pant, the salutation and concluding portions were written by hand; such details are not recorded in the office copy. Therefore these have been inserted in Nehru's customary style for such persons, but the editorial intervention is indicated by square brackets. Information on persons may always be traced through the index if it is not available in the footnote. References to the *Selected Works* appear as SWJN/FS/10/..., to be understood as *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, First Series, Volume 10. In the case of the Second Series, it would be SWJN/SS/.... The part and page numbers follow the volume number.

Documents, which have been referred to as items, are numbered sequentially

throughout the volume; footnote numbering however is continuous only within a section, not between sections. A map of the boundary between India and China has been reproduced from *White Paper II* of 1959 and is placed at the end of the volume.

Nehru's speeches or texts in Hindi have been published in Hindi and a translation into English has been appended in each case for those who might need or want a translation.

A large part of Nehru's archives is housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and is known as the JN Collection. This has been the chief source for items here, and has been made available by Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, the Chairperson of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. Unless otherwise stated, all items are from this collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has been immensely helpful in so many ways, and it is a pleasure to record our thanks to it. The Cabinet Secretariat, the secretariats of the President and Prime Minister, various ministries of the Government of India, All India Radio, the Press Information Bureau, and the National Archives of India, all have permitted us to use material in their possession. We are grateful to *The Hindu*, the *National Herald*, *Shankar's Weekly*, and in particular to the late R.K. Laxman, for permission to reproduce reports and cartoons. We are especially grateful to Mr. François Richier, the Ambassador of France to India, for forwarding the record of Nehru's meeting with Charles de Gaulle.

Dr. Madhavi Thampi, Honorary Fellow of the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi, sorted out the problem of spelling Chinese names. The official record has not been altered but corrections have been provided in the Glossary of Chinese Names. I cannot thank her enough.

Finally, it is my pleasure to thank those who bore the heavy burden of preparing this volume for publication, most of all Geeta Kudaisya and Fareena Ikhlas Faridi. The Hindi texts have been prepared by Mohammed Khalid Ansari, and the translation from the Hindi was done by Chandra Chari. Chandra Murari Prasad ably handled all the computer work, including preparing the entire text for the press.

Madhavan K. Palat

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I. Chou En-lai's Visit

1. Members of the Chinese Delegation¹

Jagat Mehta from Kannampilly

Chinese Foreign Office handed over following list of Chou En-lai's party. Begins:

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| 1. Chou En-lai | Premier of the State Council. |
| 2. Chen Yi | Vice Premier of the State Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs. |
| 3. Chang Han-fu | Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs. |
| 4. Chang Yen | Deputy Director of the Office in Charge of Foreign Affairs, State Council. |
| 5. Chiao Kuan-hua | Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs. |
| 6. Lo Ching-chang | Deputy Director of the Premier's Secretariat. |
| 7. Chang Wen-chin | Director of the First Asian Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. |
| 8. Kang Mao-chao | Deputy Director of the Indo Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. |
| 9. Li Shu-huai | Department Deputy Director, Ministry of Public Security. |
| 10. Huag Shu-tsu | Deputy Director of the Health Protection Bureau, Ministry of Public Health. |
| 11. Chou Chia-ting | Secretary of the Premier's Secretariat. |
| 12. Pu Shou-chang | Secretary of the Premier's Secretariat. |
| 13. Ho Chien | Secretary of the Premier's Secretariat. |
| 14. Han Hsu | Assistant Director of the Protocol Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. |
| 15. Ma Lieh | Secretary of the Premier's Secretariat. |
| 16. Ni Yung Heh | Assistant Director of the First Asian Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. |
| 17. Chien Chia-tung | Section Chief, First Asian Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. |
| 18. Chou Nan | Section Chief, West Asia and Africa Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. |

1. Telegram from K.M. Kannampilly, Chargé d' Affaires, Indian Embassy, Peking, to Jagat Mehta, Director, Northern Division, MEA, 7 April 1960.

This volume begins on 15 April but three items dated 7, 8 and 14 April have been included here as they pertain to Chou's visit.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| 19. Chu Chi-yu | Section Chief, Ministry of Public Security. |
| 20. Tuan Lien-cheng | English Interpreter. |
| 21. Liao Teh-yun | Deputy Section Chief, First Asian Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. |
| 22. Tu Kuo-wei | Deputy Section Chief, First Asian Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. |
| 23. Cheng Yuan-kung | Chief Aide of the Premier of the State Council. |
| 24. Shih Kuo-pao | Secretary of the Vice Premier of the State Council Chen Yi. |
| 25. Kung Heng-cheng | Secretary of the Vice Premier of the State Council Chen Yi. |
| 26. Chen Kuo-lung | Secretary, General Office Ministry of Foreign Affairs. |
| 27. Pien Chih-chiang | Physician of the Premier of the State Council. |
| 28. Chao Ling-chung | Staff member, Protocol Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. |
| 29. Chi Chao-chu | English Interpreter. |
| 30. Sung Teh | English Interpreter. |
| 31. Chao Hsing-chieh | Aide of the Premier of the State Council. |

List of accompanying Pressmen :

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. Yu Min-sheng | Correspondent of the Hsinhua News Agency. |
| 2. Shen Shou-yuan | Correspondent of the Hsinhua News Agency. |
| 3. Tu Hsiu-hsien | Photographer. |
| 4. Ko Lei | Cameraman. |
| 5. Chuang Wei | Cameraman. |
| 6. Kao Liang (already in India) | Correspondent of the Hsinhua News Agency. |
| 7. Tu Pei-lin | Correspondent of the Hsinhua News Agency. <u>Ends</u> |

2. W. Averell Harriman to Nehru²

W. Averell Harriman,
16 East Eighty-First Street, New York 28, New York
April 8, 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

You may recall that when you so kindly received me last year, we touched in our talks on the subject of the Chinese People's Republic and United States

2. Letter. William A. Harriman Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. Also available in File No. 73 (29)-AMS/60-MEA.

relations with them. I expressed the opinion that the first requirement was a more intimate understanding on our part of developments within mainland China. I therefore suggested that responsible Americans should be encouraged to visit China and report to our government and our people, and expressed the hope that I personally could pay such a visit. I gained the impression that you were not unsympathetic with this idea.

When I was in the Soviet Union last spring I asked my travelling companion, Mr. Charles Thayer, a former Foreign Service Officer, to call on the Chinese Ambassador in Moscow and ask for permission for me to visit China. My request was forwarded to Peking. Mr. Thayer was subsequently advised by a secretary of the Chinese Embassy that the government considered "in view of the state of Chinese American relations, it would be inconvenient for Mr. Harriman to visit China this year. However, the Chinese government thought that perhaps next year, if Mr. Harriman so desired, a visit would be possible."

Last October Mr. Thayer was again in Moscow and at my request inquired whether my visit to China had yet been approved. So far I have received no reply.

A couple of weeks ago Mr. John D. Rockefeller III, who had just returned from Burma, told me of a talk he had had with Mr. Aung, the Burmese Foreign Minister. Mr. Aung had accompanied the Prime Minister, General Ne Win, on his recent trip to Peking. Apparently my name came up in conversation, along with the names of several other prominent Americans who wished to visit China. According to Mr. Aung, the Chinese Minister indicated that they would be glad to receive me if they were sure I had a genuine interest in visiting China.

I am at a loss to know how I can give this assurance to the Chinese authorities, and it occurred to me that you might be willing to mention the subject to Mr. Chou En-lai, or to ask a member of Mr. Chou En-lai's party.

I believe that it would be desirable to have someone travel with me in China—Mr. Thayer or some other individual, not necessarily Chinese-speaking (Mr. Thayer does not speak Chinese). The North American Newspaper Alliance would syndicate my reports as they did during my visit to India last year. As you know, this syndicate is carried by a number of the most responsible newspapers in the United States.

With all your preoccupations, I would not bother you with this matter if I did not believe that it had some significance, and I turn to you as a friend.

I want to take this occasion to thank you and your colleagues again for all the courtesies that were shown Mrs. Harriman and me last year. For me it was a most agreeable and profitable experience. I gained so much information that I have been passing as an authority on India; and because of my confidence in

your programs, this may have done some good.

I have had an opportunity to talk with Ambassador B. K. Nehru on several occasions. He is a most effective proponent.

You know that this year will not be the best for constructive action. As the price of democracy, in a few months the political drums will be beating so loudly that no other voice can be heard. But on the whole, public opinion in the United States regarding India is developing satisfactorily. Your kind reception of President Eisenhower was most helpful. I believe all of this will lead to effective action.

With my warm regards, and all best wishes in your negotiations.

Sincerely,
Averell Harriman

3. Chou En-lai's Programme³

As on 14th April, 1960.
Tentative Programme for the Visit of His Excellency Mr. Chou En-Lai, Prime Minister of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

Tuesday, 19th April, 1960.

1700

Arrive Delhi (IAF Station, Palam).

Reception by the Prime Minister, Mayor, Cabinet Minister and senior officials.

Guard of Honour.

Presentation of Heads of Mission etc.

Proceed to Rashtrapati Bhavan.

2030

Dinner in suite.

Wednesday, 20th April, 1960.

0930

Visit Rajghat – Lay wreath.

1000

Call on the President.

1100

Discussions commence.

1315

Lunch in suite.

Free for discussions and visits.

2030

Banquet by the Prime Minister.

3. P.N. Haksar Papers, NMML.

Thursday, 21st April, 1960.

- | | |
|------|---|
| 0930 | Call on the Vice-President.
Free for discussions and visits. |
| 1315 | Lunch by the President.
Free for discussions and visits. |
| 1900 | Reception by the Ambassador of China. |
| 2030 | Dinner in suite. |

Friday, 22nd April, 1960.

- | | |
|------|--|
| A.M. | Free for discussions and visits. |
| 1315 | Lunch by the Vice-President.
Free for discussions and visits. |
| 1830 | Dance and Music Recital at Rashtrapati Bhavan. |
| 2030 | Dinner in suite. |

Saturday, 23rd April, 1960.

- | | |
|------|---|
| A.M. | Free for discussions and visits. |
| 1315 | Lunch in suite.
Free for discussions and visits. |
| 2030 | Dinner in suite. |

Sunday, 25th April, 1960.

- | | |
|------|---|
| A.M. | Free for discussions and visits. |
| 1315 | Lunch in suite.
Free for discussions and visits. |
| 2030 | Dinner in suite. |

Monday, 25th April, 1960.

- | | |
|------|---|
| A.M. | Free for discussions and visits. |
| 1315 | Lunch in suite.
Free for discussions and visits. |
| 2030 | Dinner in suite. |

Tuesday, 26th April, 1960.

Leaves India as convenient.

4. Nehru to A.C.N. Nambiar⁴

Circuit House,
Tezpur
April 15, 1960

My dear Nanu,⁵

Thank you for your letter of the 5th April 1960. I have read it with much interest, more especially about the account of conditions in Africa.

You refer to Dr Astaldi⁶ and his special interest in the building of roads in mountain regions by modern methods. We are at present very much concerned with such road building in our mountain areas. Because of Chinese incursions in the Himalayas, this question of road building has been thrust upon us as it becomes an essential part of defence, apart from development of those areas. Normally, we would have proceeded slowly, as we have been doing, because this is a costly undertaking. Now, however, we have to speed this process. We have, therefore, made a list of these essential roads in the mountains, both in the north-east of India and in the Ladakh area. We have also formed a special board for this purpose and laid down certain rules to expedite building and prevent delays. Essentially this board consists of military engineers.⁷

BASIS OF HOPE



(From *The Times of India*, 15 April 1960, p.7)

4. Letter. A.C.N. Nambiar Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
5. Diplomat and journalist, based in Geneva.
6. Probably Astaldi of Italy.
7. This refers to Border Roads Development Board. See SWJN/SS/59/items 204 and 205.

I shall be glad to have a note from Dr Astaldi about these modern methods of building roads in mountainous areas. If necessary later, we can ask some experts to come here.

I have received Scarpa's⁸ book. Not knowing Italian, I shall not endeavour to read it. But I am writing a brief note to him thanking him for the book.

I am writing this letter from Assam where I have come to see some of our military establishments as well as to visit a transit camp of the Tibetan refugees in India.⁹ I shall be returning to Delhi soon where a heavy task awaits me. That is the meeting with Premier Chou En-lai.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. At Palam Airport : Welcoming Chou En-lai¹⁰

Your Excellency Mr. Prime Minister,¹¹

In welcoming you today as our honoured guest, I am reminded of your previous visits to India. You came here first nearly six years ago after the Geneva Conference on Indo-China.¹² Later, Your Excellency came about three years ago¹³ as the representative of a great people conveying your greetings and good wishes to our people, which we reciprocated in full measure. It had been our firm policy previously, and it was so then and later, to have a bond of friendship between our two great countries without in any way interfering with each other's internal affairs. That was confirmed at Bandung and by the Five Principles. We felt that that friendship was necessary not only for our two countries, but for peace in Asia and the world.

8. Probably Gino Scarpa, *L'Asia e il Mondo Occidentale* (Rome: Universale di Roma, 1959).

9. See items 66-71 and 93-99.

10. Speech, Palam airport, New Delhi, 19 April 1960.

Nehru read out his speech in Hindi, according to press reports (see *The Hindu*, 20 April 1960). The Hindi version is not available; but an English draft is. The English language press seems to have used the English draft since many passages are identical. Nehru's speech was translated into the Chinese by V.V. Paranjypte, an official of the External Affairs Ministry.

11. Chou En-lai.

12. From 25 to 28 June 1954. See SWJN/SS/26/pp. 366-414.

13. From November 1956 to January 1957. See SWJN/SS/35/pp. 522-524 and SWJN/SS/36/pp. 580-638.



At Palam Airport: Welcoming Chou En-lai, 19 April 1960

2. Unfortunately other events have taken place since then which have put a great strain on this bond of friendship and which have given a shock to all our people. Thus our relations have been imperilled in the present and for the future, and the very basis on which they stood has been shaken.

3. It is our belief that peace is essential for the world, and necessarily for our two countries in their relations with each other. But that peace has to be based on good faith and understanding and in a strict adherence to those principles we had once proclaimed. It has to be not only an external peace, but also a peace of the mind.

4. We are thus faced with grave problems which disturb the minds of millions of people. It is a hard task to go back and recover that feeling of good faith and friendship, and yet the future depends upon this. I earnestly trust that our efforts will be directed towards undoing much that has happened and thus recovering that climate of peace and friendship on which our relations ultimately depend.

5. I welcome Your Excellency again and trust that our labours will help in this great task.

6. Chou En-lai's Speech at Palam Airport¹⁴

April 19, 1960

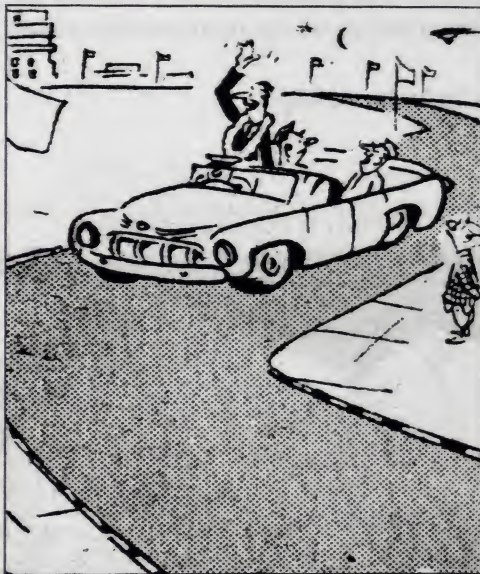
Your Excellency Respected and Dear Prime Minister Nehru,
Dear Indian Friends,

I am glad to come once again to the capital of our great neighbour, the Republic of India. I am sincerely grateful for the invitation extended by Prime Minister Nehru and for the welcome accorded to me by you, my Indian friends. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I would like to extend cordial greetings to the Indian Government and the great Indian people.

[Waving to Empty Streets]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



Are you sure you gave sufficient publicity to the arrival of
our guest to the city today?

From *The Times of India*, 15 April 1960, p.1)

14. English rendering of the speech, Palam airport, Delhi.

Name of the translator not recorded; probably an official Government version.

Chou En-lai read out the prepared statement (see *The Hindu*, 20 April 1960) in Chinese, which was translated into Hindi by an employee of the Chinese Embassy (see *Hindustan*, the Hindi daily, 20 April 1960).

Both our countries, China and India, are now engaged in large-scale and long-term economic construction. Both of us need peace. Both of us need friends. Peace and friendship are the fundamental interests of the peoples of our two countries. We have jointly initiated the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence. There is no reason why any question between us cannot be settled reasonably through friendly consultations in accordance with these principles. The Chinese Government, has always advocated the holding of talks between the Prime Ministers of the two countries to seek avenues to a reasonable settlement of the boundary question and other questions. This time I have come with the sincere desire to settle questions. I earnestly hope that, through our joint efforts, our meeting will be able to yield positive and useful results.

The friendship between the peoples of China and India is ever-lasting. Our two peoples have been friendly to each other over thousands of years in the past. We shall remain friendly to each other for thousands and tens of thousands of years to come. History will continue to bear out that the great solidarity of the one thousand million people of our two countries cannot be shaken by any force on earth.

Long live China-India friendship!

Nobody is Fooling Anybody



(From *The Times of India*, 19 April 1960, p.7)

7. In the Lok Sabha: Chinese Citizenship for Indians¹⁵

भारतीयों की चीनी नागरिकता

श्रीमती मिनीमाता :¹⁶ क्या प्रधानमंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) भारतीय सीमा के चीन द्वारा अतिक्रमण की घटनाओं के पश्चात् कितने भारतीयों को चीन की नागरिकता प्रदान की गई : और

(ख) क्या सरकार को उक्त घटनाओं के पश्चात् चीन में भारतीयों के साथ दुर्व्यवहार की कोई शिकायतें मिली हैं?

प्रधानमंत्री तथा वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री (श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू) : (क) जहाँ तक भारत सरकार को पता है, किसी भी भारतीय राष्ट्रिक को चीन की नागरिकता नहीं दी गई है।

(ख) सरकार को चीन में रहने वाले हमारे किसी भी राष्ट्रिक से 'बुरे बर्ताव' की खबर नहीं मिली है। तिब्बत क्षेत्र के भारतीय नागरिकों ने कुछ कठिनाइयों और असुविधाओं की शिकायतें की हैं।

[Translation begins:

Chinese Citizenship for Indians

Shrimati Minimata: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to inform:

(a) After the incidents of violation of Indian borders by the Chinese, how many Indians have been granted Chinese citizenship; and

(b) Has the Government received any complaint of ill-treatment of Indians in China after these incidents?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

(a) As per the Indian Government's information, no Indian citizen has been granted Chinese citizenship.

(c) The Government has not received any information about the "ill-treatment" of any of our citizens. Indian citizens in Tibet area have complained of some difficulties and inconveniences.

Translation ends]

15. Written answers to questions, 20 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLIII, cols 12713-12714.

16. Agam Dass Guru Minimata, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Baloda Bazar, Madhya Pradesh.

8. At Rashtrapati Bhavan: Banquet Speech¹⁷

महामहिम प्रधानमंत्री जी, माननीय सज्जनो और दोस्तो, आज हम यहाँ मिले हैं चीन के प्रधानमंत्री जी का आदर करने, हम उनका आदर महज़ एक, एक व्यक्तिगत रूप से नहीं करते बल्कि इसलिए भी कि वो एक महान देश के एक नुमाइंदे हैं। पहले भी हमें यह इज़्ज़त हासिल हुई थी और मौक़ा मिला था कि उनका यहाँ स्वागत करें। और हमारे देश के लिए इस पिछले ज़माने में यह बहुत खुशी की बात थी कि यह दो बड़े मुल्क एशिया के, चीन और हिन्दुस्तान का रिश्ता करीब होता गया और बढ़ता गया, इस ज़माने में जैसे कि पुराने इतिहास में बहुत दिनों से था। हम समझते थे कि यह दोस्ती और सहयोग एक एशिया के अमन के लिए ज़रूरी चीज़ है और इसलिए यह हमारी नीति दोस्ती की एक बुनियाद हमारे और काम की हो गयी थी।

आज जब हम मिलते हैं तो कुछ साया-सा पड़ गया है इन बातों पर और कुछ नाइत्तफ़ाक़ी भी बाज़ अहम बातों में हमारे बीच में उठी है। यह हमारे लिए एक दुर्भाग्य की बात है और मैं समझता हूँ दुनिया के लिए भी, हमारे लिए खासकर क्योंकि हम बहुत दिनों से, बहुत वरसों से इस तरह से ढले हैं कि हम शांति और अमन का सोचें और उसी के तरीक़े इस्तिज़ार करें, लड़ाई का विचार भी एक इन्तहा दर्जे तकलीफ़देह है और हम उसको समझते हैं कि ये आजकल के सभ्य देशों में बिल्कुल नामुनासिब और अनुचित है। हमने ख़ाली लड़ाई का विरोध नहीं किया बल्कि जिसको ठंडी लड़ाई कहते हैं उसका भी विरोध किया क्योंकि उसके पीछे द्वेष और हिंसा थी। हमने, हालाँकि हम कमज़ोर हैं और हमारी शक्ति कम है, फिर भी कुछ कोशिश की अपने ढंग से कि दो हिन्दुस्तान के बहुत बड़े आदमियों का नाम अपने सामने रखें और कुछ जो रास्ता ऐसे मामलों में उन्होंने दिखाया है उस पर चलने की कोशिश करें यानी गौतम बुद्ध और गाँधी। यह एक अजीब बात है और बहुत अफ़सोस की कि ऐसे वाक़यात हों जिससे हमारे इन विचारों को धक्का लगे और हमारे लोगों के सामने नये-नये ख़तरे उठें। जो हमारी शांतिमय सीमा है, सरहद है, जिसके एक तरफ़ हिमालय पहाड़ खड़े हैं जो कि हज़ारों वरस से हमारे प्यारे हैं और जो कि एक जिन्होंने इन हज़ारों वरस में हमारे देश की रक्षा की और हमारे ज़ुल्मात पर बड़ा असर डाला।

आप प्रधानमंत्री जी, एक नाज़ुक मौक़े पर हमारे पास इस समय आये हैं। जो कुछ हुआ है उनमें से बाज़ बातों ने हमें बहुत तकलीफ़ पहुँचायी, हमारे लोगों को, बहुत कुछ बातें हुई, जो न होती तो अच्छा था और अगर बदली जायें तो अच्छा है, बहुत कुछ कहा गया जो कि न कहा जाता तो अच्छा था। बहरसूरत, फिर भी हमें अपनी पूरी कोशिश करनी है कि हम एक सही और

17. Speech at the State banquet in honour of Chou En-lai, 20 April 1960. AIR tapes, NMML. Nehru first spoke briefly in Hindi and then in English. The English part of the speech is also available on the MEA website <http://mealib.nic.in/?2588?000>, accessed on 18 September 2014.

बा-अमन रास्ता निकालें जिससे हमारे इन सवालोंने का हल हो। ऐसा रास्ता ऐसे ही हो सकता है जिसमें हर मुल्क की इज़्ज़त रहे, हर मुल्क कि किसी मुल्क को कोई धक्का न पहुँचे और जो हमारे सामने बड़े सवाल हैं, दुनिया के अमन के वो भी उनकी भी तरक्की हो। हमने और और मुल्कों ने, हम दोनों ने और और मुल्कों ने एक शांति का झंडा उठाया, औरों के सामने रखा और अगर किसी सूरत से यह हमारे हाथों से फिसल जाये तो न हमारे मुल्कों के लिए, न दुनिया के लिए अच्छा होगा।

एक नाज़ुक मौक़े पर हम मिलते हैं दुनिया के इतिहास में और हमारे आपस के ताल्लुकात में दो बहुत बड़े मुल्क ख़ाली नाम में नहीं बल्कि जिन की तहज़ीब, सभ्यता, संस्कृति हज़ारों बरस की है। यह सारा ज़माना और यह संस्कृति एक तरह से हमारे ऊपर निगाह डाल रहा है और उसी के साथ करोड़ों आदमियों की उम्मीदें भी बँधी हुई हैं इन कोशिशों में हमारे, क्योंकि वो देखते हैं, वो चाहते हैं कि भविष्य में उन्हें अमन मिले और उनकी तरक्की हो।

प्रधानमंत्री जी, मैं आपको इतमीनान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि हम पूरे तौर से कोशिश करेंगे कि हमारे काम से हम कुछ कामयाबी की तरफ़ जायें और अमन क़ायम रहे और उसी के साथ हर मुल्क की इज़्ज़त और आवरु क़ायम रहे। गौतम बुद्ध ने बहुत ज़माना हुआ कहा था कि असल जीत वो होती है, असल फ़तह जिसमें हर एक की जीत और फ़तह हो और किसी की हार न हो। मैं समझता हूँ कि आपकी भी यही ख़्वाहिश है, यही इरादा है अमन और हमारे सहयोग के लिए और हम दोनों की कोशिशों से हम कामयाब हों कि जो हमारे ताल्लुकात कुछ ख़राब हो गये थे उसकी ख़राबी रुके और एक क़दम हम उनकी बेहतरी की तरफ़ उठायें। इस बात को सामने रखकर मैं फिर से आपको प्रधानमंत्री जी और आपके साथ जो लोग आये हैं उनका स्वागत करता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि हमारी कोशिशें कामयाब होंगी। अब मैं क्योंकि कुछ साहिब न समझें अंग्रेज़ी में भी कोशिश करूँगा जो कुछ मैंने कहा दोहराने की।

[Translation begins:

Your Excellency Mr Prime Minister, Excellencies and friends,

We have gathered here today to honour the Prime Minister of China—not only in his individual capacity but also as a representative of a great country. We have had the privilege of welcoming him here earlier also. It was a matter of great satisfaction for us that two great countries of Asia, China and India, came close and have grown closer over the years, in recent years just as in the old historical times. We understood that this friendship and cooperation is crucial for peace in Asia, and thus this friendship became the corner-stone of our policy.

As we meet now, a shadow has fallen on these, and some disagreements have arisen between us on important issues. This is unfortunate for us and for the world also. For us especially, because we have been moulded for long into thinking of peace and adopting peaceful ways. Even the thought of war is

extremely painful, and not only we but modern civilised nations also consider it unbecoming and improper. We have not only opposed war but also the cold war because that also stems from hatred and violence. Though we are not powerful, we have tried in our own way to place the example of two great men of India—Gautama Buddha and Gandhi—before us and follow the path shown by them. It is strange and a matter of sorrow for us that such incidents occur which are contrary to this thinking of ours, our people face new dangers arising at our peaceful frontiers where our Great Himalayan range, loved and revered by our people, have protected us for thousands of years.

You Mr Prime Minister, have come here at a crucial time. Some of the recent happenings have pained us, our people. Much has happened, which should not have happened; and if these can be undone it would be good. Much has been said which it would have been better if it had not been said. Still we have to make every possible effort to find a right and peaceful way of solving these problems. Such a way can only be the one where respect and dignity of each country is maintained and no setback is caused to anyone. And the larger issues of world peace should also get a shot in the arm. We have raised, both our countries and other countries have raised the banner of peace placed before others. If in any way, it slips from our hands, it will neither be good for our countries nor for the world.

We meet here at a delicate moment in the history of the world and in our mutual relations. Two great countries not only in size but their cultures and civilisations—thousands of years old—the world and civilisation stand witness to this moment, and with them, the hopes of crores of people are tied with these efforts for a peaceful and progressive future.

Mr Prime Minister, I want to assure you that we shall do our best to make efforts which would lead to solutions and maintenance of peace with dignity and self-respect of each country. Long ago Gautama Buddha said that in real victory everyone wins and nobody is defeated. I feel that you also wish for peace and our cooperation, and that our efforts should not only stop the deterioration in our relations but we take a step for their improvement. With this objective, Mr Prime Minister, I welcome you and your colleagues, and I hope that our efforts will be successful.

Now, some people may not have understood what I have said, so I will try to repeat it in English.

Translation ends]

[Nehru continues in English]

Mr Prime Minister, Excellencies and friends,

We are meeting here today to do honour to the Prime Minister of China who is our respected guest not only in his individual capacity but also as the representative of a great nation. We have had the privilege and pleasure of welcoming him on several occasions, previously in our country. It was a matter of deep satisfaction to us that the two great countries of Asia,—India and China—which are forging bonds of friendship in the present age even as though they have lived in friendship through ages past. This friendship and cooperation appeared to us, to be a guarantee of peace in Asia. Thus this friendship of this great neighbour of ours became one of the corner stone of India's policy.

We meet today, however, under different circumstances when serious disagreements have unfortunately arisen between us. That is a misfortune for both of us and I think for the world. It is a double misfortune for us in India, because we have been conditioned for long years past to believe in peace and in peaceful methods and to consider war as a thing of horror unbecoming to civilised nations. We have opposed not only war but also what is called the cold war because this represented the approach of hatred and violence. We have endeavoured to follow in our very limited and very imperfect way, the teaching of the two great sons of India—the Buddha and Gandhi.

It is strange and a matter for great sorrow for us, that events should have so shaped themselves as to challenge that very basis of our thinking, and caused our people to apprehend danger on our peaceful frontiers among our Himalayan mountains which we have loved for thousands of years and which have stood as sentinels, guarding and inspiring our people.

You, Sir, have come here at this critical moment and we welcome your visit. Much has happened which has pained our people, much has been done which we think should be undone, much has been said, which had better been left unsaid. We have to try to the best of our ability to find a right and peaceful solution to the problems that have arisen. That solution must be in consonance with the dignity and self-respect of each country as well as in keeping with the larger causes of peace of Asia and the world.

We have raised the banner of peace before other countries. You and I and we cannot afford, and the world can ill-afford, for us to let this slip from our hands.

We meet here at a difficult and crucial moment in the world's history and in our own relations. Thousands of years of two great and ancient civilisations stand as witness to our meeting and the hopes of hundreds of millions for a happier future are tied up in our endeavours. Let us pray for our success so

[Panchshila Induces a Tantrum]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



—and His excellency says we must live
by the principles of Panchshila—
(From *The Times of India*, 23 April 1960, p.1)

that we may be true to this past of ours, as well as, the future that beckons to us. For our part I can assure you Sir, Prime Minister, that we shall endeavour to do our utmost so that our efforts may lead to success and to the maintenance of peace with dignity and self respect to both of our great nations. As the Buddha said “the real victory is the victory of all which involves no defeat.”

I feel you have the same urge for peace and cooperation and that with our joint endeavours we shall not only halt the unhappy process of deterioration in our countries’ relations, but also take a step towards their betterment.

With this high aim and view, I welcome you again, Mr Prime Minister and your colleagues, and request that we drink to your good health and to the success of our quest for peace. [Applause]

9. Nehru-Chou Talks I¹⁸

I

(April 20 - 11 a.m. to 1 p.m.)

Premier Chou En-lai accompanied by Marshal Chen Yi, Vice Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and some of the more important members of the party called on Prime Minister at 11 A.M. on 20th April, 1960. After about 15 minutes, the two Prime Ministers retired to another room and commenced their talks.

At the outset, it was decided that the two Prime Ministers initially would have talks between the two of them only, in the afternoons starting at 3-30 and mornings at 10 a.m. Premier Chou agreed with the Prime Minister that the talks should be conducted in a manner of free exchange of views rather than having a conference. Premier Chou enquired as to what should be the form and procedure for the talks. He said that, apart from the talks of the two Prime Ministers, there could perhaps also be talks between Premier Chou and some of the Ministers of the Indian Government. Another way of having talks might also be to include some of the colleagues on both sides.

It was agreed that initially the two Prime Ministers will talk only between themselves but that, later on, the advisers on both sides, not exceeding a total number of 6, should also participate.¹⁹ Prime Minister suggested that Premier Chou might meet the Minister for Home Affairs²⁰ as well as the Minister of Defence.²¹ Premier Chou had said that he would like to call on the Home Minister. At the end of the morning talk, Premier Chou said that he would like to meet

18. Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, "Record of talks between Nehru and Chou En-lai, 20 April to 25 April 1960," *Sino-Indian Border Dispute*, Volume Five; Premier Chou En-lai's Visit to India, April 1960, pp. 1-40. "Prime Minister" refers to Nehru.

Variations in spelling have been retained. See Glossary of Chinese Names.

19. Nehru's marginal noting in the draft copy in the P. N. Haksar Papers: "Mention especially Marshal Chen Yi on the Chinese side and Sardar Swaran Singh on our side."

20. G.B. Pant.

21. V.K. Krishna Menon.

the Defence Minister before coming to Prime Minister's residence for further talks in the afternoon. It was, therefore, decided that the Defence Minister would call on the Chinese Prime Minister at 3 P.M. at Rashtrapati Bhavan²² and then Premier Chou would come to Prime Minister's residence at 4-30 P.M. for further talks.

Premier Chou at the outset said that the Chinese Government had already stated their views in full through the large number of communications which they had sent to the Government of India. Each side had also studied the arguments of the other side and he did not want to repeat what he had already said in so much of the correspondence.

Prime Minister : The first thing I would like to place before Premier Chou is that all these developments in regard to our frontier area have been of recent origin. As we all know, this border has been peaceful, except for a few minor incidents, for a long time. Why have all these difficulties arisen? We, on our side, have done nothing especially to create them. Therefore, these difficulties have been created because of something happening on the other side and this has caused a great deal of perturbation and distress in India. I would not like to say anything at this stage about the merits of the dispute. We have no doubt about our own frontiers which have been clearly defined on our maps and have been repeatedly described in Parliament and elsewhere and in communications to the Chinese Government. Therefore, as far as we are concerned, there has been no problem about that, apart from a few minor questions. On the last occasion, when you were here, I mentioned to you that there are no major problems before us but only a few minor ones and which could be discussed

22. No record is available of V. K. Krishna Menon's two-hour meeting with Chou En-lai on 20 April at Rashtrapati Bhavan, but it was reported in the press on 21 April. Krishna Menon then hosted a private dinner at his residence for Chou En-lai and his two senior colleagues on 22 April, according to a report in *The Hindu* on 23 April. The JN Collection also contains a sheet of paper, unsigned and undated, marked "Notice of Adjournment Motion for today in Lok Sabha by Shri Hem Barua, M.P." This document quoted Peking Radio to claim that Krishna Menon had a meeting with Chou En-lai, Chen Yi, and the Vice Premier Chang Han-Fu at the Chinese Embassy from 10.30 p.m. on 23 April to 12.30 a.m. on 24 April. However, there is no record of such an adjournment motion having been admitted, nor are there comments on it by Nehru or anybody else. It is possible that Peking Radio represented or misrepresented the dinner meeting of 22 April at Krishna Menon's residence as a meeting at the Chinese Embassy on 23 April.

See also items 23 and 25. At the CPP meeting on 28 April, Nehru refers to comments on Krishna Menon; see item 51.

and settled by mutual consultations. That was our belief. Therefore, we were greatly surprised to find that steps had been taken on the Chinese side which, according to us, clearly infringed our frontiers. What distressed us most was that, if the Chinese Government did not agree with us, they should have told us so. But, for nine years, nothing was said, despite our stating our views to them in clear terms. These developments, therefore, came as a great shock. We further feel that they are opposed to the spirit of mutual accommodation and discussion between friendly countries. I may only state that, right from the beginning of our independence, friendship with China has been the cornerstone of our foreign policy. We thought it right not only historically but also in the present context of the Asian situation. We pursued that policy in the U.N. and elsewhere and, throughout this period, we felt that it was of the greatest importance to Asia and the world that our two great countries should cooperate. We also felt that, although internal policies may differ, this need not come in the way of broader cooperation. It did not seem to us that there were any major matters of conflict or dispute between us. Then came the Agreement of 1954²³ and Bandung and all that which helped the growth of our relations and served to remove the idea that there was any basic conflict between us. But then, in the last year or two, the frontier question loomed up. When the Chinese maps came to our notice, we brought it to the notice of the Chinese Government many times. The answer we received was that these maps were old and had to be revised and that the Chinese Government did not attach very great importance to them.²⁴ Although these maps were old and the Chinese Government themselves had said that they were incorrect and required to be revised, it seemed odd to us that they should continue to be produced. I believe it was in September last that, for the first time, it was stated on behalf of the Chinese Government that the area covered by these maps was Chinese territory and claims were laid to it.²⁵ Even after many years of our drawing attention to these maps, nothing was said and, in fact, we were led to believe that the maps were incorrect. Our maps, on the other hand, were correct and precise, giving the longitude and latitude. Therefore, it came as a great surprise and distress to us that some six months or eight months ago China should lay claims to these areas. We just could not understand it and this produced a feeling of great

23. Agreement between India and China on Trade and Intercourse between India and the Tibet Region of China, 1954.

24. See SWJN/SS/27/pp. 17, 19-20, 81-82. See also, for border question, SWJN/SS/33/pp. 475-477 and SWJN/SS/36/pp. 598-601 & 614-615.

25. See SWJN/SS/52/Appendix 5.

shock, as happens when firm beliefs are upset suddenly. I do not wish to go into the merits of the dispute now, but there is a powerful feeling in India regarding the Himalayan mountains. These are tied up with ancient culture and history and, whatever happened, these mountains have always been looked upon as the frontiers of India. All this produced a very powerful reaction and we could not understand why all this should have happened when the frontier was a peaceful one and there was no trouble and we did nothing on our part to create any trouble. There was not even military personnel. We have only policemen to check the people coming in and going out. This represented our outlook on the frontier. I do not wish to refer to the events in Tibet now, but I may refer to them later if you wish me to do so.

The Chinese Government have stated that the entire frontier is undefined and not delimited. We do not agree with this proposition. It is true that the boundary is not marked on the ground; but if delimitation can take place by definition of high mountain areas and watershed and if it is a normally accepted principle of demarcation, then it is precisely defined in the past. There may be some dispute regarding some minor areas about a village or two, or a mile or two; but, as far as we are concerned, our border has been precisely defined after repeated surveys and so clearly defined except for a few minor places and it is delimited by the high watershed which is normally accepted as a principle for delimitation of boundary and which is as clear as physical markings. Moreover, physical markings in such mountainous area also are difficult. I wish to stress the point that the boundary is delimited, not only by history and tradition, but also by records of surveys and other uses on the basic fact of the watershed. This frontier has been considered to be a firm one and there were never any doubts in our minds about it. It is true that there are different periods in history and in the hundreds of years changes occurred and no period can be called a firm period, but even then, historically our view has been supported. Normally, we cannot go back to hundreds of years except for getting historical background. In the changing situation, one must accept things as they are; otherwise, there is no stability. Therefore, we feel that the question of demarcation of the entire frontier does not arise. It has been surveyed and precisely defined and described in numerous accounts. I remember that, as a young man, I used to go to the mountains. Forty-four years ago, I went to Ladakh, not on a political mission but for mountain trekking. I was interested in knowing about Ladakh and I studied, out of interest, books, charts, etc., regarding that area. This is only to show how firm this idea has been through this long period.

For China, these areas are distant areas in a vast country. In India, although big, they are near, almost in some way the heart of the country, and, therefore,

apart from other questions, the effect on India has been very great.

To us, one of the distressing features of recent events has been the shock it has given to our basic policy of friendship and cooperation between our two countries, which has been the corner-stone of our policy, and its consequences in Asia and outside. Those countries or people who opposed this policy naturally wanted to take advantage of our conflict for their benefit. That seemed a bad thing for the present, but is even more so for the future.

What I have mentioned are not specific matters but broad aspects as they strike us and my distress is that anything should come in the way of our long established and growing friendship which we consider of high importance to us and the world. There is no real basic conflict of interest between our two countries. Both countries have vast resources which require to be developed and, therefore, possibility of such a conflict is painful and it is exploited by countries who wish us apart.

Premier Chou : You mentioned about Tibet. If there is anything you would like to say about it, I would very much like to hear it. I would think it over and then speak about it in the afternoon.

Prime Minister : So far as our frontiers are concerned, apart from some local areas, there has been no dispute in Tibet. I do not know what exactly Premier Chou has in mind. Is he referring to the internal developments?

Premier Chou: Of course both aspects are related —

- (i) internal developments in Tibet, and
- (ii) border question arising out of Tibet.

Whatever you have to say in the matter will be useful for clarifying my understanding.

Prime Minister: As far as border question with Tibet is concerned, there is no trouble excepting the last year or so. There were three or four minor areas where there was a dispute and we referred to them when we met some three years ago. Otherwise, we have no political or frontier question with Tibet. In olden days, when the British were here, that is to say, about fifty or seventy years ago, the British policy was governed considerably by fears of Czarist Empire and they were not concerned so much with China, but they thought that the Czar would come down and they did not want Russia to have a dominating position in Tibet. They made surveys and sent expeditions and they imposed some conditions on Tibet. But that gradually faded out. The British had obtained extra-territorial rights in Tibet which we had no desire to hold on to. Therefore,

when the Chinese People's Republic came to power, we gave up these rights since we were not interested in them. We were merely interested in Tibet, not as a Government, but as a people, and more culturally. A large number of pilgrims, both Hindus and Buddhists, go annually to the Mansarovar and the Kailash, which are holy places to the Indians; and trade has been continuing between Tibet and India for a long time in the past. It was these cultural and trade contacts which were discussed in the Tibet Agreement and some decisions were arrived at then. When Your Excellency spoke to me about Tibet some 3½ years ago, you told me that you did not consider Tibet as a province of China, although it was part of the Chinese State; it was an autonomous region of China.²⁶ You had no desire to interfere in its internal affairs, since the area was still very backward. Therefore, when the developments of last year took place, we in India were disturbed and pained by the accounts which we heard and with the refugees coming in and the Dalai Lama and others coming in and by a feeling that the old cultural relations with Tibet are put an end to. Because of the cultural contacts, it disturbed the Indian people. We had no desire to interfere in anything. We, of course, received the refugees and we also received the Dalai Lama with due courtesy, because he is highly thought of by a large number of people in India. But, we made it clear to them that they must not function in a political way and, broadly speaking, they accepted our advice. But, occasionally they did something which we did not approve and we told them so.

Three and a half years ago, the Dalai Lama, when he came to India,²⁷ was advised by some of his followers not to go back to Tibet and you then wanted me to induce him to go back and I advised him strongly to go back to Tibet, and he did so.²⁸ And then we had no contact with him till he came 2 or 3 years later. Our interest in Tibet has nothing to do with politics or territory but is tied up culturally for ages in the past. Moreover, reports came here of suppression of cultural and religious institutions in Tibet which produced reactions in India. But it had nothing to do with our wish or capacity to interfere in any way in Tibet. In fact, we felt that it will be harmful in every way.

The Chinese Government has said that we incited rebellion in Tibet. All I can say is that there is no basis for that statement. May be there were some

26. During his visit to New Delhi, 28 November-9 December 1956. See SWJN/SS/35/ pp. 522-524 and SWJN/SS/36/pp. 580-638, especially, pp. 594-603. For a similar statement by Chou En-lai at the Bandung Conference, see SWJN/SS/28/p. 135.

27. To participate in the celebration of the 2500th anniversary of Buddha's life, held in India from 26 to 30 November 1956. See SWJN/SS/35/pp. 520-522, 617-624.

28. See SWJN/SS/36/pp. 618-619.

refugees in Kalimpong and elsewhere who sympathised with the rebels and occasionally exchanged letters, but they were not allowed to function as such. The legal system here is such that a good deal of freedom is allowed to opposition parties who run down the Government and excite the people. We do not approve of what they do. But to say that the rebellion in Tibet was brought about by people in India is entirely wrong and without foundation. If Your Excellency has got any questions, I would answer them.

Premier Chou: The activities of Dalai Lama and his followers have far exceeded the limits of political asylum. There are many objective facts to prove this. What is your view about this?

Prime Minister: What particular activities are you referring to? Dalai Lama issued some statements. Some of his followers have gone abroad and, apart from that, our own people have held conferences or conventions which we did not approve; but we cannot stop it legally. We expressed our disapproval in Parliament and outside. After we had expressed our disapproval to Dalai Lama, he stopped making such statements; but in all these things it is difficult to draw a strict line, because our normal laws here allow a great deal of freedom and opposition parties exploit them to their advantage. Moreover, there are also public sympathies with them. Dalai Lama has tried to carry out our advice to him, although occasionally he said something or made some statements.

Premier Chou: I am grateful to you for telling me your main ideas. You were quite right when you said that we have no basic conflict of interest. But, on the other hand, if we develop our friendship, it would be useful to Asia and the world. I came here with the same hope of seeking avenues for a reasonable settlement of the boundary question and I have come with the same desire which you expressed in your telegram. I would reserve my answers till the afternoon when I will try to explain on what principles our stands differ. But most important of all, I would like to remove misunderstanding between us, which should not have arisen.

10. Nehru-Chou Talks II²⁹

II

(April 20 – 5 p.m. to 7 p.m.)

Premier Chou: This morning, I spoke only a few words about what your Excellency had said. I would now like to clarify several problems with a view to seeking avenues of settlement.

The first question is whether the boundary is delimited or not. In this case, probably there is some difference of opinion in the understanding of the definition of the word “delimitation”, but there must have been some historical things which cannot be changed. Areas which are customarily adjoining each other, the boundary line between them may change by custom. This is what we call the “customary line”. But, as a modern nation, the boundaries have to be defined in terms of latitude and longitude; but this was not done and this precisely is the situation. In the past, we had some dispute on eastern sector and this was left to us by Imperialism. But, despite the dispute, since we are newly independent and friendly countries, we exchanged views with a view to settle the question in a friendly manner. I also spoke about the China-Burma border. The one common feature in the boundary between China and Burma and India is the presence of the McMahon line. We stated that we do not recognise the McMahon line but that we were willing to take a realistic view with Burma and India.

Then, there is the question of maps. The Government of India wants us to revise our maps in accordance with the Indian maps. We cannot accept this. We recognise the fact that there exist differences between the Chinese and the Indian maps and this difference also obtains in the maps between China and her neighbouring countries. Maps can only be revised after proper survey and consultation. We said our maps were old maps and there were differences, but we cannot revise our maps in accordance with the maps of our neighbouring countries. For example, Burma, we have signed an agreement with Burma³⁰ and there will be a joint survey, as a result of which we will agree on the precise boundary line and revise both our maps (Chinese and Burmese) at the same time. This proves that our stand has not changed and that it has always been clear. The Government of India says that the eastern sector is defined by Simla Convention.³¹

29. Source: see fn 18 in this section “Chou En-lai’s Visit.”.

30. On 28 January 1960; see SWJN/SS/57/item 188.

31. Between Great Britain, China and Tibet, initialled by A. H. McMahon, Ivan Chen (Chen I-fan) and the Lönchen Shatra, at Simla on 27 April 1914.

Actually, this line was fixed in the exchange of secret notes between the representatives of Tibet and Britain and therefore, it came as a shock to the Chinese people that India brought the Simla Convention in support of their claim. As Your Excellency has said, Britain obtained many special rights from Tibet in the year 1904 and that, in 1954, Government of India voluntarily renounced these special rights. It, therefore, shocked and distressed us that India should try to impose on us the provisions of the secret treaty of the Simla Convention which, moreover, was never accepted by any of the Chinese Governments.

In spite of this, the Chinese Government repeatedly stated that we do not recognise the line and yet we would not cross it. Although, in our view, it was not delimited, we were still prepared to negotiate and we only adduced proof that areas south of McMahon line belonged to Tibet and that there was a customary line which later changed. We did not put forward any territorial claim. We only advocated maintenance of the status quo. There was only a misunderstanding on the part of India.

As regards the western sector of the boundary, no question has ever been raised in the past and we never thought that there was any question on that side. If at all any question did exist, it was only about perhaps 10 places in the central sector which, we thought, could be solved by negotiations and that the status quo can be maintained, i.e., administrative and military personnel of India can stay there. As regards the western sector, India refers to the 1842 treaty as the legal basis for their claim; but we found on examination that it only sought to maintain borders of both sides and advocated friendship and non-aggression.³² We cannot find anywhere in the treaty a demarcation of the boundary. Moreover, the treaty was contracted only by local authorities. As far as this sector is concerned, new China has only inherited this area as shown by history; administrative relations and alignment of Chinese maps, and they did not make changes in these. In the early days, after the foundation of the Republic of China, we sent troops and supplies to Tibet from Sinkiang through Aksai Chin area. It was only last year that the matter was brought up by India and it was a new territorial claim made by India.

Thus, although the boundaries between our countries are not delimited, it seems to us that we can avoid clashes and misunderstanding by maintaining the status quo and removing the Forces from the border, thus making the border one of everlasting friendship. This may not be too difficult a task. After stating the facts we can see that the problem is a simple one.

32. Ladakh-Tibet Treaty of 17 September 1842.

We have made no claims and we have only asked for status quo and negotiations. We feel that India and China have a reliable basis for this, namely, the Panch Sheel and our long-standing friendship. We were friends in the past and we can be friends in the future. We can settle all disputes by negotiations and it seems to us that this sincere desire of ours can materialise. From Your Excellency's letters and from what I know of you, we know that you also entertain the same desire. We have already reached an agreement with Burma and the entire boundary question will soon be settled. The same should be applicable to the Sino-Indian boundary question and we feel that there are no difficulties that cannot be overcome.

Last year, we might have hurt each other and there might have been some misunderstanding between us. But let bygones be bygones. That is why we proposed a meeting of the two Prime Ministers and I accepted your invitation. I have come here to remove misunderstanding and find common ground between us on the border question. In the past 10 years, our relations have been friendly and this is not only in the interest of our two peoples but in future too it is to the advantage of the world. We both have the same desire and I have no doubt that we, both of us, would like to see the situation ease and an agreement reached.

This is in the main what I wanted to say.

Prime Minister : Thank you for the explanation of the Chinese Government's point of view which is largely on the lines of the correspondence which we have exchanged. It would be possible for me to repeat and add to it again, but that means our interpretation of not only history but facts also differs very greatly. For example, whether it is the eastern sector or the western sector, there is a complete difference of opinion on facts. I should like to state that in no time of recorded history was this area (in the eastern sector) ever a part of China or Tibet, of course, leaving out a few minor dents.

Your Excellency may say that these are territorial claims of India. But when did we make these claims? We have shown these areas in maps in precise latitude and longitude and this description is before China and the world for a considerable time and no objection was taken to these by the Chinese Government since 1949 and even before that period, nor was there any objection from the then Tibetan Government. So, it would seem extraordinary that, when a question is raised repeatedly and factually, no objection is taken and no challenge is made; but now, only since last year, we should be told of the Chinese claims in this regard. I do not want to go into the past history but certain parts were accepted and acknowledged positively or negatively as belonging to India and only in the last few months objection is raised in a precise form by the Chinese

Government. If our maps were wrong, as you hint, surely some idea could have been given to us when we raised the question on many questions. In the eastern sector, what is called McMahon line is only acceptance of the findings of surveys done previously and no new line was drawn. This also indeed is a novel claim since there was no claim for generations—in any case, certainly not since 1949.

Your Excellency referred to the western sector and said that this has always been under Chinese authority and control. I do not know which part you are referring to. Does it mean that, since 1949, it is under direct Chinese control or that, before that, it was under direct Tibetan control? I went to Ladakh some 44 years ago³³ because I was attracted by the mountains and I went for mountain trekking. I again went to Ladakh some five or six years ago.³⁴ This time, I went by air and saw places then which are now occupied by Chinese Forces. I presume, therefore, that this occupation has taken place in the last year or two and is of recent origin. In any event, apart from the last year, at no time in the previous years, the People's Government of China or the then Tibetan administration raised any questions with us although our position was stated with precision on maps, with longitudes and latitudes, drawn after long surveys.

In fact, boundaries of India are part of the Indian Constitution and we cannot change them without a change in the Constitution itself.

My difficulty has been that, while we went on stating clearly our position regarding the frontiers, nothing was said with precision by China or Tibet for generations and naturally we thought that there was no challenge to it except in minor matters.

I would further ask, when did we claim this territory? When we made the maps, that is an old thing.

I may add that even Chinese maps differ so much that hardly two maps are the same.

Repeating these arguments, which are already contained in the notes exchanged, may not be very helpful. In the morning, I had ventured to put a broad approach. If necessary, each part could be examined by us or by our colleagues, but the main thing is how this question appeared in this acute form during the last year without any previous intimation.

33. In 1916; for his own account, see Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography*, (New Delhi, India: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1980) pp. 37-39.

34. On 25 August 1952, see letter to Chief Ministers, 26 August 1952, in SWJN/SS/19/pp. 697-707, especially pp. 706-707. Earlier he had gone to Ladakh from 4 to 8 July 1949, see SWJN/SS/12/pp. 297-300 and 347-352.

Premier Chou: Your Excellency has asked why this question became acute in the last year. There are many reasons for it. I have just explained the situation regarding the eastern sector. We have always said that status quo should be maintained. We say this not only now but we have said it ever since we touched that sector. We did not suddenly raise this last year. This has always been our stand and remains our stand. You may ask why, in our notes to the Government of India, we mentioned so many historical facts. The answer is, since the Government of India put forward the argument of Simla Convention, we had to say why we could not accept it, and we could not do so without mentioning historical facts. That made the question acute. But that did not change the boundary. We only tried to relate historical facts. Your Excellency has just now said very assertively that it was part of India even before 1914 (Simla Convention) and that it was never part of China or Tibet. We have, however, adduced evidence to show that it was not so. We pointed out that the situation did change and we stand by that explanation. But we have always advocated status quo

Agreement Before Discussion



Mr. Chou En-lai in his latest note has maintained all the Chinese claims on territory.

(From *Shankar's Weekly*, 17 April 1960, p.5)

because that is the most advantageous thing. We have never used our relations with that area before it was formed for making a legal basis for territorial claims.

Indian maps have also changed several times. Chinese maps, on the other hand, did not change. Regarding the question of revising of maps raised in your letter of December, 1958,³⁵ our position is to seek avenues of settlement, as I feel it is no use arguing about details. It will merely lead to repetition.

Regarding the western sector, I have pointed out that the main part of the area, namely, Aksai Chin, is not under the administrative jurisdiction of Tibet but of Sinkiang. Our jurisdiction has been exercised there not only since 1949 but for a long time in history. Since 1949, Chinese Government have not only sent administrative personnel there but troops for patrolling purposes. It is the main route joining Sinkiang to Ari region of Tibet and this has been so for a very long time. Besides, Chinese maps published in the past have always shown it as Chinese territory and such maps have appeared for a considerable period of time and yet, to our knowledge, there has been no objection from India. Your Excellency acknowledged in Parliament that this portion of the boundary was somewhat vague.³⁶ In Indian maps, different lines and different colours have been used. This area³⁷ becoming a disputed area is of recent origin and so it was quite unexpected for us, for it was unlike the eastern sector where we knew there was a dispute.

The views of our two sides still remain the same as in the correspondence exchanged. However, the purpose of making this explanation is to show that we have made no territorial claims but that we want to maintain the status quo with the view to reaching a solution and also to take the military forces away from the border. It is no use repeating what has been already said in our correspondence. I have come here to seek a solution and not to repeat arguments.

Prime Minister : I can assure you of my earnest desire for settlement and understanding. Nothing is more painful to us than carrying on this argument. Mere repetition, however, does not take us very far, because our respective

35. Of 14 December 1958, see SWJN/SS/45/item 266.

36. On 25 and 26 November 1959, see SWJN/SS/54/items 158 and 162.

37. In the draft in the P. N. Haksar Papers, Nehru edited "area" to "area's"; but the correction does not seem to have been incorporated in the final version.

viewpoints are so very different. Of course, it is possible to examine these viewpoints, but it would seem to lead to no great profit.

Your Excellency said that we should maintain status quo; but the question is what is status quo? Status quo of today is different from the status quo of one or two years ago. To maintain today's status quo would be very unfair, if it is different from a previous status quo. Therefore, we suggested another yard-measure, if you will remember, namely, to withdraw military forces beyond the lines of Indian and Chinese maps so that clashes would be avoided. I am glad that, for the last several months, no clashes have taken place. But to maintain a status quo, which is marked change from previous status quo, would mean accepting that change. That is the difficulty.

Premier Chou: This is also a difficulty for us.

When you say that status quo has changed recently, Your Excellency probably refers to the western sector; but we know for certain that western sector has always been like that. Since liberation, our troops, which went to Ari district of Tibet, went through Aksai Chin. Our supplies also went through this area and we never knew this was regarded as Indian territory and we also built a highway which could not have been built only in the last two years. To all this, no objection was raised by the Government of India. So, we had no doubt about this sector and we made no changes. It always appeared on our maps as it is now.

As regards McMahon line, we know that Indian Forces moved up to the line only in the last few years, that is, after independence. But we never made this point for demanding pre-requisites. When we say status quo, we mean status quo prevailing generally after independence and this would also show the friendliness of our attitude.

As regards your proposal for withdrawal of troops, as a matter of fact, there are no Indian troops on the east of the line shown on the Chinese maps. So, there would be no withdrawal for Indian Forces.

But, if we apply the same rule to the McMahon line, it will mean that our Forces remain where they are while there will be trouble for India and, therefore, we found this suggestion impossible to accept.

It seems to me, therefore, that status quo is fair to both. It would make no difference to India. A few individual points may need individual adjustment which can always be made.

Therefore, we feel maintaining of status quo, as it appeared when we became newly independent, is the most reasonable way.

This is only the first day of our meeting and it is not necessary to reach a conclusion immediately. But I am putting it forward for consideration

of both sides. If Your Excellency agrees to this, we would continue talking further about it; or otherwise, you may put forward a new alternative.

(The talks were then adjourned till 3.30 p.m. on 21st April, 1960).

11. Nehru to J.S. Mehta³⁸

I am returning the report of my talks with Premier Chou En-lai this morning. I have made a few corrections. You might embody these corrections in the other copy.

2. This report should be shown to Sardar Swaran Singh³⁹ and the Home Minister.

12. Radhakrishnan-Chou Talks⁴⁰

[21 April 1960 – 9.30 a.m. to 11.15 a.m.]

Premier Chou En-lai accompanied by Vice-Premier Marshal Chen Yi, Vice Foreign Minister, Chang Han-Fu, and several other members of the Chinese Delegation called on the Vice-President at his residence at 9.30 a.m. today (21.4.1960) and were with him till 11.15 a.m.

The Vice-President, initiating the discussion, recalled his inability to accept the invitation of the Chinese Government to visit Peking last October. The invitation dated 19th October was received by him on the 24th October but on the 21st a serious clash between an Indian police party and Chinese Frontier Guards had occurred near Kongka Pass.⁴¹ In those circumstances, he could not very well visit China.

The Vice-President pointed out that India had shown every anxiety to continue her age-old friendship with China and to strengthen the bonds of understanding between the thousand million people of these two countries. It was in this spirit that independent India had counselled restraint to the

38. Note to the Director, Northern Division, MEA, 20 April 1960.

39. Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel.

40. Vice President's talk with Chou En-lai, New Delhi, 21 April 1960. P.N. Haksar Papers, NMML.

41. See SWJN/SS/53/item 3.

U.N. when Chinese troops came to "liberate" Tibet. The same spirit was shown in the Panch Sheel agreement (1954), reaffirmed at Bandung (1955) and the very information about Chinese incursions was withheld from Parliament and the people (1957-58). Year after year India had been pressing for China's admission into the U.N. In 1956, the Dalai Lama was persuaded to return to his rightful place in Lhasa. Now the people of this country are genuinely desirous of friendship with the Chinese people and their welfare, but when tragic incidents happened on our borders a wave of indignation swept across India which the Prime Minister had been trying to control and restrain. But in a democratic country like India it was not possible to curb the strong reactions of the people.

The Vice-President, continuing, stated that the friendship between these two great countries of Asia was more important than any bits of territory. "We long for peace but as our Prime Minister mentioned in his Banquet speech, the very spirit of Buddha and Gandhi is being questioned by these recent unfortunate events. We are more sorry than angry at the things which are happening in Tibet. We are mystified at these new claims in view of the statements made earlier to our Prime Minister that the old Chinese maps would be revised and need not be made the basis of disputes."

Finally, the Vice-President cautioned that our Prime Minister is our greatest leader and the greatest friend of China. He wants the problem to be settled with self-respect for both the countries. The interest of this great friendship should not be set aside for minor problems and small territorial gains.

Premier Chou En-lai, in reply, stated that with regard to the basic principle as indicated in the speeches made on the 19th and 20th of April, both sides are equally agreed that the fact that they had come all the way from China was a proof of their desire for friendship and their wish that these differences should not be exaggerated. They recognised that the people of India and China desired friendship between the two countries. The visit to the Chinese Pavillion in the World Agricultural Fair by millions of Indians was proof of how the people of India cherished friendly feelings towards China.

But it had to be recognised that there are historical reasons for the present problem. These are problems left as imperialist legacies and therefore should be resolved by the new Governments of India and China. The incidents which occurred were certainly unfortunate but were entirely unexpected as may be seen from the fact that the Chinese Government had extended an invitation to the Vice-President only two days before the

clash in Kongka Pass. As a proof of their desire to avoid such incidents, the Chinese Government had stopped sending patrols along the Sino-Indian border.

Vice-President: Recognising the desire for friendship on both sides, it is imperative that we give concrete expression to this urge for friendship. He stated that the problem had been created by Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1950 and of Sinkiang in 1872. Before that there were no Chinese administrative, much less military, personnel in this region. In fact, Ladakh was definitely a part of the State of Jammu & Kashmir and when the British Government wanted to use the caravan routes in Aksai Chin and send survey parties in eastern Ladakh the Governor-General of the time wrote for permission to the Maharaja of Kashmir. This was proof enough of administrative jurisdiction of Kashmir over these areas.

Vice-President added that it would be unfortunate if this problem could not be settled with our present Prime Minister as it certainly would be more difficult to resolve in the future. The Chinese Premier must recognise that there is great resentment in our country and it was only our Prime Minister who could restrain such leaders like Acharya Kripalani⁴² and Jayprakash Narayan.⁴³ The Vice-President further said, "we do not want you to go back empty handed to China. Therefore you must try and come to some sort of satisfactory settlement."

Mr. Chou En-lai: It is not a fact that China only exercised her jurisdiction in Tibet since 1950. Tibet and China have had relations for the last 1300 years and in fact Tibet became a part of China 700 or 800 years ago. Similarly, Sinkiang has been a part of China for a long period of time.

Vice-President stated that he was not a student of history but a student of philosophy and did not want to go into details. The important question was the fact that the two countries are neighbours and must have friendship between themselves. It should not matter if it is necessary to give up some territory here or there but the important thing is to bind the Indian people.

Premier Chou En-lai replied that the Chinese could not give up territory here or there without reason or justification. With regard to the eastern sector of

42. J.B. Kripalani, PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Sitamarhi, Bihar.

43. Jayaprakash Narayan, Sarvodaya leader and a leading member of the Praja Socialist Party.

the border he stated that neither the present nor the previous Central Governments of China had recognised the so-called MacMahon Line. India only advanced her control in this area since her Independence but even though China did not recognise the MacMahon Line, we have not violated it. We advocate the maintaining of the status quo and have not raised any territorial claims south of the MacMahon Line.

The Vice-President stated, "All right, you recognise the MacMahon Line in the east; you should similarly recognise and settle the position on the western side in discussion with the Prime Minister so that this resentment is not allowed to grow."

Premier Chou En-lai interjected that there should be mutual accommodation on both sides.

After this, at Vice-President's request, the Foreign Minister Chen Yi joined the discussion.

Chen Yi stated that they had great respect for the Vice-President and therefore they listened to him with interest. But he hoped the Vice-President and the Indian side would also listen to them. In the past the imperialist countries had bullied both India and China. China today cannot be bullied by the imperialists but when "our Indian friends want to bully us, then we do not know what to do". There were many people, he added, like J. P. Narayan in China but the Chinese democracy controls them. When the Chinese Government wanted the Vice-President to come to China, it was not to find fault but with a view to settling this unfortunate problem.

When Prime Minister Nehru invited Premier Chou to Delhi we considered at first reiterating their invitation to come to China or alternatively of fixing the meeting, as proposed earlier in Rangoon. But after consideration the Chinese Government felt that in the interest of friendship Premier Chou should come to Delhi for these discussions. This again was a proof of Chinese sincerity.

The Vice-Premier then referred to the American base in Okinawa, the revival of Japanese and German militarism and the aggressive posture of the Seventh Fleet in Chinese waters. This, he hinted, was a threat and a danger to China and for this reason China hoped to make her relations with India along the Sino-Indian border quite peaceful. There was no need for China to hurt India and to create two fronts—one against the western

powers and another against India.

The Vice-President again affirmed that if there was such a strong desire for friendship it should not be impossible to come to an agreed solution which, as the Prime Minister stated the previous evening, would spell no victory for either side. He underlines the use of the word "prayer" by the Prime Minister as significant of his earnest desire for a peaceful settlement.

Marshal Chen Yi said that he had no doubt about Prime Minister Nehru settling this issue now or in the future. The Vice-President agreed with this wholeheartedly. Marshal Chen Yi also invited the Vice-President to visit China and the Vice-President said that he would come whenever it was convenient.

The Vice-President in a pleasant sort of way said to the Chinese Prime Minister that according to the newspapers he looked grave after his talk with the Indian Prime Minister. The Prime Minister was aware that ours was a free press and at least some of the newspapers said all manner of things which were not authentic or accurate. To this Mr. Chou En-lai replied that they in China did not believe in this kind of freedom; for example if he smiled then the Indian papers said that it was a false smile and if he did not smile then they said that he was grave. Similarly, about his meeting with Mr. Krishna Menon the Indian press said that Mr. Menon had made some sort of a dramatic intervention. The fact was that the meeting with the Defence Minister was arranged by the Indian Government.

Mr. Chou En-lai then said that for the past ten years the People's Republic of China had been trying to build itself internally and even when the differences appeared last year, there was no campaign to arouse national sentiment against India. The Indian Ambassador in Peking had always been courteously treated but he could not say the same about the treatment meted out to the Chinese Ambassador in Delhi. The Vice-President will no doubt appreciate that just as India has its Jaiprakash Narayans so do we have ours in China. The difference is that we do not allow them to have free say to mislead our people. Mr. Chou En-lai said that the Vice-President had pointed out that China had occupied Tibet and Sinkiang. This was not correct. Sinkiang and Tibet had been part of China all along for many centuries. He also said that if China was accused of occupying Tibet and Sinkiang, then it would be also right for the Chinese to say that India had occupied Kashmir. To this the Vice-President replied that this was not correct at all as Kashmir had been part of India from time immemorial and

he gave example of the Mahabharata to the present times and emphasised at every point that Kashmir had been part and parcel of Indian sub-continent. The Vice-President said that all this could be settled in a spirit of mutual accommodation and friendship. The Chinese Prime Minister however maintained that they were not willing to accept the so-called MacMahon Line, nor were they agreeable to accept that the western region was ever a part of India in the Aksai Chin area. He however stated that China had never made any territorial claims south of the MacMahon line and he wanted to assure the Vice-President that they had no intention of doing so in the future.

The Vice-President said that both the Prime Minister of India and the Prime Minister of China were good and great men and they should be able to settle this problem as it behoves great and good people.

13. G.B. Pant-Chou Talks⁴⁴

[21 April 1960 – begins 11.25 a.m.]

MEA Version⁴⁵

MHA Version

Conversations between Premier Chou-en-Lai and the Home Minister – 21st April, 1960

Brief resume of H.M.'s talks with Premier Chou En-Lai and Marshal Chen Yi of China on 21st April, 1960.

Top Secret

Premier Chou En-Lai accompanied by the Vice Premier Marshal Chen Yi, the Vice Foreign Minister Chang Han Fu

After an exchange of usual courtesies, H.M. said that it was unfortunate that of late problems should have arisen

44. Record composed by MEA and MHA independently, New Delhi, 21 April 1960. P.N. Haksar Papers, NMML.

The gaps between paragraphs are not due to omissions; they are due to the columns being composed here for ready comparison.

45. J.P. Pant, Personal Secretary to the Home Minister, had written to J.S. Mehta, Deputy Secretary, MEA, on 23 April 1960: "I return herewith copies of records of conversations between Premier Chou En-lai with the Home Minister and the Vice-President prepared and left here by you for H.M.'s [Home Minister's] perusal yesterday. As desired by H.M., I also enclose a fair copy of his record of conversation made by you and another note thereof which has been prepared here."

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and a few other officials called on the Home Minister at the latter's residence at 11.25 a.m. on 21st April, 1960. After the usual courtesies, the Home Minister stated that it was unfortunate that during the last year problems had come up between India and China. Since the dawn of history the two countries had lived peacefully. Indeed India had looked to China for culture and refinement and felt that the people of India and China though different, belonged, as it were, to one family. The reports of recent occurrences had been received in India not in anger but in anguish—because while India realised that she may have to face other serious problems it was never anticipated that there would be a problem between India and China. He continued that India had rejoiced in the strength and growth of the national movement in China from the time when India herself was struggling for independence. A medical mission was sent to China to serve the nationalist movement in that country.⁴⁶

India was one of the first to hail the Peoples Republic of China, to establish diplomatic relations with her and to urge that it was essential for the U.N. and for the promotion of understanding and friendship that the

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between India and China. There has been a long tradition of friendship between the two countries which had subsisted through the centuries ever since the dawn of history. The two countries had shared the same cultural values. The people of India and China had participated closely in the cultural mission. India had indeed come to look upon China as a symbol of tolerance and mellowed wisdom. Throughout the long history of the two countries, there had been no major disputes or tensions. Even when India was under British rule, the national leaders expressed their active sympathies with the Chinese people. A medical mission had been sent to China and it stayed there for a long time. India rejoiced in the strength and growth of the national movement in China. When the People's Republic came into power, India was first to hail the event and was also one of the first countries to open diplomatic relations with the new China. Ever since, India has constantly endeavoured for seating China in the U.N.O. because we firmly believed that it was essential for the promotion of understanding and peace in the world. In the olden days, though Heads of States could not exchange visits, missionaries and travellers were

46. Led by Dr Madan Atal a five-member Indian medical mission, sponsored by the Indian National Congress, was sent to China on 1 September 1938. See SWJN/FS/9/pp. 225 and 250.

MEA Version

rightful government of China should find its place in the councils of the world. In the old days the rulers and monarchs of India and China never exchanged visits but in recent times India had the privilege of receiving Premier Chou En Lai and our own Prime Minister had visited China.⁴⁷ The relations between the two countries, the Home Minister stated, were not just of sympathy but of affection for each other.

“Your Excellency and our Prime Minister initiated the Panch Sheel and embodied it in the 1954 agreement. When we had no Panch Sheel and the gulf of distance between our two countries was great our relations were amicable. It was an irony of fate that we should have to suffer disappointment and regret after we had pledged our adherence to the Panch Sheel.”

The Home Minister continuing stated that there were some reports that in some parts of China it was alleged that India had instigated the revolt in Tibet. There could always be such baseless feelings in some sections of the people but when such unfounded assertions are shared in responsible quarters it is a matter of some concern. There is no doubt that the people of India were disturbed by

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constantly moving between India and China spreading the message of peace. In recent years, the Premier of China and our own Prime Minister had exchanged visits. Your Excellency and our Prime Minister enunciated the doctrines of the Panchsheel and embodied them in the 1954 agreement.

In this context of the age-old friendship, the recent occurrences which have taken place on the Indian borders have been received by our people in India with a feeling, not of anger, but of anguish — anguish because our people could never imagine that events of this nature would occur on our borders with China with whom there have been such firm ties of friendship.

It was indeed an irony that this disappointment and regret should have come to us after our countries had proclaimed the principles of Panchsheel.

H.M. continuing stated that some quarters in China had alleged that India had encouraged the revolt in Tibet. There was no foundation for such allegations and it is a matter of concern that these unfounded assertions should be shared even in responsible quarters. There is no doubt that the people of India were deeply disturbed by what had happened in Tibet but the Government of India had kept itself

47. From 18 to 30 October 1954; see SWJN/SS/27/pp. 3-93.

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what happened in Tibet; it is true India granted asylum to the Dalai Lama and to the Tibetans, but India never thought that her bona fides would be questioned or the treatment meted to the Dalai Lama and the refugees misunderstood. The Home Minister added that if such happenings had occurred in any other country or China proper our people, because of their strong humanitarian feelings, would have been equally stirred; but this did not amount to instigation of the revolt. In any case, the Government did everything in its power to restrain rather than encourage the people.

Some misunderstanding has also been caused by the conventions on Tibet which have been held in India. In fact, many conventions are held in the country to condemn the government itself. Many people in India considered that the attitude towards China has been too tender. The Home Minister stated, "We do not like such conventions but they do happen and in our system cannot altogether be stopped."

Apart from the main border problem, the Home Minister stated, there are many petty pin-pricks which help nobody and which continue to add to the resentment of the people in India. The treatment meted to Indian

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aloof and restrained our people in every way. Government of India had given asylum to the Dalai Lama and to the refugee Tibetans on humanitarian grounds and in accordance with the recognised international custom but there could be no ground for questioning the bona fides of Indian Government in this matter. The policy of the Indian Government had not only been correct but consistent with the relations of friendship with the Chinese Government. Even though the Indian Government had nothing to do with the Tibetan events, the boundary disputes with the Chinese Government have increased after the Tibetan occurrences.

H.M. explained that under the political system in this country every person enjoyed complete freedom of association and expression of opinion. Thus recently some people had met in a convention on Tibet. In fact many conventions are held in the country to condemn the Government itself. Governments are not in any way connected with this convention.

Apart from the main border problem there were also many petty pinpricks which helped nobody and only added to the resentment of the people. Reports are received about the harsh treatment meted out to the

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nationals and representatives is one such example. In India, Chinese nationals are given all facilities open to our own nationals for trade and commerce. But, unjustified restrictions were placed on Indian nationals in the Tibetan region. Our Prime Minister had brought to the attention of His Excellency the Chinese Premier as far back as 1954 that the Chinese maps showed certain areas within China which were in fact within India and the Chinese Premier had stated that these maps were old ones which the Chinese Government had had no time to revise and they should not cause concern to Government of India. The Chinese Government were aware of the areas which the Indian Government claimed to belong to them and it is surprising that when the Chinese Government started certain works in some of these areas they did not even inform the Indian Government. The fact is that our border is a traditional and customary one. "The Himalayas have been our sentinels and part of our cultural fabric and they stand as a divine bastion along our frontiers."

The correspondence exchanged between the two Governments contains to some extent the details of various differences. India, like China, only wishes to serve humanity by its own progress and assisting in the progress of others. The present situation has come as an impediment

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Indian traders and Indian nationals in the Tibetan region.

H.M. observed that it was hardly possible for him, nor perhaps necessary, to refer in detail to the grounds on which the Indian alignment of the boundaries was based. Our Prime Minister had in 1954 mentioned to His Excellency the Chinese Premier that the Chinese maps showed large areas of Indian territory within the boundary of China. You had then stated that these maps were old ones and need not cause any concern to Government of India. The Chinese Government were aware of the Indian maps which showed the alignment of our traditional boundaries and it was, therefore, a matter of considerable surprise to our people that when the Chinese Government undertook certain works in areas which were included in our alignments and shown as our territory, they did not even inform our Government about them.

The boundary between India and China has been well-known for centuries. The Himalayas have been our sentinels and the Indian culture centres round them. They stand as a divine bastion along our frontiers. The Government of India believed that the Chinese Government had accepted the MacMahon Line. The 1954 agreement clearly implies that there was no border problem between India and China. The tragic incidents involving

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in the way of such progress and unless confidence is restored we cannot proceed towards our common objective which is to see that the countries of Asia develop. The Home Minister said, "my urge for seeking to restore goodwill and friendship is not merely in Indian interest but also that China herself may grow in strength and prosperity."

Coming to the subject of the border, the Home Minister stated that the Government of India had the impression that the Chinese Government had accepted the McMahon line; the 1954 agreement by implications assumed that there was no border problem between China and India. He went on to say that the tragic incidents involving bloodshed at the frontier had occurred at a time which led some people to think that they were a reaction to certain developments in Tibet. He explained that even if the borders of India had not been demarcated the happenings in Tibet would not affect them one way or the other.

The Home Minister recalled that India had been accused of expansionism. India had no designs on anybody else's territory. Our resources are hardly enough for the country to maintain peace inside and on our borders, and to raise the standard of our people. We never intrude on anybody else's territory. In

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bloodshed on our frontiers had occurred at a time which led people to think that they were a reaction to the developments in Tibet.

It is sometimes alleged that India had become expansionist. This was totally incorrect. India had no designs on anybody else's territory. All our resources are being harnessed for national re-construction, to raise the living standards of our people, and to maintain peace within the country and on our borders. His Excellency the

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fact, India has helped other countries in their anti-imperialist struggle and in trying to retain and regain territories which properly belong to them. Then, he went on to say, these areas on the border are desolate and almost uninhabited. It would be very unprofitable for us to go there if they did not belong to us. But the territory shown in our maps is ours and any disturbance of that is a violation of our territory and cannot but have unfortunate consequences. Our people wish that the Chinese people should be invulnerable, strong economically and politically, and we have confidence in the strength of China and its government but "if we are now to suffer because of the confidence reposed then it would be a shock to human nature itself." Ultimately, we hope, apart from any small points, Your Excellency will appreciate and accept what we have submitted regarding India's territorial boundaries. In any case the confidence which has been shaken will, we hope, be restored because we for our part continue to desire the friendship of China. Premier Chou En-lai replying stated that we have great interest in this thousand year old friendship with India and as stated by the Prime Minister we agree that there is no conflict of interest between the two countries. As regards incidents which have occurred, they were unexpected and unfortunate. The

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Chinese Premier had at one time referred to the desolate nature of the border areas. To expand into such desolate and uninhabited areas, if they did not belong to us and were not within our territory, would hardly be a profitable pursuit. The territory shown in our maps is ours and any disturbance there cannot but be a violation of our territorial integrity. Our people wish the Chinese people to be strong economically and politically and I have no doubt that the Chinese people also wish India to be strong and invulnerable. We have reposed our confidence on the friendship of China and if we are now made to suffer because of the confidence reposed, then it would be a shock to human nature itself. India, like China, has been endeavouring to serve the cause of peace and the progress of humanity. The present situation cannot but be an impediment in the way of our efforts. I would only urge that goodwill and friendship be restored not merely in the interest of any one country but of both.

Premier Chou En-Lai replying said that the friendship which had existed between China and India would last for thousands of years to come. As stated by Prime Minister Nehru we agree that there is no conflict of interest between the two countries. The border problem is not a new question but is a legacy of history. He

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border problem is, however, not a new question, but is a legacy of history. In the eastern sector we reaffirm that the Chinese Central Governments, both the previous one and the present one, have never recognised the MacMahon Line. But China has stated that it wanted the border problem to be settled by negotiation and even though the MacMahon Line could not be recognised, China had not violated it. Last year for the first time the Government of India raised the question of the Simla Convention; but, in fact, this line was settled in secret exchanges between the local authorities in Tibet and the British Government. The Chinese Government and people were shocked that India should base its claim on this convention. Moreover, it is a historical fact that many places south of the McMahon Line were under the administrative jurisdiction of the local Government of Tibet. On the other hand, the Government of India only advanced its administration and military control to these regions after independence. Although, therefore, China has pointed out this historical fact, China has not crossed the MacMahon Line. Nevertheless China makes no territorial claims south of the MacMahon Line.

With reference to the Himalayas,

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referred to the agreement that was recently concluded between China and Burma and said that it showed that China was earnest in its desire to maintain friendship. He referred to the suggestion made by Prime Minister Nehru that military patrols should not move in forward areas and said that in consequence the tension had already eased. He thought that it was necessary to secure a disengagement of the military forces so that the question of boundaries could be settled peacefully by negotiation.

He observed that he did not want to go into details of the various boundary disputes but since they were referred to he thought he should make the factual position clear.

China was not a party to the Simla Convention and the so-called McMahon Line was drawn behind the back of the Chinese Government and by secret negotiations between the local authorities of Tibet and the British Government. Such secret negotiations would have no validity when they were not recognised by the Chinese Government. Claims made on the basis of this line had come as a shock to the Chinese people. It is a historical fact that many places south of the Line had always been under the administration of the local authority of Tibet. China has pointed out the historical facts about the McMahon Line but has not crossed it.

Referring to the Himalayas, the

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the Chinese Premier stated that the Chinese people were also sentimental about the Himalayas. The northern parts of the Himalayas belonged to China and, therefore, they formed a common border between the two countries.

In the western sector, Premier Chou En Lai stated China had not exercised administrative control in the area for some time. Troop movements have been carried out and the Government of India have been either unaware or they never raised objection to it.

Your Excellency has stated, as indeed Prime Minister Nehru had said in Parliament that this area is desolate and uninhabited; but it is of material and vital importance to China. The claim of the Government of India came as a surprise and as a shock to the Chinese Government who had thought that no dispute existed as far as the western sector is concerned. The present maps published by the Chinese Government are merely repetitions of earlier official maps of China and this is proof enough that these are not new claims. The only way in which the problem could be settled is that the two States get together and agree to conduct joint surveys in the same spirit in which China has recently concluded a boundary agreement with Burma. Once joint surveys have been completed and an agreed basis

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Chinese Premier said that the Chinese people had also the same sentiments about these mountains. The northern parts of the Himalayas belonged to China and, therefore, they found a common border between the two countries. In regard to the north-western sector, he said that the area had always been a part of China and China had always been in administrative control of it and using it regularly. It was because of this that the Chinese Government had built a road connecting Sinkiang with Tibet. This area was of vital importance to China. The claim of Government of India had come as a surprise because there had never been any dispute in regard to the western sector. The fact that the area was shown as part of China in the Chinese maps proved that this was not a new claim.

The only way to solve the problem is for the two countries to agree to joint surveys and demarcate the boundary as has been agreed to in the settlement between China and Burma. After such surveys have been made the maps can be revised. China cannot revise her maps merely on the basis of the maps of other countries. There

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accepted both China and Burma would revise their respective maps accordingly. However, China cannot revise her maps in accordance with the maps of other countries. Moreover, there are many changes and variations in maps published in India. All this goes to prove that there are problems which need to be resolved by mutual discussion. The Chinese people have paid no attention to this question in the past but it can be settled if due regard continues to be paid to the eternal friendship between the two countries. The Chinese Premier affirmed, "We have come with true sincerity to settle the problem; we want our differences to be narrowed and not widened." Premier Chou En-Lai continued that much had been said about the feelings of the Indian people but it is hoped that the feelings of the Chinese people would be equally appreciated and understood. China wishes that the people of India should grow strong and prosper, and seeks a reasonable settlement in which as the Prime Minister stated neither side suffers a loss. He was confident that such a solution could be found.

The first step necessary is to ease the tension between the two countries. To a considerable extent this has already been done and no incidents have recently occurred. For their part China believes that the two sides should disengage to avoid any recurrence of incidents or tension.

MHA Version

are other countries also which show different boundaries on their maps with reference to China.

The Chinese Premier hoped that the feelings of the people of China will also be appreciated.

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On Tibet Premier Chou En Lai stated that he wanted to make clear that the views of the two sides are certainly different. Tibet was definitely a part of China. For 1300 years Tibetans have had correlations with China and for the last 800 years it has been definitely a constituent part of China. The recent revolt in Tibet was engineered by a small minority of reactionaries who wanted to preserve the system of serfdom, a system which had reduced the population and impoverished the Tibetan people. The Chinese Government definitely supports the feelings of the great majority of the people of Tibet for freedom and progress and have, therefore, helped to suppress the rebellion. After the revolt the Dalai Lama came to India but the Chinese Government raised no objection to the grant of asylum since he was not to engage in political activity. But in fact, the Dalai Lama and his followers have been carrying on anti-New China activities such as bringing the matter up before the United Nations. He reiterated that Kalimpong was being used as a centre of such anti-Chinese activities. Only recently, to celebrate the anniversary of the Tibetan revolt, the Tibetan rebels held a meeting in the Kalimpong Town Hall and used the occasion to slander the Chinese Trade Agency. But even this phase of reaction will pass away and Tibet will soon become

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For a correct approach to these problems, it was necessary to recognise the factual position. Regarding Tibet he said that the revolt was engineered by a small minority which wanted to dominate the people of Tibet and continue them in serfdom. The Chinese People's Republic had liberated the people from serfdom. It was the endeavour of the Chinese Government that the Tibetan nation should advance along the path of prosperity with the Chinese people. He said that the reactionary forces in Tibet had received aid from certain quarters in India and in particular he referred to Kalimpong as being the base of their activities.

India should appreciate that just as the Indian people are shocked if boundary shown on their maps is questioned, so the Chinese people would be deeply shocked if the boundaries which had for centuries belonged to China were to be given up.

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prosperous and its people enjoy the benefits of progress.

With regard to the difficulties of communications etc., the Chinese Premier stated that there were some adverse effects in the course of suppression of the rebel elements but the situation is now effectively under control and to their knowledge the main portion of the 1954 agreement is still in operation and is being observed. Having pointed this out he expressed the hope that the friendship between the two countries would not only be restored but would be strengthened in the future because he agreed both with the Prime Minister and the Vice President that this friendship was more important than anything else.

(At this stage the time was running short since it was already after 1 o'clock and the Premier and the Home Minister were scheduled to lunch at Rashtrapati Bhavan).

The Home Minister stated that even though the time was short he would like to make one or two brief comments on what had been said by the Chinese Premier. As far as the McMahon Line was concerned China was in fact represented at the Simla Convention. If China had any differences in the settlement regarding the question of the border between India and Tibet it was not raised then

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Replying H.M. said that since there was not enough time, he could not deal in detail with the points raised by His Excellency. He would only refer to the historical bases of the Indian boundaries. In Simla Convention the Chinese representative was present and had actually initialled the map which showed the McMahon Line. The dispute was only in regard to the boundary of Inner and Outer Tibet.

MEA Version

at the Conference or even afterward. In any case, long before the Simla Convention Tibet had entered into treaties independently with other States and China had acquiesced in that. Moreover, even before 1914, the Government of India had reached agreements and concluded treaties with the tribes who inhabited the area south of the McMahon Line. As far as the western sector is concerned there were many maps and a variety of evidence to show that India exercised jurisdiction upto the limits shown in our current maps. The treaty of 1842⁴⁸ recognised the boundary as being traditionally settled and lends proof to the fact that the border was as shown in our present-day maps.

The Home Minister added that even if he had a longer time for discussion he could not accept the proposition regarding the McMahon Line or the western sector as stated by Premier Chou En Lai.

He also added that India had not in any way meddled in the Tibetan affairs except to restrain the Indian people who had been stirred at the events which had taken place. The asylum to the Dalai Lama was a humanitarian duty which should not be misunderstood.

As regards Kalimpong, there was already a great deal of correspondence

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In the Western sector, similarly, the boundaries had been confirmed by the accounts of many travellers and explorers and survey parties during the 19th century. He further said that it would be incorrect to say that the Indian Government had in any way given any encouragement to those who opposed the existing regime in Tibet, nor is Kalimpong the base of any adverse activities against China. As a matter of fact, Government had exercised a great deal of supervision to ensure against any such activity. Premier Chou En-Lai had said that Dalai Lama was indulging in political activities in India. H.M. replied that the Indian Government was not aware of any political activity of Dalai Lama. He had given a statement—and that was a long time ago—which might have been interpreted by some as having any political content, but there was nothing to show that the conditions under which the asylum was given had been broken.

India has been a steadfast friend of China. Our Prime Minister has always been the greatest friend of the Chinese people. It would, therefore, be a matter of sorrow if these sentiments of friendship were ignored.

[End of MHA version]

48. See fn 32 in this section.

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to show that Government of India had taken appropriate action and that there was no truth in the allegation that it was being allowed to be used as a centre for anti-Chinese or rebel activities.

Finally the Home Minister stated that he hoped that the friendship between the two countries would continue unimpaired and indeed be strengthened so that the respective governments could serve their people to the best of their resources. The Prime Minister of India was always for friendship and the promotion of goodwill between countries.

Premier Chou En Lai, before rising, again asserted that no central government in China had signed or ratified the Simla Convention. Agreements between the local authorities in Tibet and the British only became valid after ratification by the central government. In any case, both China and India were then under the sway of imperialism but today the two countries are both independent brother nations and must not go by actions of old imperialistic regimes.

(Premier Chou En Lai took leave at about quarter past one after these discussions)

14. Nehru-Chou Talks III⁴⁹

III

(April 21- 4 p.m. to 6.30 p.m.)

Prime Minister: Yesterday, Your Excellency mentioned to me various matters. It would go to show that there is a good deal of difference in regard to facts. Interpretation of these facts is another thing, but what we differ in is the fact itself. If we start with different facts, thinking will be different too.

Yesterday, I said that the Chinese maps were changing. You said that it was not so and, on the contrary, it was the Indian maps which were changing. I was surprised to hear that. But I am not aware that our maps have changed. I have, however, seen the Chinese maps published in 1951, 1954 and 1959 and they all differ. But, in fact, I am not aware of changes in our maps.

You further said that Indian maps of the eastern sector had also changed. I am not aware of this. Eastern sector has been under our direct administration and this administration was intensified since our independence.

So far as the western sector is concerned, you referred to Aksai Chin area. It is a big area. I do not know to which part of it your remarks apply. We are quite certain that large areas of it, if not the entire portion, were not in Chinese occupation. Evidence on this has come from large number of people who have been there and from my personal experience when I visited the place.

Apart from the northern tip of the area, where apparently the Chinese had gone earlier, the Chinese Forces seemed to have spread out to other parts of Aksai Chin only in the last year and a half.

I was further surprised to hear from you that the western sector was never in dispute. You will find from our correspondence exchanged on the subject that we have constantly been raising this question, including the question of the road through Aksai Chin. But we had no reply to these representations. Even before the incident at Kongka Pass occurred, we expressed our protest in precise terms giving longitude and latitude. This was also the case in regard to Longju.⁵⁰ But there was no reply to these protests.

So, from what I can see, our facts differ so much so that a confusion arises. I was surprised to hear Your Excellency saying that, in the western sector, things have always been like this (namely, you have built roads and that you have sent your Forces and supplies across the area on this road to Tibet).

49. Source: see fn 18 in this section "Chou En-lai's Visit."

50. In August 1959; see SWJN/SS/51/items 193 and 197.

This was an old caravan route and you probably made it into a road four or five years ago. The Chinese Forces have obviously spread out from the northern part. The Chinese Forces were not there before and, therefore, this is a happening which took place only in the last year and a half. May I ask as to what exactly is claimed? Is it that it was in the occupation of the Chinese Forces for the last so many years and that, before the Chinese Forces came in, the Tibetan Forces were there? Patently not. We must, however, distinguish between eastern Ladakh and certain parts of it. We have long before drawn attention of the Chinese Government to this aspect in our correspondence and we have also protested against it. So, it is incorrect to say that no dispute has existed about the western sector. In fact, there is a major dispute.

Perhaps we might discuss this matter separately.

As regards eastern sector, apart from the Simla Convention and the McMahon Line, this area has always been connected with East India. We had not sent any armies there, because we did not feel that it was necessary. We had only some police stationed there, but we have been administering the area quite fully. I, therefore, do not understand how this misunderstanding could have taken place.

Throughout this period, the Indian maps have been absolutely clear and we have discussed them previously with reference to longitude and latitude. Therefore, there is no doubt left.

Yesterday, you also mentioned about maintaining status quo as obtained at the time of our independence. I agree, but what is the status quo?

I should like to have your views, Your Excellency, as to how we should proceed with our talks. So far, the talks have been vague and general and statements are made by both sides which are not regarded as being consonant to facts by the other side.

Premier Chou : Your Excellency says that there is a great difference in our understanding of facts; but facts are facts and facts are an objective reality. We do not have the same understanding temporarily; but we may have to appoint special personnel to find out what the historical and material facts are. In a few days' time, we may probably be not able to reach any conclusions, but eventually we can find out whose understanding of facts is correct.

Just now, Your Excellency has put forward some views contrary to what I had said. You said so on the basis of certain facts as known to you, but which are contrary to the ones known to us.

As regards the eastern sector, we knew all the time that there is a dispute on this sector. This dispute did not arise after the establishment of

the People's Republic of China; but it was left over by history, ever since the Simla Convention, which was never recognised by the Chinese Central Government. It was also not recognised by the K.M.T. As regards the secret exchange of notes, the K.M.T. Government did not even know about it. After the People's Republic of China was established and we established diplomatic relations with India, we mentioned about this to you in talks and in correspondence. Since both sides know that there was a dispute on this question, both sides were anxious for a settlement.

As regards the western sector, there has been no dispute. We have always considered it to be a part of China and it has also been so according to delineation on the Chinese maps. Indian maps have shown many changes. Your Excellency mentioned that there might have been some changes upto 1947, but actually there were changes in the maps even after 1947; (i) no boundary line was shown but the area was shown in colours; (ii) then the boundary was marked as "undefined"; (iii) in 1954, however, the same boundary was shown as "defined". Therefore, this would show that, even after 1947, India made changes in the maps. Our maps, however, have all along remained the same except for some changes in small places, but there has been no change in the general line. According to the Administrative jurisdiction, the area has always been under China. Yesterday, I pointed out that the greater part (the northern part) has been under Sinkiang where the Tibetans did not go, but the southern part comes under the Ari area of Tibet. Ever since 18th century, our administration has reached the place. This morning, the Vice-President said to me that these areas came under our control only in 1890; but that is not true. Moreover, we have found records of surveys made long ago.

So, in the western sector, ever since we had our contacts with this area, there has been no dispute. After 1950, we sent troops to Ari through this area. In Sinkiang, our local troops used to patrol the border and, in 1956-57, we built a road through this area; but all this was allowed without anything happening till a year or two ago, when some Indian soldiers came in and we disarmed them and sent them back. Then the dispute arose. Particularly in the last year, when Indian Government said that the sector was defined by the treaty of 1842,⁵¹ and then our attention was drawn to the sector and we were greatly surprised. We have said that there has been no dispute about this area and no question has ever been raised. Indian maps changed even after independence and, when you changed the line on the map to "defined", we were not consulted. This is different from the

51. In the Lok Sabha on 4 September 1959. See SWJN/SS/52/item 97, p. 245.

case of the eastern sector where we both know that dispute existed and, therefore, we were willing for a settlement. But, on the western sector, we never knew that there was any such dispute and we were surprised.

Of course, it is in the last one or two years that a dispute has gradually developed from the eastern to the western sector and, even in the central sector, some parts are disputed. All this has come in our correspondence.

Even in the eastern sector, after India obtained independence, Indian maps have made changes. Actually, long after the Simla Convention (1914), the Indian maps followed delineation of the Chinese maps. Long after the Simla Convention was held, Indian maps still continued to mark the boundary in this area as "undemarcated" and it was only recently that the words "demarcated" were added.

On the other hand, the Chinese maps have always been in accord with what we had in history.

Even after the Simla Convention, certain areas to the south of the McMahon Line still continued to be under the administration of the Tibetan local authorities. We have mentioned all this in our correspondence and there is no need for me to repeat it again here.

In the last year, we have exchanged lot of correspondence on the subject in which we have given facts and our views. Our understanding of the facts is different and, therefore, views and standpoints are different. It is not desirable that we continue like this. We must find out some solution.

Your Excellency asked me as to how the talks should proceed. After comparing the documents and maps, we realise that the facts greatly differ. I have, therefore, this idea in my mind and I would like to know whether it is workable. We should appoint a joint committee to look into the material we both have. It is not possible to do so in the duration of these talks. But the committee can take time and go through the facts on both sides. This may be useful for the sake of our friendship and for shortening the distance in our viewpoints. We should place all our material on the table. The Committee can even carry out investigation or surveys on the spot and find out what the facts are. Before agreement is reached by the Joint Committee, each side may maintain its stand and viewpoint.

While the Joint Committee is functioning, both sides should maintain status quo as is obtained in actuality. There should be a line between the two areas actually controlled by the two sides. In order to ensure tranquillity along the border, to facilitate the work of the survey teams, and in the interest of friendship, we should maintain a distance between the Forces on either side. We have suggested the distance to be 20 kilometres, but Your Excellency said that you were not in favour of it on account of

geographical features. We may, however, fix any other distance which would be suitable to geographical features. Thus, we can avoid clashes between the armed forces of our two countries. This is also for the purpose of establishing a border of perpetual friendship and preventing any untoward incidents.

Prime Minister: Your Excellency referred to the eastern sector and said that there was a dispute in this case but that no such dispute had arisen in the case of the western sector till recently.

May I know what is your view on the eastern sector in the last 40 or 50 years?

Is it claimed that that area was under Chinese or Tibetan occupation?

Premier Chou : Yes. Before the Simla Conference, area to the south of the line fixed by secret notes was under the jurisdiction of Tibet. Even after the Simla Conference, some parts still remained under the local Tibetan authorities. Even after the Independence of India, the Tibetan Government protested to the Government of India regarding some parts south of the line. This shows that there was a dispute and we both noted that there was a problem in this sector and we wanted to reach a settlement.

Prime Minister : As far as I am aware, apart from minor dents, this area was never under the jurisdiction of Tibet or China, historically or actually, and that, for considerable time in the past, it has been directly under Indian administration. During the British days, this area was divided into so many different districts. But gradually the administration spread. Of course, it took time because the area is rather wild and uninhabited. There might have been some dispute about minor dents; but, apart from this, there has not been any claim made by either Tibet or the Chinese side regarding the areas now marked as belonging to China on the Chinese maps.

Reference has been made quite often to the Simla Convention and secret notes. I, however, do not think that there is any secrecy about it. It is true that the Chinese Government did not accept the results of the Simla Convention; but, as a matter of fact it is initialled by the Chinese Plenipotentiary. It may not be binding on China, but the Chinese representative was all along in the picture and he certainly knew about it. All records, that we have, indicate that the Chinese representative was chiefly interested in the boundary between inner and outer Tibet. At that time, the Tibetan administration was functioning practically as an independent entity. They came separately. They had separate credentials and they had full authority to deal with matters. Apart from this, as

I have said above, the Chinese representative initialled the Convention and he certainly knew about it. It is true that the Chinese Government did not approve of it and, therefore, the Chinese Government may not be tied by it; but the Tibetan Government was functioning with full authority and was legally competent to do what it did.

Actually, the Simla Convention did not fix any new boundaries, but it only laid down what the boundaries then were supposed to be.

But I do not know if, after this Simla Convention, at any time the Chinese Government raised a protest on this issue. It is true that on minor areas there were petty disputes with local Tibetan border authorities and the Government of India then took action against it; but the main issue was never raised.

In the mind of an Indian, our northern border is also associated with high Himalayan ranges. It consists of high mountain ranges and high watershed. If Your Excellency were to look at the map, then you would realise that, if this normal principle, which is generally adopted by nations in such circumstances, is given up, the whole country would be at the mercy of the power which controls the mountains and no Government can possibly accept it.

May I point out that soon after the People's Republic of China was founded and diplomatic relations were established, question arose about maps, and we drew the attention of the Chinese Government to maps which were not corrected and we presented our maps. Then we were told that the Chinese Government had not had time to look at these old maps, but at no time did the Chinese Government precisely reject our maps. If one sees the maps, it would be clear that it was not a question of minor border areas but a big area of about 50,000 square miles which can be easily seen on the maps.

This applies to both the eastern as well as the western sectors.

The position regarding western sector is that it is clearly defined and that we had no objection from the Chinese Government at any time in the past except in the last year.

Your Excellency says that the western sector was never in dispute. In a sense, we agree with the statement, because we ourselves have never thought of it as a disputed area and our maps in this regard were never objected to.

As far as I remember, the first time that any argument arose on this sector (western) was when a few patrol men were arrested by the Chinese side in 1958 (I do not remember the date exactly);⁵² but the men had disappeared and we made a reference to the Chinese Government and they confirmed that these men were arrested and then we protested and the Chinese Government released

52. See SWJN/SS/41/p. 674; and SWJN/SS/51/item 196.

these people. We then protested in 1958 about this area being occupied by Chinese authorities, and also regarding the arrest of these Indians. At the same time, we also protested about Aksai Chin road; but no answer was sent to us.

Later, the broader issue arose about the western sector, but our protest still remains unanswered.

During the few years preceding that, a number of patrol parties went over eastern Ladakh and they were not hindered. That showed that the area was still not under Chinese occupation. I am not referring by this to the northern tip of this area where the road was made, but to the south and south-eastern part of the road which has obviously come under Chinese occupation only in the last one or one and a half years.

Your Excellency referred to our maps having changed. It is true that we changed our maps in 1953, but that was in regard to the extreme north of this area and this change was made after careful enquiries and was made in favour of the Chinese Government. It is true that, at that time, an area that is not now included in our maps was shown in colour shade and shown as belonging to Hunza of Kashmir State. We, however, examined this and came to the conclusion that it was not correct for Kashmir or Hunza to claim this area and so, on our own initiative, we left it out. This itself will indicate our desire not to show on our maps any area about which we had doubts.

In the last year and a half, we have precisely defined our borders in terms of longitude and latitude. This was before the shooting incident which took place last year. We repeatedly asked the Chinese side to precisely name the area they claimed, but it was never done.

To go back to the eastern sector, broadly speaking, at the present moment, our administration extends up to the boundary as shown on our maps except in regard to Longju. There was one place we found which should have been really on the other side and we voluntarily abandoned it. Kinzemane we hold as being on our side of the boundary.

In regard to Longju, there could be no doubt that we were in occupation of the place and we thought that we were in our territory. A junior officer there fell ill. He was suspected of having appendicitis and we were anxious to treat him immediately. We wanted to air-drop supplies for him at Longju and we informed the Chinese Government of this and, in fact, gave the latitude and longitude of Longju. This would show that we told the Chinese Government that we were at Longju and, to avoid any mistake about the name, we also gave the correct longitude and latitude to enable them to locate the place. Nevertheless, our Forces were forced back and the place is now being occupied by the Chinese.

Your Excellency has suggested the establishment of a joint committee to

study the material available with both sides and that further the committee should actually make an on-the-spot investigation, if necessary, and determine the boundary line. An examination of the material held by both sides to determine the factual position would be useful and, even if we do not agree on interpretation of facts, it will show the degree of agreement or disagreement and we are always prepared to have the material examined.

But appointment of such a commission would raise all kinds of difficulties. Our border is 2500 miles long and it is a very difficult mountainous area, sparsely populated, and sometimes with no population at all. The real question would, therefore, seem to depend on two factors:

- (i) examination of material including historical records, maps, revenue records, etc.; and
- (ii) it would also depend on some broad principle usually followed in determining the boundaries between countries which have especially a mountainous border area;

and that principle is the principle of high watershed. It does not mean that this principle is absolute and final for demarcating the boundary line, but it is one of the most important principles established in case of a highly mountainous and sparsely populated area.

As Your Excellency knows, there is difference of viewpoints on the boundary question; according to you, the boundary is undefined and undemarcated. We agree that the boundary is undemarcated on the ground; but we do not agree that it is not defined in the sense that it is now known precisely, although there may be some doubts here and there. But to say that all boundary is doubtful will bring us back to the original basic difference in approach.

A joint committee can hardly deal with this and it can at the most consider such material and try to lessen the area of disagreement. But the whole question is not only a geographical question but a political issue and such a committee would not be able to achieve much by wandering in high mountains. I would, therefore, suggest that we should jointly consider what the differences are from the material available with both sides and reduce the area of difference. It will take time but the persons can do the work here and can report to us. At least, that will make the facts clear. They can tell us about places where we agree, places where we disagree and places where there is misunderstanding. Your Excellency's proposals about a joint committee would, however, involve a long time and, secondly, it will also raise the question about status quo. What is meant by status quo? Would it mean that we are petrifying something that

we do not recognise today? Therefore, difficulties will arise. According to our information, a large number of roads have been built in Ladakh area. So, changes have taken place and they continue to take place.

If Your Excellency thinks it worthwhile, we can have two or three persons on each side and examine the question in a broad way.

Premier Chou: The time is very short and I cannot give an over-all reply today but I would talk about some individual matters:

- (1) You referred to the Aksai Chin incidents in 1958. Some Indian patrols entered Aksai Chin and they were arrested. But, we did reply to India's protest note on the subject. As regards Aksai Chin road, we did not make a reply because we regard it as Chinese territory and, therefore, did not think it necessary to send a reply but, later on, when argument continued on the subject, we made further clarifications on the subject.
- (2) You mentioned about new roads being built in Ladakh. Do you mean in Aksai Chin?

Prime Minister: I mean south of the road that has been built in Aksai Chin.

Premier Chou: Do you mean in the disputed area of Aksai Chin?

Prime Minister : I do not know what you mean. Perhaps more than Aksai Chin area is in dispute. What I meant was that these roads have been built in the area south of the road which has been built in Aksai Chin and is in the area which is shown in Chinese maps as belonging to China. It belongs to us.

Premier Chou: I do not know about this, but I will make enquiries. As far as I am aware, there is only one road which goes through Aksai Chin.

You suggested that both sides appoint some persons to look into the documents here. I will consult my colleagues whether the main documents have been brought here and are with us. As regards other questions, we will talk tomorrow.

(The talks then adjourned till 10 a.m. on April 22, 1960)

15. R.K. Nehru-Chou Talks ⁵³

[21 April 1960, 10.30 p.m. – 22 April 1960, 12.45 a.m.]

On 21.4.60, Ambassador R.K. Nehru⁵⁴ and Shrimati R.K. Nehru⁵⁵ called on Prime Minister Chou En-lai at Rashtrapati Bhavan at 10.30 p.m. Also present at the meeting were Marshal Chen Yi, Vice Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Mr. Chang Han-Fu, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, one Chinese Interpreter, Chinese Recorder and myself.⁵⁶

The meeting lasted two hours and fifteen minutes. Ambassador Nehru told the Prime Minister that he and his wife were grateful to Mr. Chou En-lai for having given them this opportunity to call on the Prime Minister and Marshal Chen Yi. Mr. Chou En-lai said that Marshal Chen Yi and he were happy to see Mr. and Mrs. R.K. Nehru and were sorry that they were not able to accept Chairman Mao's invitation to go to China in October 1959. Mr. Nehru said that apart from other considerations, the invitation had arrived at short notice. Moreover, events in the Arab world would not permit him to leave his post. Ambassador Nehru asked Mr. Chou En-lai for his views on the situation in Arab world.

Mr. Chou En-lai said that Marshal Chen Yi would answer the question since he was the Foreign Minister. Marshal Chen Yi said that the main feature was the continuing dispute between President Nasser⁵⁷ and General Kassem.⁵⁸ The other interesting point was that there were unresolved contradictions on the Arab question between the United States and the United Kingdom. United States was supporting Israel, whilst Britain was not willing to yield any ground to the Americans in Aden, Yemen, Oman etc. Marshal Chen Yi asked the Ambassador about the relations between the U.A.R. and the British Government. He wanted to know if there have been any improvements in the relations. The Ambassador replied that relations on the economic and financial points have certainly improved. Britain supports Kassem and because Britain is in control

53. 21 April 1960. P.N. Haksar Papers, NMML.

54. Ambassador to the UAR from 1958; Ambassador to China, 1955-58.

55. Rajan Nehru.

56. Noting in the margin: "Copy No I; SG/PM; 'Recorded by Mr Natwar Singh, Under Secretary, who went with me. A rather sketchy record' [signed by] R.K. Nehru 24/4/60; N.R. Pillai 25.4.60; J. Nehru 25/4; S. Dutt 28/4/60; [and marked to] Director, North [not signed].

57. President of the UAR.

58. Abdul Karim Kassem, the Prime Minister of Iraq.

in Aden, Kuwait, etc and also has relations with Israel, a complete rapprochement has not taken place. However, President Nasser is desirous of normalising the relations between Arab countries and countries both in the east and west. He is naturally facing some difficulties in the way of bringing about this normalisation. The U.A.R. has big economic problems, growing population and limited resources. Nevertheless, the emphasis is on internal development. Marshal Chen Yi agreed with this appraisal and he wanted to know if the livelihood of the people and the standard of living had improved or not. The Ambassador replied that in the last two years, particularly, there has been a considerable improvement in the life of the people. But there are no statistics available and it was not possible to give any definite information about this.

Mr. Chou En-lai asked the Ambassador about conditions in Damascus. The Ambassador said that in the Syrian region of the U.A.R. economic conditions during the last few years were not too good due to failure of rains. Syrian commerce has suffered because trade with Iraq had almost come to a standstill. President Nasser is aware of this and he has adopted a more liberal economic policy in Syria than in Egypt. Prime Minister Chou En-lai asked as to how the merger of Syria and Egypt had worked? The Ambassador said that there was a certain amount of discontent in Syria but the movement against the union was not very strong and the union had been accepted by the vast majority of the people. No Arab, not even communists, were against Arab unity. Opposition there is, but it is only confined to President Nasser's internal policies. All progressive elements in the Arab world even Mr. Baghdash,⁵⁹ want Arab unity. Marshal Chen Yi said that they were of the view that each Arab country could have its own, democratic and united front and above this should be an overall democratic organisation to fight oppressors and colonialists. President Nasser wants to be the head of the Arab world but other Arab leaders opposed this. Last year, China had irritated Egypt. But, now things are better. Ambassador Nehru said that India wanted solidarity and closer cooperation amongst Arab nations. After Syria, President Nasser is reluctant to accept merger with other Arab countries at present. He wants to consolidate the union and to promote solidarity and cooperation among the Arab States.

Mr. Chou En-lai asked the Ambassador the way in which this solidarity would come about. Ambassador Nehru said that one way would be to have common or similar policies, both internal and external. Mr. Chou En-lai said that on the whole the experience of Syria had not been very good and to this the Ambassador agreed.

59. Khalid Baghdash, Syrian Communist Party leader.

Mr. Chou En-lai said that they have some contact with the people in the Arab world and they have the feeling that the solidarity of the type wanted by the U.A.R. was not universally popular. President Nasser had succeeded in educating the people and a feeling of solidarity and unity came about specially when there was fear of foreign intervention. The background and history of these Arab countries with their local problems is coming in the way of this solidarity. For example, Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria were all French but they have different problems and the differences are to a large extent a hang-over of the imperialist days. The Ambassador said that not only old history but recent history played a part in this. Marshal Chen Yi said that the problem for these countries was to first solve the internal problems and then cope with the external ones. If internally there was disunity, then foreign interventions were bound to take place. Ambassador Nehru asked as to what these internal difficulties were in the opinion of the Marshal. Marshal Chen Yi said that owing to different beliefs; different nationalities, party disputes and the petroleum still in the imperialist hands, there was no significant land reform. In 1958, a danger was created by the imperialists and they wanted to interfere in the internal affairs of Iraq. But due to influence of India, China, Russia etc. the situation was saved. Now the imperialists are picking up internal problems. We have an Ambassador in Iraq but we have instructed him not to get involved in the internal affairs of Iraq. Ambassador Nehru asked the manner in which other countries were interfering in Iraq. Marshal Chen Yi said that they got different kinds of reports from the newspapers but now the situation was that there was general support for President Kassem. When Mr. Chou En-lai asked about the relations of Arab countries with Israel, the Ambassador said that the relations were, of course, tense, but this tension was sometimes aggravated by differences among Arab States which led one State to follow a more extreme line than the other.

The Ambassador then asked Mr. Chou En-lai to give his views on the upsurge in Africa. Mr. Chou En-lai said: this was the epoch of anti-colonialism and nationalism was the main event. Ambassador said that there were certain peculiar facets of the upsurge taking place in Africa e.g. nationalist upsurge; upsurge for independence; upsurge for racial equality. There was one such upsurge for unity and there were also certain factors which encouraged separatist tendencies and Prime Minister Chou En-lai said that they were independent movements but the imperialists left this legacy; they planted bad factors; encouraged separatism and conservatism. This has been so for over 100 years. This was also the case of nationalist movements of India and China. There was partition in India; imperialists left legacy in China—Taiwan. We have a similar problem in Tibet—the serf owners and serfs. In Indonesia there are still national rebels. Same is the case in Malaya and Singapore. Yet in spite

of this Asians have become independent and nothing can stop this and these countries must improve their lot.

Ambassador Nehru said that some of the small African countries do not seem to have the same kind of national background as the larger Asian countries etc. Countries like Nigeria, Togoland, etc., have a tribal background and this may be coming in the way of greater national cohesion. One of the dangers which some of these small countries seem to be facing is that external influences may seep in through the backdoor after independence. It is what the African nationalists call neo-colonialism. We in India have always felt that Asian-African understanding and co-operation was important and this we mentioned in our Joint Communiqué when President Nasser was here.⁶⁰

Mr. Chou En-lai thought Ambassador was quite correct. We must help these nations. On the other hand these nations have to gain their own experience. Imperialism united these nations internally and their phase of nationalism has got to go through fire—the most precious experience is that which you gain yourself. India and China are examples of this. Through long process our nations have been steeled through experience and become free. In the next 40 years of the 20th century imperialism will totally disappear although colonialists will try to hold out. But they are bound to fail particularly in context of world politics and the development of science and technology which all help nationalism.

The Ambassador said that because of this India, China and other countries must remain friends and nothing should be done to undermine this friendship.

To this Prime Minister Chou En-lai replied in the past year unfortunate events, some differences and misunderstandings had occurred between India and China. We must exert our joint efforts to dispel this dark cloud and it was now the great moment to do so. You have not been in China at this time and it is unfortunate that all this should have occurred when the new Ambassador took over.⁶¹ We maintain that all that has happened is not what we expected. But it was a logical outcome of the revolt in Tibet and the coming of the Dalai Lama into India.

Ambassador Nehru said that he was out of touch with the events in China and Tibet but since his return to India, he had become aware of the deep shock which the people of India had experienced. The vast majority of the people wanted friendship with China, but friendship was only possible if each country respected the vital interests and rights and the national dignity of the other. The shock to Indian opinion was very great and Prime Minister Nehru had expressed

60. For Nasser's visit, see SWJN/SS/59/items 197-199.

61. G. Parthasarathi, in 1958.

it in moderate terms. Ambassador Nehru said he did not wish to go into details but he was expressing the general feelings of people of India.

Mr. Chou En-lai said, in China the Chinese had received just as much a shock as the Indian people. But the Chinese Government and the Communist Party have always restrained their resentment. China and Chinese people have true friendship for India and our solidarity is very vital not only for ourselves but for the world. The revolt in Tibet was very serious and a said affair and Dalai Lama's carrying out his revolt gave a great jolt to our people. Because of his religious belief we had respected Dalai Lama and therefore we had postponed the reforms in Tibet. I had mentioned this to Prime Minister Nehru in 1957. But that same year some Tibetans in India, particularly in Kalimpong, put pressure on Dalai Lama and carried out anti-Chinese propaganda and this assistance and encouragement from outside encouraged the Dalai Lama to oppose the reforms and instigated the revolt. He wanted to do away with the nationalist people's liberation army and also to throw out the Han people. All this happened before the actual revolt. Ambassador Nehru will recollect that the Chairman Mao Tse Tung himself told him that the Chinese Government had postponed reforms in Tibet and reduced the size of their army from 50,000 to 20,000 and also withdrawn some of the cadres. In 1957 January I had spoken to Dalai Lama about this when he was in India in 1957. In spite of all this the revolt was started in Tibet. We had the power to imprison and arrest the Dalai Lama but the three letters that he wrote to us deceived us⁶² and he succeeded in escaping to India. We have no objection to the Indian Government granting political asylum to the Dalai Lama. All countries have a right to do so. But the Dalai Lama is today carrying out anti-Chinese activities and encouraging the movement for an independent Tibet. This is beyond the definition of political asylum. Very recently, Tibetans in India celebrated the first anniversary of the revolt in Tibet at Kalimpong. This was naturally not liked by our people. Some people in India, and they are responsible people, say that we are suppressing the Tibetans. But we are liberating them by changing their lives by removing serfdom. But certain people in the upper strata of public opinion in India, although small they are, say that we are suppressing the Tibetans. We are shocked by this attitude and the developments in Tibet have a direct bearing to the border problem.

Ambassador Nehru said that every country had its own way of functioning and in a democratic set up of life like ours, it is only natural that people should give vent to their resentment publicly and there is no way by which a democratic government can prevent them from doing so. But this should not undermine our friendship.

62. See SWJN/SS/47/p. 475.

Mr. Chou En-lai said that for a long time last year, on the Tibet question, there was violent anti-Chinese propaganda carried out. It was continued from January to June 1959 but this anti-Chinese propaganda had started several months before the reforms in Tibet and this propaganda was carried out not by few but by responsible political parties, members of the Parliament and other responsible people in India. But all that is over now.

Yet the Dalai Lama and his group continue to carry out anti-Chinese activities and let me assure you that his activities are not going to have any effect on Tibetans. Although we are distressed at the attitude of the Indian Government towards the Dalai Lama, we did not mention this for a long time, though our people were shocked and pained.

On this question, there are other reasons on our side and Marshal Chen Yi has mentioned these to Sardar Swaran Singh and I mentioned to Mr. Krishna Menon. It is beyond our comprehension as to how a country like India can support the tyrannical serf-holders of Tibet.

Ambassador Nehru asked has the revolt in Tibet any direct bearing on the border question? To this the Prime Minister Chou En-lai said, Yes. He said that we were aware of the fact that there existed a dispute between our two countries about eastern border. I have told Prime Minister Nehru that this question could be solved by peaceful means. We are, of course, not willing to agree to the Mac Mahon Line but we assure you that we will not cross Mac Mahon Line and enter Indian territory. This has been our understanding all along but at the time of the Tibet revolt, India mentioned the Simla Convention and asked us to accept the Mac Mahon Line and also 1842 Treaty. We are not willing to accept either of them and we resent this new development. The Simla Convention of 1913⁶³ was imposed on Tibet by the Imperialists and the Central Government of China did not recognise it. Both of us are new countries and we can solve the border question in the same way as we have solved the disputes with Nepal but in no circumstances are we going to accept or recognise the secret convention signed by Imperialists. Even Chiang Kai Shek did not accept the Simla Convention. How can Independent India and independent China be a party to this Convention? For us, it is absolutely impossible to do so. But some responsible people in India want to impose this upon us. I want to again repeat that both these treaties were mentioned for the first time to us at the time of the Tibet Revolt. Mr. Chou En-lai continued as for the western sector what you call Ladakh and what we call Aksaichin, has always been ours and certainly for the last 200 years. All our old maps show this. Of course, there are certain

63. As in the record; but in fact 1914.

minor discrepancies in some of our maps but there is no doubt that the Central Government of China for the last 200 years has exercised jurisdiction in that area. In 1950 we sent troops to Tibet from this territory and also to Sinkiang. Then we built a road there. We get supplies from this area. To all this India has never objected. It was only in 1958 that an Indian patrol party was sent to this area and this party we disarmed and sent back to India. In 1959, India raised a point that the border question in the west should follow the 1842 Treaty. We have seen this Treaty and are convinced that there is nothing in the Treaty which says that this region belongs to India. To us, this Indian demand is both new and shocking and has irritated our people very much. I have given all these details and background of this in my letter of the 26th December, 1959.⁶⁴ But, in spite of that letter we were willing to consider settling the eastern border, accept the Indian jurisdiction upto the McMahon Line and assure that we will not cross it. So, in the east a settlement can be found. We have never made any territorial claims but India says we have. Our people resent this and this has made this problem very difficult. But the responsibility is not ours. What has happened is very unexpected from our friends. I am placing before you the actual position. Our aim is still to explore ways to settlement. As I have told you, we do not stress in public but I want to tell you all the facts. Only in the past two years things have become very complicated and we know that non-settlement of this problem will harm us both. That is why, we have come to Delhi to try and reach some sort of a settlement and not to emphasise our differences. Whether we succeed or not, is to be seen. But our friendship is the most important thing. If we cannot settle now, we can find other and gradual ways and means to solve this problem. You, Mr. Ambassador are deeply interested in India-China friendship and you know the background of our Tibet policy. Chairman Mao Tse Tung had himself told you about this policy several times. You would recollect that Chairman Mao Tse Tung told you about this when you were leaving China and when he saw you at Canton. So whenever there are any differences, we think of you and that is why we invited you again because you understand our position. Because we are friends, that is why I have told you all this.

The Ambassador said that he agreed with the Prime Minister that friendship was essential between India and China not only in the interest of the two countries, but of Asia and the world. However, he would repeat that a friendly settlement was only possible if the vital interests, national dignity and rights of both the countries were respected. We all hope that step by step, these difficulties

64. It was a note, not a letter; see SWJN/SS/56/Appendix 1.

will be solved and friendship will be restored—I am grateful to you for your invitation to come to China and I hope some time or other I will be able to come again. Marshal Chen Yi then said that he hoped that a settlement could be reached on the basis of mutual respect and mutual accommodation. Our friendship is the greatest thing; the border question is subsidiary. To this Ambassador Nehru replied that for India the border question was not a subsidiary matter. It was of vital importance. He would like to draw the attention of the Vice Premier to the fact that the border from Peking was 3,000 miles away, but from Delhi it was only a few hundred miles and that made a tremendous difference and affected our security.

Mr. Chou En-lai said in regard to security, we treat our southern boundary as boundary of peace. Chairman Mao Tse Tung has said that our enemy lies in the east and will come from the sea. We take India as a friendly country and we cannot turn our southern border into a national front. Mr. Ambassador, you have mentioned security, dignity and friendship. Between us, there can be no other way and it is impossible for us to show weapons to each other and even to mention them.

Marshal Chen Yi again emphasised that war between India and China was inconceivable. Prime Minister Nehru had said so in the Parliament. We must solve this problem in a friendly way. Ambassador Nehru said that war between two countries like India and China could not be a small affair. It would involve the whole world.

Mr. Chou En-lai said that war between us was out of question and when we refer to friendly settlement of the border question, we do so in all sincerity and we are not thinking of taking any precautions against each other but our endeavour should be to put each other at ease, especially India. You know how high the plateau of Tibet is and we cannot help placing our troops there and as I have said earlier, we had reduced our army there from 50,000 to 20,000. But events in Tibet last year, upset this.

Ambassador Nehru said that apart from the border question, there are reports of a great concentration of troops on the Indian borders. Naturally, this had a strong reaction in India. Why have these troops been sent there? We also have reports of building of airfields.

Mr. Chou En-lai said that there were more aerodromes on the Indian side than on the Chinese side of the border. There was only one aerodrome in Tibet.

Ambassador Nehru said that the Himalayas are vital for India and we have to defend them. In so many other ways, they are part of India's history, culture and religion. We want our border to be a peaceful border and not a military one. Your Excellency will recollect that I had suggested when I was in China that we should have free and peaceful intercourse between India and the Tibetan

region. We should have a peaceful and model border. I had also suggested that there should be an air Service between Lhasa and India so that people could move freely between the two countries. I earnestly hope that your talks will succeed, but I cannot minimise the deep concern of our people about recent events. Even those elements in India who are extremely friendly to China, have been upset by Chinese activities on the border.

Mr. Chou En-lai said that Himalayas mean much to them also. We have the same sentiments for them as you have. However, our endeavour should be to settle this question peacefully and as quickly as possible and this is why we are here. He again repeated that as a result of his visit some solution would be found which would help to "bring about step by step settlement."

At about 1 a.m. the Ambassador said that he had taken too much of Chinese Prime Minister's time and he thanked him for meeting him.

16. Nehru-Chou Talks IV⁶⁵

IV

(April 22 - 10 a.m. to 1 p.m.)

Premier Chou : We now have had two days' talks. Both sides have repeatedly stated their position and viewpoints on many questions. Yesterday, we made some new points and you also put forward some views on the Simla Convention and made a new proposal. I think this preliminary seeking of avenues should have a destination. Therefore, today I propose to deal with the question in three parts :

- (1) Facts—I would like to present those facts on which our viewpoints are closer to each other;
- (2) Common Grounds—From the beginning I have said that we have come here to find common grounds because it is only from this that we can reach agreement on principles;
- (3) The original proposal and new proposal by Prime Minister—I will reply to Prime Minister's proposal and also would like to make a counter-proposal.

I. Facts: (i) Eastern Sector. On the eastern sector of the boundary, we also had a traditional and customary line. But the situation later changed. This line had appeared even in maps published by the British, including

65. Source: see fn 18 in this section "Chou En-lai's Visit."

those published in India by them during the years 1880 to 1936, and this customary line has always appeared to the south instead of the McMahon Line. Between this traditional and customary line and the McMahon line, there was an area occupied by many tribes (as many as 6). As accounts by various travellers would also prove, most of the tribes were under Tibet.

When the British were in India for a considerable period of time, they kept the line to the south and this line was not changed till 1936. The British only established some connections with some of the tribes to the north of the line. Between 1911 and 1913, i.e., on the eve of the fixing of the McMahon line, the British gradually pushed to the north of the line; but even after McMahon line was fixed, they did not very much push forward towards the north and the line still continued to be drawn in the south. During the Second World War, Britain suffered many losses in Burma and the British pushed to the north of the customary line and divided the area into several districts. The British started pushing intensively towards the north from 1942 and the local Tibetan Government repeatedly protested against this and the Central Chinese Government also raised protest against this through Sinkiang.

As to the maps, not till 1936, i.e., 22 years after the Simla Convention and the exchange of notes, did a line to the north of the customary line appear on these maps, but it was still called "undemarcated". Such maps were in use even after Indian independence. It was only in 1954 that the word "undemarcated" was removed and the line to the north was shown as an ordinary "firm" boundary line. Even after Indian independence, administration did not spread to this area at once. As Your Excellency has said, it spread only gradually and, even till 1950, Monyul area (Kameng) still continued to be under Tibet. It was only after 1951 that the Tibetan administration withdrew from Kameng area and it was not till 1954 that the Indian administration was extended to the entire area and the north-eastern administration was formed and came directly under Indian administration.

The notes exchanged in 1914 at the Simla Convention did not form a dividing line. We cannot say that the McMahon line was fixed as a result of exchange of notes, since the Central Government did not recognise it and the change of situation had no absolute relation with fixing of the line.

Your Excellency mentioned about Simla Convention and the notes then secretly exchanged.

From the beginning, mention of this (Simla Convention and the notes) has been a shock to the Chinese people, and it hurt their feelings because these are the legacies of Imperialism. Your Excellency yourself mentioned

in a friendly way that, after the Younghusband expedition, the British Government obtained many special rights in Tibet and, that after Indian independence, India gave those up out of friendship for China. It was precisely in this period, starting from the Younghusband expedition, that the British tried to use their special rights in order to split Tibet from China, completely or partly, and it was also in this period that the British coined the word "suzerainty". They also brought pressure on China and Tibet to come to India and negotiate with McMahon. Moreover, the British representative, without letting the Chinese representatives know about it, secretly exchanged notes in Delhi before the Simla Convention was signed and the McMahon line was fixed as a result of this exchange of notes. Then, this line was put on an attached map to the proceedings of the Simla Convention, as part of the line between inner and outer Tibet. The British thus tried to sneak the map in. It is true that Ivan Chen⁶⁶ did initial it; but he immediately stated that his initialing it would not make it valid unless it was approved by his Government, and the then Chinese Government, the Government of Yuan Shih-Kai, did not approve the Convention. Mr. Wellington Koo,⁶⁷ who is now a Judge of the International Court at the Hague and who was then a diplomatic officer of the Chinese Foreign Office, can testify to this. Even the Government of India acknowledges that the Simla Convention could not be binding on the Chinese Government. That Convention cannot be valid only because the Tibetan representatives signed it and this for two reasons:

- (a) treaties signed by Tibet previously had to be approved by Chinese Government before they become valid and the Chinese Government has pre-1914 documents to prove this; and
- (b) The British also recognised that any treaty with Tibet would be valid only if the Chinese Government approved of it, and the Chinese Government has also pre-1914 documents to prove this.

I would, therefore, like to mention in a friendly manner that it would be better if the Simla Convention is not brought up as a legal basis for Indian claim. But the Government of India did it in the past year and that is why the problem became complicated. I would once again like to mention that the Simla Convention and the notes cannot be accepted by the Chinese Government at all. One may then ask—is it impossible to settle our dispute in the eastern sector? No.

66. Chinese representative to the Simla Conference (1913-1914), Ivan Chen (Chen I-fan).

67. Secretary to Yuan Shih-Kai, President of China, at the time of the Simla Conference, 1913-14.

In the past 10 years or so, our thinking has been as follows: We realise that there is a dispute and we think that, if both sides take into account not only the historical background but actual situation, a reasonable settlement is possible.

As regards the historical situation, first the line in this sector was to the south and later if changed to the north. The tribes in between were not under the British rule from the beginning. They were not entirely under Tibet, but some certainly were. Therefore, the area is a disputed area and we say that the boundary in this sector was never delimited or fixed or demarcated.

As regards actual situation, after Indian independence, the Government of India gradually pushed on and, at two or three points, India even exceeded the McMahon line. We have checked this with documents relating to the McMahon line which are in our possession.

In view of this actual situation, we take the following position:

- (a) We say that we cannot recognise the McMahon line;
- (b) but we will not cross that line since Indian troops have already reached it; and
- (c) as regards two or three points, where Indians have exceeded the McMahon line, we are willing to maintain the status quo pending negotiations.

We have brought in all these historical facts only to show that there has been a dispute for long and that the boundary is not delimited. We did not make any claims, nor did we put forward any pre-requisites for talks.

I would like to add that, when I mentioned two or three points, I referred to the following:-

- (1) Tamadem: The Chinese Government appreciated that the Government of India withdrew Forces when it was pointed out to them that they had exceeded the McMahon line there;
- (2) Longju and Kinzeman: We have checked with our maps attached to the notes and we found that these are north of the McMahon line. Between Longju and Migyton, there are no high peaks. These are, however, minor points.

(ii) Western Sector : Now, as regards the western sector of the boundary, Sinkiang had long historical relations with China dating to as early as Han dynasty (2000 years ago) and we have uninterrupted historical records to prove this. Since then, the British maps published upto 1862 are approximately the same as the Chinese maps. When I say British maps, we also include the Survey of India maps. This delineation of the western

sector of the boundary has a basis, namely, the Karakoram watershed. The Karakoram has a very high peak called the Khunlun mountain which lies between Sinkiang and Tibet and which is the line of demarcation between Sinkiang and Tibet. On its left is the Kara, to the west is the Karakoram range, whose watershed divides Hunza from Sinkiang and the watershed between Sinkiang and Ladakh. Karakoram extends right upto the Kongka Pass. To the south of this are Chang-Chenmo, Pangong Lake and the Indus valley. If we talk about geographical features in the eastern sector, then such are the features for the western sector.

From 1862 to 1943, many British Indian maps drew no line here but showed the region in a colour shade which went deep into Chinese territory and, therefore, these maps were different from the maps obtaining in China. But even then, these maps clearly showed this sector of the boundary was "undefined". In 1950, after the Indian independence, maps similar to the present Indian maps came into circulation—the colour shade had gone, but still the boundaries were called "undefined". It was only in 1954 that an ordinary boundary line was drawn and the word "undefined" was removed. Therefore, there are four stages: one upto 1862, when the maps were close to the Chinese maps; in the second and third stages, some changes took place. Firstly, the colour shade moved more into Chinese territory, but later on the coloured area approximated to the area now included in the Indian maps; and in the fourth stage, the boundary was marked as "defined."

Your Excellency mentioned that in 1953 some change was made in the Indian maps in Hunza area and that it was to the advantage of China. We have not found this map of India; but we noticed that, in the present Indian maps and in the present Pakistan maps, there is a difference here in this area. In the Pakistan maps, the area here extends into Chinese territory. In the Indian maps, the boundary line is further to the south; but it is still not in accordance with the watershed.

With reference to administrative jurisdiction in the western sector, ever since Sinkiang became part of China in the 18th century, it has been a part of Khotan (Ho-tien). All water systems north of the Kongka pass and Karakoram flow towards the north. Chinese administration has always reached Aksai Chin area. In the year 1891 to 1892, the Manchu Government sent people to Karakoram and Chian-Chenmo valley for carrying out surveys. These people confirmed that our boundaries lay here. We have records to prove this. The K.M.T. also surveyed the Kongka pass. In fact, the local Government in Sinkiang had invited some Soviet experts to come and do the survey.

So, on Chinese maps this sector has always been as it is. Minor inaccuracies may be possible, because the maps are small-scale maps; but the general direction of the boundary has never changed on our maps.

As I mentioned yesterday, we never realised that there was any dispute in this area. This sector of the boundary is also unfixed and undemarcated; but it is only two years ago, when Indian soldiers intruded into our territory, and particularly, since March last year, when the Government of India mentioned in one of their notes about the 1842 treaty, that we first came to know about this. But we feel that there is no basis for India's claim to this territory. The Indian Government asked us to withdraw the troops from the area which has been historically a part of China. Like this, it will be impossible to find a solution.

If we discuss the boundary, then we discuss both the sectors as being undelimited or unfixed and we cannot accept any territorial claims.⁶⁸

(iii) Middle Sector:- A comparison of our maps show that, in this sector, the boundary line is basically the same. There are only 9 places where there are individual disputes, but these can be settled separately in the boundary talks. I would only like to add a word about what we in Chinese call Polin Samdo. It is the same as Pulam Bumda. We have checked with maps other than Chinese and this place is the same as the one which is fixed as a trade mart in the Sino-Indian Agreement on Tibet.

II. Common Ground:- If we seek avenues to settlement, we must have common ground. Is there any common ground? I think there is.

(i) On the question whether the boundary line is determined or delimited or not, we must have a common understanding. From that, we can see in eastern sector it is not defined and, therefore, we must discuss it. You say that, in the eastern sector, it is determined and that the Chinese Government should accept it as such. But we think it should be settled through negotiations, because the situation has changed not only before but also after the Indian independence.

In the western sector, we say we have a traditional customary line. But the Indian Government objects, saying that the boundary line should be to the east of this customary line. I have pointed out that Indian maps have changed four times. So, how can we say that the boundary in this area is determined or delimited?

68. See item 17 "Rebuttal of Chou En-lai's Points of 22 April 1960."

In the middle sector, the boundary line has been basically the same, but it has [n]ever⁶⁹ been demarcated.

Therefore, we must have some common understanding and we think that it is possible to have such an understanding. The boundary line has to be fixed by negotiations.

Your Excellency was quite right when you said the other day that we must seek a solution which brings no defeat to any side and that it should be reasonable, equitable and friendly.

- (ii) Although our boundary is not formally delimited or fixed, there exists a line of actual control. In the eastern sector, it is the McMahon line, and, on the western sector, the line is the Karakoram and Kongka pass. By the line of actual control, I mean that administrative personnel as well as patrolling troops of one side have both reached upto that line.

In the middle sector also, there is a line of actual control. This is a common ground and this can be considered as a basis for determining our boundary dispute.

- (iii) When we consider geographical conditions for delimiting a boundary, watershed is not the only condition. In the eastern sector, there is the Himalayan mountain and its watershed, but four valleys cut across this watershed.

In the western sector also, there is a watershed; but there are also valleys like Chiang-Chenmo, Pangang⁷⁰ and Indus Valley. If we take the watershed principle, it should be made applicable to both sectors. Similarly, also the principle of valleys.

In the central sector, there is a geographical feature of mountain passes. This also can be made equally applicable to all sectors.

- (iv) Since we are going to have friendly negotiations, neither side should put forward claims to an area which is no longer under its administrative control. For example, we made no claim in the eastern sector to areas south of the line, but India made such claims in the western sector.

It is difficult to accept such claims and the best thing is that both sides do not make such territorial claims.

Of course, there are individual places which need to be readjusted individually, but that is not a territorial claim.

- (v) We should also take into account national feelings. Your Excellency and some other friends yesterday mentioned to me about Indians having

69. "never" in P. N. Haksar Papers.

70. "Pangong" in P. N. Haksar Papers.

deep feelings towards Himalayas. We readily acknowledge this. But, similarly, the Chinese people and other adjoining countries, like Nepal and Bhutan, also have feelings for Himalayas. People both to the north and the south of the Himalayas thus have common feelings around Himalayas. This is a common point and Himalayas should become a mountain of friendship between China and India and other adjoining countries.

You can also appreciate that the Chinese, particularly the Sinkianese, have the same feelings towards Karakoram (which are called in ancient Chinese "Tsung" mountains) and this should also become a mountain of friendship. This kind of feeling is most precious for maintaining friendly relations.

III. New proposals: I have already mentioned that there is divergence of facts and basis on both sides. I have mentioned five points as our common grounds.

You put a proposal yesterday. It seems to us quite impossible for both sides to reach a conclusion on examination of the material in a few days' time. When you start such an examination, more documents naturally come in. I came here mainly for reaching an agreement on principles; and, therefore, we have not brought with us any original documents.

The joint committee may take somewhat long time, but its main duty will be to examine documents and maps and, if necessary, it may do on the spot investigations. After facts are clarified, we can achieve some common understanding like the viewpoint mentioned above by me. We may also fix some time-limit for the committee to submit its report, either jointly or separately, and then afterwards we will again hold talks at a higher level. Secondly, I would like to repeat that, while the joint committee is still functioning and the negotiations are still going on, status quo should be maintained. By status quo, I mean maintaining lines where administrative jurisdiction of each side has reached.

In order to maintain the status quo, even after the boundary line is determined, we should make it a line of friendship and, for this purpose, Forces of both sides should be removed from the border. The distance to which each Force should be removed can be decided by mutual agreement and in accordance with favourable geographical features.

Merely stopping of the patrolling of the border will not remove danger. According to our information, Indian troops at Kinzeman started patrolling recently and advanced several kilometers towards the north-west side. However, we have strictly ordered our outposts to avoid any contact; but,

if the troops are near to each other on the border, there is always a danger of conflict.

I should be glad to hear your views on this.

In addition, I may mention that, if you wish to show us any material in order to explain your basis of arguments, we shall also be happy to see it.

I have taken a long time, but I have said all that I wanted to say and have also stated the facts on which we have made our statements. The purpose of doing this is to try to reach an agreement on principles which we think is possible through talks. Some document also could be produced. If we could reach such an agreement, it would facilitate easing of tension and it will be in the interest of friendship and world peace.

Prime Minister: I am grateful to Your Excellency for the pains that you have taken in giving us a detailed survey of your position. You have referred to many points relating to facts and many matters. Obviously, if I deal with all these matters now, it will take as much time, if not more, and there is no time for it now.

Facts are certainly most important. It is on the basis of facts that opinions are formed. In regard to facts also, however, there may be a difference of opinion. But, broadly speaking, we shall be able to have some common basis over most, if not all, of the facts.

Now, I find that there is a very big difference—on past history and present facts. I can, of course, put my view of the facts. I have, however, been wondering whether we should not deal with the facts, since they are so important, in a more concise and definite way. We should take any sector and go into that with some exactitude over maps, etc., and precise references. If you want precision, we may have one or two advisers with maps or perhaps they can take up the matter separately.

Your Excellency referred to the eastern sector and you also stated your objection to the McMahon Line and Simla Convention. We do not say McMahon Line or the Simla Conference is the final decision. But we raised it as a piece of historical evidence and, along with other factors, it certainly is an important piece. That part, which you call the tribal part where rather primitive tribes live, has always been under the direct political control of whatever Government had existed in India. Actual administration varied greatly. Britain was not interested in the progress of the tribes. They were only interested in exercising influence over them and they also had some treaties with them. But this was so, not only in eastern sector, but also in the North-Western Frontier Province. Actually they showed the fully administered areas in one way and the other areas under influence in another way. That is why some confusion may arise. But after

independence we could not treat any of our population differently. Therefore, we brought them under our administrative apparatus (like opening of schools, hospitals, etc.)

That may create some misunderstanding. But in the central, eastern and the western sectors of the boundary, we have had, during the last hundred years or more, numerous precise surveys and we have made maps 1 inch to 2 miles or 1 inch to 4 miles. There have also been geographical surveys in abundance practically every few years and, if necessary, I can give names of the leaders of the surveying teams and the years in which they were held.

As regards the western sector adjoining Sinkiang and Tibet, for almost all the area, we have so many records of surveys and revenue collection which would show that this area was under continuous control and occupation of the Kashmir State Government.

I wonder whether Your Excellency knows about a certain small village of Minsar in Tibet. It is completely isolated from the Indian areas. It is about 130 miles from our border in Ladakh and is on the caravan route from Gartok to Manasarovar. It is an interesting survival of old days. In accordance with old treaties, it has been a part of Ladakh in Kashmir and it is quite isolated in Tibet. People of this place paid revenue to the Kashmir Government till recently. Every two years, the Kashmir officials went to Minsar and collected revenue and came back. This went on upto 1950. It is rather odd, but it is an old relic and it is a symbol and some evidence of old treaties being honoured.⁷¹

In these old treasury and revenue records, we have good evidence of continuing control and occupation of the whole Ladakh area.

Then, take, for example, the northern portion bordering Sinkiang. I think I am right in saying that Sinkiang never came beyond Kuenlun mountain. It reached Karakoram Pass in 1892.

I am just mentioning a few odd facts which throw light on the frontier situation. If we go into them more precisely, we get a more connected picture.

I have just mentioned Minsar. I was also told by Bhutan Government that they have enclaves right in Tibet from where they collected revenues for a number of years. These are, of course, old relics, but they serve to throw light on the situation.

Your Excellency mentioned about neither side putting forward any territorial claims. I agree. In fact, to make such claims has been repugnant to us and is out of keeping with our approach to problems.

The question is mainly factual. When it is admitted that certain territories are attached to certain areas, then the question ends. Take again, for example,

71. For a note on Minsar by Nehru, see SWJN/SS/58/item 209.

the eastern part of Ladakh. Considerable part of it is at present in Chinese occupation. According to us, this occupation is only a recent one, in the last one or two years. In some other parts, like northern Ladakh, it may be longer, but these changes are recent changes. We have enough evidence of people going to eastern Ladakh in the last 11 years and finding no trace of any Chinese there.

As regards eastern sector, we stand by our well established boundaries in this area which were not made by the McMahon Line or the Simla Convention, but were only confirmed by it.

Since a great deal depends upon facts, if we can reduce our differences as regards facts, it might help. Otherwise, we would be still on moving foundation.

Premier Chou: Regarding collection of taxes in Minsar, we also collected taxes in the eastern sector till 1950. Regarding examination of material, if you think it is useful to prove your point of view, we shall certainly be happy to see it. But we have not brought our material with us and moreover it will only waste time if we were to look into it. Perhaps we may do as follows: Some people from our party can go to the External Affairs Ministry where some of your own officers can sit with them and they can take down and make notes.

Prime Minister: I agree and, if it is convenient, your officers can go to the Ministry at 3-30 in the afternoon.

(It was decided that three or four officers from each side will meet in the External Affairs Ministry at 3-30 p.m.)

(P.M. gave instructions that a full picture about our case on the western sector with reference to maps and old records may be given to the Chinese).⁷²

72. See item 22 "Meeting of Officials."

17. Rebuttal of Chou En-lai's Points of 22 April 1960⁷³

Appendix I

Comments on Certain Observations Made by Premier Chou En-lai
During Talks on April 22, 1960

Western Sector

1. Sinkiang had long historical relations with China going back to nearly 2000 years.

This statement is on the whole correct. Our point is that China had lost control of Sinkiang in the 19th century and only regained it in 1878; and the southern limits of Sinkiang only came down to the Karakoram pass and the Kuen Lun mountain in 1892.

2. The British maps published up to 1862 are approximately the same as the Chinese maps.

Premier Chou En-lai obviously has in mind Walker's Map of 1854. Walker drew this map on the basis of the maps of Strachey and Vigne and had no knowledge of northern and eastern Aksai Chin. Walker himself corrected this alignment in his later map of 1868. It may be added that, though Walker's map of 1854 did not include the Aksai Chin area within Ladakh, the Chinese maps also did not show the boundary of Sinkiang South of the Kuen Lun mountains.

3. The Karakoram range has a very high peak called the Kuen Lun which lies between Sinkiang and Tibet and which is the line of demarcation between Sinkiang and Tibet.

This statement confuses the Karakoram and the Kuen Lun mountains. If the Kuen Lun mountains form the boundary between Sinkiang and Tibet, then it destroys the other Chinese argument that 80% of the present area now claimed by China was a part of Sinkiang.

4. The Karakoram is the watershed dividing Hunza and Sinkiang, and Sinkiang and Ladakh.

It is correct to say that the watershed divides Hunza and Sinkiang; but to say that the Karakoram range is the watershed range between Sinkiang and Ladakh once more brings Sinkiang south of the Kuen Lun mountains, an argument dropped by Chou En-lai in his previous sentence.

5. The Karakoram range extends right upto the Kongka Pass.

This is incorrect. The main Karakoram range lies further west in Indian territory.

73. Unsigned, undated, probably 22 April 1960. This is an appendix in the original dossier. Source: see fn 18 in this section "Chou En-lai's Visit." Also available in P.N. Haksar Papers, NMML.

6. To the south of this are Chang Chenmo, the Pangong lake and the Indus valley.

Premier Chou En-lai does not state where the boundary cuts the Chang Chenmo, the Pangong lake and the Indus valley.

7. If we talk about geographical features in the eastern sector, then such are the features in the western sector.

The features followed by our traditional alignment are geographically quite sound because, except where the Karakash cuts across it, they form a watershed between the Indus and the Khotan systems.

8. From 1862 to 1943 many British Indian maps drew no line here but showed the region in a colour shade and the boundary as undefined.

This is not true, for although a few maps showed the extent of Indian territory by a colour shade, many maps including Walker's Map of Turkestan, the map attached to Drew's book *Jammoo and Kashmir* and the maps attached to the Imperial Gazetteer of India (1907) clearly showed the boundary line.

9. In 1950, maps similar to the present Indian maps came into circulation but still the boundaries were called undefined.

The word "undefined" was used in the sense of "undemarcated".

10. It was only in 1954 that an ordinary boundary line was drawn and the word "undefined" was removed.

This was because it was then decided that, as the boundary was along a permanent mountain range, no demarcation was necessary.

11. To the north of Kashmir, the boundary line in Indian maps is still not in accordance with the watershed.

This is not true. Premier Chou En-lai himself has admitted earlier that the boundary between Hunza and Sinkiang follows the watershed. From the Karakoram pass, the boundary follows the watershed between the Yarkand system in Sinkiang and Shyok system in India upto a point north-east of Haji Langar; then it follows the crest of the Kuen Lun mountains which is also the main watershed in the region.

12. Administratively, ever since Sinkiang became part of China in the 18th Century, it has been a part of Khotan.

As shown earlier, the administration neither of Khotan, nor of Yarkand, extended below the Kuen Lun.

13. All water systems north of the Kongka pass and the Karakoram flow towards the north.

Actually, except for the Karakash river, all other rivers and streams flow south. They mostly flow eastwards and either dry up or flow into the lakes in the Aksai Chin area.

14. Chinese administration has always reached Aksai Chin area. In the

year 1891-92, the Manchu Government sent people to Kongka pass and Chang Chenmo valley for carrying out surveys. These people confirmed that our boundaries lie here. We have records to prove this. The K.M.T. also surveyed the Kongka pass. In fact, the local Government in Sinkiang had invited some Soviet experts to come and do the survey.

Had this been true, it is impossible that Chinese maps until today would be so crude and elementary. Very few of them show the features correctly. Many of them do not show any features at all. At best the Chinese may have crude sketches prepared by a few of their travellers in this area. These cannot be called surveys. We have with us a number of very detailed accounts of our exploration and survey parties who visited the area and fixed trigonometrical points and prepared scientific maps. Our records, therefore, are better evidence of our jurisdiction than any records the Chinese can produce.

15. On Chinese maps this sector has always been as it is, except for minor inaccuracies.

This is incorrect. Chinese maps of the 18th and 19th centuries showed the boundary of Sinkiang on the Kuen Lun. Similarly, the maps of the early 20th century and the Postal map of 1917 also showed the boundary on the Kuen Lun. It is only after the 1920s that Chinese maps began showing an alignment south of the Kuen Lun. But, again, between the Shun Pao map of 1934-1935 and the 1951 Ta Ching Kua map of New Tibet, there is considerable difference. The Shun Pao map shows the entire Chang Chenmo valley in India.

18. Swaran Singh-Chen Yi Talks⁷⁴

[22 April 1960 – begins 10.40 a.m.]

Notes on the conversation held between Sardar Swaran Singh
and Marshal Chen Yi

Sardar Swaran Singh called on Mr. Chen Yi at Rashtrapati Bhavan
at 10.40 a.m. on the 22nd April, 1960. Mr. Chen Yi was assisted
by Mr. Chang Han-fu, Vice-Foreign Minister

Sardar Swaran Singh: Yesterday's talks had been very useful in understanding the Chinese viewpoints on various aspects of the situation facing the two countries. You had previously referred to the Sino-Burmese and Sino-Nepalese agreements on border disputes. We have seen the press reports

74. New Delhi, 22 April 1960. P.N. Haksar Papers, NMML.

CY refers to Chen Yi and CHF to Chang Han-fu.

on these agreements but it would be helpful if Your Excellency gave us a little background of these new agreements made by China with Burma and Nepal.

Mr. Chen Yi: Mr. Chang Han-fu will elaborate on these. He would only like to speak about the following points which came up last night in the discussion with Mr. R.K. Nehru. In the frank and friendly talks which we had Mr. R.K. Nehru raised the following point towards the end which needs some elaboration. The point made by Mr. R.K. Nehru was that the place in Ladakh where the incident took place was about 3,000 square miles from Peking. On the other hand, it was only 200 miles or so from Delhi. This had naturally perturbed Indians and made them think about their own security. It was important that there was a solution based on honour and self-respect of the two countries friendly to each other. Now, I would like to talk about this point since our Indian friends feel uneasy about it.

The United States is 6,000 to 7,000 kilos away from China. Yet, it has military bases all around China and the Seventh Fleet in the Western Pacific and there are guided missiles and atomic warheads in the area also. They want to attack China because they are imperialists and we are a communist country.

India and China have always had brotherly relations. It is not possible with our two countries, be they far or be they close, to threaten each other. The imperialists, however, far away though they may be, still threaten us. It is inconceivable for one party to attack another. The apprehensions in the minds of each other must be removed. If China attacks India, the whole world would support India and if India attacks China, the whole world would support China.

The imperialism and colonialism are our common enemies. Prime Minister Nehru has said in Parliament that China and India would not go to war over the border issue. We fully support this.

The press in the Western countries in a provocative manner writes that since China is now strong and is powerful, therefore, it wants to expand. This is an imperialist plot. Chinese population would be about 800 millions in another 10 years. To settle all its problems, China would need several decades. China, as a matter of fact, is still very backward.

I went round Delhi this morning and found that your progress in the field of construction is very good. It is no worse to ours. We have built schools, factories etc., but we have built very little residential accommodation but it is not as good as you have.

The main reason why we have been able to find a settlement with

Burma and Nepal is that we are friends. We are friends and we are at ease with each other. At the present time, we may discuss various ways of settling the problem between us but the most important is to give our hearts to each other, to be always friendly towards each other and remove the suspicion existing between our two countries, as also to dispel the dark clouds, as Prime Minister Nehru put it. Mr. R.K. Nehru's reference to the problem of Indian security had made me very uneasy. We must be at ease with each other and should not think that India would attack China and, therefore, China should build bases in Tibet or China would attack India and, therefore, India should strengthen its defences in the Northern border. This would be foolish for both. If our two countries are friendly and settle the disputes in a friendly manner, it would be useful to the world. We could have a treaty of friendship for 10, 20 or 40 years. The boundary question can be referred to a boundary committee for settlement and it can definitely be settled.

While discussing the agreements with Burma and Nepal, we asked them if they had any fears of aggression. They frankly replied that some of them were not completely at ease. We answered: As far as we are concerned, we are not afraid of them because they were small. But, suppose, if they have foreign military bases on their soil, we would naturally be concerned. If you consider the principles of the treaties which we had with Burma and Nepal as the suitable base for bringing about a settlement, then it would be an example to the world.

Sardar Swaran Singh: So far as we in India are concerned, we are conscious of the problems of economic development which we have to face. We are engaged in a struggle to develop our economy and raise the living standard of our people. The second point which I would like to make is with reference to the attitude of the Western press towards increasing strength of China. We in India feel very happy that we hear of Chinese increase in strength. We know that both of our countries face our own problems. If China overcomes those problems, then Chinese example inspires hopes and confidence that we would also be able to do it. It would not be a clear assessment of our position to say that we are not happy to know about your strength.

CY: We have made no such assessment. Mr. R.K. Nehru stressed the security aspect and that is what has made me say about all these apprehensions. We feel that if India is strong, China is more secure and if China is strong, India would also feel more secured.

Sardar Swaran Singh: We follow a policy of non-alignment and we feel that strength of India will be regarded as helpful to China.

CY: Some Indians have been putting pressure on Prime Minister Nehru to give up the policy of non-alignment. But he has stood resolute and firm.

Sardar Swaran Singh: No amount of pressure can make Indian Prime Minister change his policy of non-alignment. It would be misjudging Indian sentiments and the sentiments of the Indian Prime Minister if one thought that India would give up its policy of non-alignment. We think that it is good for us and for the world also if we follow the policy of non-alignment. There is no question of our deviating from this.

You rightly stressed the need for mutual confidence and faith among the governments and the peoples of both the countries.

There is no use hiding the fact that the recent unpleasant incidents, of which I do not want to discuss the case, have definitely shaken the confidence of people. It is all to the good that Mr. Chen Yi and his colleagues are doing their best to repair the damage and to restore confidence. There is no doubt that confidence is a matter of experience and not argument.

CY: Yes, yes.

Sardar Swaran Singh: Since we became free and China was liberated, in our relationship we all along proceeded in an atmosphere of faith and confidence. You referred to the treaty of friendship. We felt that arrangements agreed upon between the two countries on the principles of panchsheel was the best which could be between two independent countries. We were all the time busy in developing our country. We were never worried about our northern frontier. Suddenly we found ourselves in a situation where our original calculations and original ideas were rudely shaken. It is not my intention to go into the details of the incident as that is not necessary. We are aiming to restore friendly and normal relations and confidence among the two countries. It is with reference to Your Excellency's reference regarding confidence. Coming as it does from a person of Your Excellency's eminence, it is reassuring to note that the policy of mutual friendship and development of greater understanding is going to be pursued in strengthening the relations between the two countries.

Actually it is not my intention to get details of the agreements made by China with Burma and Nepal. I am only trying to understand better the background about these agreements which may not have come to our

knowledge from newspapers.

Mr. Chang Han-fu: Just as the Vice-Premier has said about the background of the Sino-Burmese and Sino-Nepalese agreement, the most important thing is that both Burma and Nepal have friendly relations and adhered to the Five Principles of Co-existence based on trust, friendship, non-aggression, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. There were mutual understanding and mutual accommodation and, therefore, the boundary question could be settled smoothly on a satisfactory basis for both. There is no need to go into the details of the two agreements as they have been published but I would only mention the following. Part of the Sino-Burmese border from the high conical peak to the westernmost point concerns the so-called MacMahon line; all the Chinese Governments, including the People's Republic of China, have not recognised this illegal line. This position was made clear to the various Burmese Governments and the various Burmese Governments and its leaders have sympathised and understood this point. Therefore, China and Burma took a realistic attitude while discussing this problem. In our documents with Burma, no mention of the so-called MacMahon Line has been made. China having clarified this point and Burma having understood and sympathised with it, it was easier to bring about a settlement which is reasonable and practical. China did not recognise the MacMahon Line and Burma understood the position and, therefore, we had a treaty of friendship.

CY: Neither of the two parties mentioned the MacMahon Line. It was forced by the imperialist but, while drawing the boundary line, we base it on actual jurisdiction of the two parties, watershed, survey, etc.

Sardar Swaran Singh: When the principles are settled, survey, etc. are mechanical process.

CY: I must make it clear that we do not recognise the MacMahon Line. We did not want to take great parts of Burmese territory south of this line. The Burmese Government also understood clearly that the MacMahon Line was not mentioned and there would be local adjustments of boundaries based on survey etc. Non-recognition of the MacMahon Line did not mean China extending her claims over any territory. The Burmese Government understood the Chinese non-recognition of MacMahon Line and were not apprehensive. The Sino-Burmese boundary is to be drawn on the basis of actual jurisdiction, geographical features, local adjustments, etc.

Sardar Swaran Singh: Local adjustments are no problem, if claims to a large chunk of territory are not kept alive .

CY: The question of territorial claims does not arise. Such claims are not friendly and if they are made, the negotiations would break down.

Sardar Swaran Singh: This is the biggest stumbling-block. In Chinese maps, large blocks of Indian territories are shown as parts of China.

CHF: On the other hand, we also see Indian maps and we think that India has taken Chinese territories.

Sardar Swaran Singh: If that is so, the position is most difficult.

CY: We are definite that China and India would find a line agreeable to both sides.

Sardar Swaran Singh: I bless that time when we can agree in this spirit. The question is to uphold the honour and dignity of both the countries.

CY: Yes. This is not impossible. We can definitely find a line satisfactory to both the parties. If both the parties agree on a new line, then both the countries would have new maps and all the old maps would go to the museum, including the MacMahon Line. On behalf of China, we can say that we have no intention to take away large chunks of Indian territory. It is definite that the Indian friends also did not want to take Chinese territory. But it is also definite that we cannot give up any Chinese territory. By patience and sincerity, a common line can be found.

Sardar Swaran Singh: I hope there is no feeling in Chinese mind that India had an eye on Chinese territory. We are content with Indian territory.

CHF: Your maps include Chinese territory in India.

Sardar Swaran Singh: We regard that as part of India.

CY: If we keep on disputing like this, there can be no result. With Burma we reached a settlement. China and Burma have a border of 600 Kilometres. Both the countries carried on aerial survey and agreed on the Sino-Burmese border. We have not done any survey on the Sino-Indian border. If we go

on disputing on maps, it is difficult to get results. The central question is that the principle guiding a settlement, should be based on friendship and governed by what Prime Minister Nehru and Prime Minister Chou do and not on British MacMahon. This does not mean that we want to take chunks of Indian territory, south of the Line under actual jurisdiction. We must do mutual survey and the actual line should be drawn which would be found satisfactory to both the parties. We may not find a satisfactory line this year or the next year. The most important thing is our friendship. We have plenty of time to settle the matter. We thank the Burmese friends for not forcing the MacMahon Line. The Burmese are thankful to us for recognising the line of actual jurisdiction.

Sardar Swaran Singh: I am not enamoured of the name MacMahon. You confirm it and call it "Chou" Line.

CHF: The second point about the Sino-Burmese agreement is that in northern section there were three places — Tienma, Hulong (?) [as in the original] belonging to China but were under British occupation for more than 40 years. After Burma became independent, we said that those places belonged to us. The Burmese friends recognised our claim and that is a friendly attitude.

CY: When I was 15 or 16 years old, a high school student in Cheng-tu, when we came to know of British occupation of Tienma, we strongly protested against the Chinese Government allowing British to occupy it. After I became the Foreign Minister, if I could not recover Tienma, that would have been difficult for me. Our Burmese friends returned these areas and we are very happy and thankful to them. In return, we told the Burmese that the size of three villages returned by them might be discussed by a joint committee of both sides. The three villages may be confined only to a few Kilometres or the surrounding areas also taken, making it 100 Kilometres. China is willing to compromise on this matter, in the spirit of mutual accommodation.

Sardar Swaran Singh: That must have been a symbol.

CY: Only the three villages and not large areas round them. It was done in a spirit of mutual accommodation. Burmese claim was also based on the claim of 40 years occupation but they gave it up. We also have not made any claim for large territories and, therefore, there had been an agreement.

Sardar Swaran Singh: Your feelings about these villages must be like that of Longzu [Longju] for us.

CY: That is a specific matter.

Sardar Swaran Singh: I do not want to raise a specific matter.

CHF: Similar is the question of the 1941 Line.

This line is very long and was drawn by the KMT Government and the British between China and Burma. It was drawn at the time when China was engaged in its struggle for existence against Japan. The British took advantage of the position and forced an agreement prejudicial to China. Large tracts of Chinese territory were taken away. We told the Burmese that it was an unreasonable line but as it is already existing we can take this line as the basis and make some adjustments. The Burmese Government also agreed that adjustments should be made. Premier U Nu said that this was an immoral line. Firstly, what is recognised by a treaty by the Central Government of China before will be recognised by us also. Of course, for this line a joint committee would make surveys and set up markers.

West of the 1941 Line, there is an area called Namwang,⁷⁵ previously leased by the British from China at Rs.1,000/- per year. This was not recognised by the KMT Government who refused to receive Rs.1,000/- from the British. But the British refused to release this area. This area belongs to China but the Burmese have built a road through it. China considered the requirements of Burma and agreed to give up its right over this area. In exchange, Burma agreed to give China Thang lo and Thung Hung tribal areas. By 1941 Line, parts of these two tribes were separated from each other. The size of this area is to be settled by a joint committee. China also gave up its right to Lufeng⁷⁶ Mines.

Sardar Swaran Singh: To help Burmese about their roads, an exchange of territory was agreed upon. The execution of lease does not alter Chinese sovereignty over the area.

CHF: Yes.

75. Correction on the document illegible.

76. Correction on the document illegible.

Sardar Swaran Singh: Was there any allegation made by the Burmese that along the border certain points were taken possession of by the Chinese authorities before an agreement was made?

CHF: There were always clashes among the people on the border areas and the various Burmese Governments have made correspondence about the same.

Sardar Swaran Singh: At any time was it suggested or alleged by the Burmese Government that any area, large or small, of Burmese territory was occupied by the Chinese?

CY: No. The Burmese Government only said that it was forced upon us in the past by the Imperialists and so, we have got to understand each other. My recollection is quite fresh about talks of settlement with U Nu. At some places of the Sino-Burmese border, people have their residence on one side of the line while they have fields on the other side of the border. In the middle sector of the line, the position is very confused because the nationalities on both sides are the same. In certain sectors of the boundary where people of Kawa tribe (Burmese call them Wa) live, before starting planting in their fields, they sacrifice a human head. Kawas on the Burmese side take a head from the Chinese side while those residing on the Chinese side take a head from the Burmese side. After the agreement was made, there was great rejoicing by people and tribes of both the sides on the border. We told the Burmese friends that after we have drawn the boundary line, anyone living within the Chinese boundary could go over to Burma and we would not prevent them.

Another important aspect of the Sino-Burmese boundary agreement is that any disputes that may arise between the troops or civil personnel of both sides could be settled by the local authorities without referring to the Central Government. This is very happy. The Foreign Minister will have less work to do. And notes of protests will not have to go back and forth.

We are happy to give this true and factual account of the background of the Sino-Burmese boundary settlement. China and India are great countries and, therefore, their standard should be higher, at least the same as that in the settlement of the boundary question between China and Burma.

Sardar Swaran Singh: Your Excellency, has referred to the Foreign Minister being bothered by protest notes on border questions. The Sino-Indian border before the recent unfortunate incidents was so quiet and friendly, as that was based upon mutual trust, confidence and the spirit of friendship. The

first-hand account about the Sino-Burmese settlement is of great interest. In the absence of any suggestion of either side, at any rate of the Burmese side, of any Burmese territory being occupied by China, the question of actual jurisdiction did not present any difficulty while dealing with the Sino-Burmese boundary dispute.

Was any principle agreed upon for actual date of determining jurisdiction?

CY: No. Only actual line of jurisdiction was not to be changed.

Sardar Swaran Singh: On the date of the agreement?

CY: Long-existing status quo. The question of occupation by other did not arise. Much of the Sino-Burmese border is not delimited. Only a small part was delimited. Only the British occupied Chinese territory of the three villages. The northernmost part of the boundary was drawn by MacMahon but the agreement was not based on it but was based on actual jurisdiction etc.

Sardar Swaran Singh: The actual jurisdiction is more or less the same as the MacMahon Line. So, the principles agreed upon more or less recognised that line.

CY: Not entirely. There are some small differences. For example, south of the line there are some temples of China and certain mountains growing Chinese herbs which are not wanted by Burma.

Sardar Swaran Singh: A small local adjustment could be made by friendly governments if there is a basic agreement between them.

CY: South of the so-called MacMahon Line on the Sino-Burmese border, there are Lama temples of Tibetans and some Tibetans are living there also. This area is not important either to China or to Burma. Some people in Burma spent money to bring some of these to Rangoon and said that the territory belonged to Burma. The Burmese Government did not allow this kind of thing and China also did not mind it. If Burma wants to keep this territory, it would be all right. Our Tibetans can go to somewhere else to get their herbs.

Sardar Swaran Singh: In such cases, these local inconveniences could be removed by mutual adjustment without exchange of territories.

CY: As regards the background of the Sino-Nepalese agreement, Premier Koirala had a meeting with U Nu and Ne win in Rangoon while on way to Peking. The Burmese leaders told him about the Sino-Burmese agreement. When Premier Koirala came to Peking, there was a smooth settlement. The maps of the two parties were basically the same. The boundary is based on traditional, customary line. About ten places, there are divergences which China may claim to belong to her while Nepal may also claim as their own.

These questions would be referred to a joint committee.

Sardar Swaran Singh: It appears that the so-called MacMahon Line of the Sino-Burmese border followed a traditional, customary border in accordance with the natural geographical features and the principles agreed upon between the two parties yielded a line more or less in common with the so-called MacMahon Line.

CHF: Still there are some differences. The more important is that both the parties did not recognise the MacMahon Line.

CY: I would like to clarify a point about the MacMahon Line and the Simla Conference. The MacMahon Line was drawn in a secret exchange of notes between the British Imperial authorities and the Tibetan local government outside the Simla Conference and behind the Chinese Central Government.

No Chinese Government has recognised the MacMahon Line or the Simla Conference. The Indian Government should sympathise with this point. Prime Minister Nehru has to look to the sentiments of 400 millions of Indians while Premier Chou has also to look to the sentiments of several hundred millions of Chinese. No Chinese Government has ever recognised the MacMahon Line. How can the Chinese People's Government do so now? The Simla Conference and the MacMahon Line are illegal. The Chinese Government representative only initialled that document and did not fully sign it. Afterwards, the Peking Government officially declared that it did not recognise the same. This has been mentioned in the Simla Conference documents. We cannot recognise the MacMahon Line or the Simla Conference and hope that the Indian friends would be clear about it. On the other hand, ten years have passed since China and India became free. You have civil administration, police and troops up to a line of actual jurisdiction, Chinese troops and civilian officials have also reached a line. The two independent countries can settle this problem and agree on a line based on history, custom, etc. By not recognising the MacMahon Line, we do not make any large claims on Indian territory. Based on friendly attitude,

we can come to a settlement equitable to both the parties. India and China should shake off the legacy of Imperialism and settle all boundary questions on a basis which is reasonable and satisfactory to both. We have declared repeatedly that we do not recognise the MacMahon Line. In making actual survey, we will find some discrepancies in actual line and the so-called MacMahon Line but such discrepancies would not be great. After we have drawn a line based on actual jurisdiction, historical data, surveys, etc. by mutual understanding we may call it Chou-Nehru Line or Peace and Friendship Line.

Sardar Swaran Singh: I do not intend to reiterate the Indian case on the so-called MacMahon Line. It has already been made clear in the notes and memoranda exchanged. But this distinction of initialling the map by the Chinese Government plenipotentiary and signing it is not quite clear to me. The result is the same whether it is initialled or signed. It shows that the decision was known, and so operative. I am not saying this in a legalistic or argumentative spirit but only am pointing it out this aspect.

As regards India's attitude towards Imperialists and Imperialism, there should be no doubt in Chinese minds. We have fought against Imperialism to gain our freedom and today we stand against Imperialism all over the world. Certain obligations flow from historical agreement made by the predecessor government. I may not like that predecessor government in India and you do not like that predecessor government in China. But certain obligations flow from previous agreements and they have to be honoured.

CY: Yes. The 1941 Sino-Burmese line was recognised by the official Government of China. By this over 600 kilometres of fertile Chinese land had become part of Burma, but there is no question of not recognising it. The question of Simla Convention is different because the Chinese National Government did not recognise it. The 1941 Line we have recognised in a spirit of friendship and mutual accommodation, based on actual jurisdiction but if you say we must recognise something which no Central Chinese Government has done, we have to leave the problem as it is. It is not that we want to deceive and want India to give up some territory. The question should be settled on the basis of surveys, watersheds, actual control, river valleys, river basins, and living and customs of the local inhabitants.

Sardar Swaran Singh: This question of local customs and life of the people is a ticklish yardstick. On these border lines, there are always shades of similarity etc. among the people of both the sides.

CHF: Such examples can be given.

CY: The Sino-Burmese border cuts across the nationalities residing there. Kawas, Mismis, etc., live on both sides of the Sino-Burmese border. Relations between these two sides must grow and cannot be prevented. The same case would be on the Sino-Indian border. By customs, etc., we do not mean that all Tibetans must go to China. In future, Tibetans should be living on both sides of the Sino-Indian border. There are large number of Chinese in Calcutta while there are many Indians in Shanghai and they live in friendly relationship.

Sardar Swaran Singh: We would like many more Indians to go to China.

CY: We would welcome them.

19. Morarji Desai-Chou Talks⁷⁷

[22 April 1960 – time not mentioned]

On 22.4.1960, Prime Minister Chou En-lai accompanied by Marshal Chen Yi, Vice Premier and Mr. Chang Han-Fu, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, called on Shri Morarji Desai, Finance Minister. Also present was Ambassador Parthasarathy.

The Finance Minister said that he was very glad that the Prime Minister found time to come to see him. He hoped that the talks between the two Prime Ministers were progressing well.

Prime Minister Chou En-lai replied that they had exchanged views and that he had said what he wanted to say and they were now discussing specific items.

Thereafter there was a general talk of a personal nature in which Mr. Chou En-lai asked the Finance Minister if he had ever been to China. The Finance Minister said that no, he had not been. It was only two years ago that he had any extensive travelling outside India.

Then there was discussion on the division of the Bombay State on linguistic basis and the language question in India.

77. New Delhi, 22 April 1960. P.N. Haksar Papers, NMML.

Prime Minister Chou En-lai said that in China also there were many groups and nationalities and dialects. The imperialists wanted to carve and divide our two countries but they only succeeded in uniting us. To this the Finance Minister said that China had not lost her freedom but we had, not only to the British but also to Muslims.

Prime Minister Chou En-lai said that China also had lost to the imperialists to eight of them in 1900; and had been reduced to the status of a semi-colony. The Finance Minister said that these foreign incursions and occupations were confined only to the periphery of China. To this the Chinese Prime Minister said that it was not so and even places as deep as Chungkiang a handful of foreign imperialists controlled the fate of China by being in league with the war-lords.

The Finance Minister told the Chinese Prime Minister that Gandhiji had said that if India became free, all the world would be free and that is now what has happened. We have no one to blame but ourselves for our suppression by foreigners and for disunity. The Chinese Prime Minister said that this was common to both India and China. But the imperialists will now disappear. The Finance Minister said that Goa was still being held by Portuguese and the Chinese Prime Minister said that they also had their little Goa in the shape of Macao.

The Finance Minister said that the wrong could not go on for ever. The Chinese Prime Minister said that truths will always succeed. Mr. Morarji Desai said that for truth to succeed, we must be humble. The Chinese Prime Minister agreed to this.

The Chinese Prime Minister asked the Finance Minister about our agricultural and industrial problems. The Finance Minister said that we were an agricultural country but we have to develop our industry in order to have the necessary economic and social progress that is so imperative for us to raise the standard of living of our people and it is here that the border problem has troubled us as it has effects on our internal development.

Mr. Chou En-lai said that history left this border problem and we will solve it.

Mr. Morarji Desai said that he was not sure if he could agree that history had left this legacy. As far as he was aware, history had left us no trouble. It was only in the past 4/5⁷⁸ years that the trouble had started.

The Prime Minister said that the fact was that history had left this, the difference was that in the past we settled these problems peacefully but now the question had become acute.

78. This means "four to five" and not "four-fifths."

The Finance Minister said that historically India and China had been friendly but beginning of this trouble started 3/4⁷⁹ years back and last year it reached its most serious stage. Three/four years we did not tell our people or Parliament about this because we thought that the problem could be settled amicably in a peaceful and friendly manner. But this did not happen and now our people and Parliament are extremely upset and it has increased our internal difficulties.

Prime Minister Chou En-lai said that historically we had no trouble as in the ancient days we had long boundaries and borders and there were a lot of tribes living in these areas but the territorial limits were not clearly and strictly defined. But in modern times with the longitude and latitude, things had changed and strict limits to our boundaries had to be fixed and could be fixed. This has aggravated the problem.

The Finance Minister said that even in old days, countries went to war but India and China did not do so.

Mr. Chou En-lai said that that was so but we know that the old maps were not accurate and had no exact demarcation on them. Only thirty years from now that correct maps had begun to be produced.

The Finance Minister said that a wide area was left between two countries and there was no encroachment on either side and there was no trouble and the question of maps did not really matter in old days.

Mr. Chou En-lai said that in the past communications were very bad and the Chinese travellers Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsiang came from Afghanistan and Nepal.

Mr. Morarji Desai said that to his thinking the modern trouble has arisen only after the Tibetan revolt. With this the Chinese Prime Minister agreed.

Mr. Morarji Desai said that our attitude to Tibet has been condemned not only by our people but also by our friends abroad. They say that instead of being neutral in this dispute between Tibet and China, we should not have allowed you to dominate the Tibetans. But we have not accepted this as we sincerely believe that Tibet is yours and that is why we signed the 1950 and 1954 Agreements and surrendered all the privileges that we had inherited from the British. This was not entirely to the liking of our people but the Government of India and its leaders are convinced that what we did was the right thing and there is no going back on it.

Mr. Chou En-lai said that the revolt in Tibet had very much shocked the Chinese nationals and Chinese people. Indian Government have recognised Tibet as part of China and we are very happy about this. The system in Tibet is

79. This means "three to four" and not "three-fourth."

very backward; serfdom, tyranny of the Lamas and the poor people brutally exploited. We could not let this go on forever. But we respected the Dalai Lama as a religious leader and gave him time to raise his level of social and democratic consciousness and postponed our programme of reforms by five years. When Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama were in India, I mentioned this to the Prime Minister of India and consequently we reduced our army and other working cadres in Tibet. But the Dalai Lama and his reactionary followers thought that we were weak and could be frightened away. It was at this time that two of his brothers who came from Taiwan and U.S.A. met him and encouraged him to rebel and revolt against us. At the same time, undesirable activities were taking place in Kalimpong. As a consequence of all this rebellions took place in various places in Tibet, including Lhasa.

As I said earlier, we respected the Dalai Lama as a religious leader but we could have arrested him at any time. We were deceived by his three letters and he succeeded in running away to India with some of the rebels. He wanted to drive away the Han people and, in this, the Tibetans were not with him as they wanted reforms and the Dalai Lama was standing in the way of this.

We had never objected to the Government of India giving asylum to Dalai Lama and the rebels. But what he did on his coming here and what he is now doing is beyond the spirit of asylum. For example, he has been sending representatives to the U.N. to speak against People's Republic of China. More recently at the Government Municipal Committee building, Kalimpong, some of the Tibetans celebrated the first anniversary of the revolt in Tibet and attacked our Trade Agent. This has irritated and upset us and our people very considerably. Even before the Dalai Lama came to India and before the revolt in Tibet, there were sympathetic rumblings in India for the backward set-up in Tibet and this increased after Dalai Lama escaped to India. The Dalai Lama and his rebels are an extremely small minority of the one million Tibetans who want reforms and progress. According to us, it is the serfs and the poor people in Tibet who need sympathy and not the Dalai Lama and it is a surprise that our great neighbour should have adopted the attitude, it has, in this matter. As for conditions in Tibet after Dalai Lama has left, there is peace and democratic reforms have been carried out; serfdom has been abolished, economy has been developed and land reforms carried out. The reactionary elements who support Dalai Lama play no part in the Tibetan affairs.

With regard to the boundary question, frictions had existed and our views were different and we recognised that dispute had existed but after we achieved independence we hoped to settle these questions on the basis laid down by the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence. The strange thing is that the Indian Government in 1959 said that we must recognise the McMahon Line and the

Simla Convention of 1913 and change the Chinese maps. We do not accept this and I have clarified this to Prime Minister Nehru. In the east, we recognise that there is a dispute but we do not recognise McMahon Line and we assure you that we will not cross this line and we are willing to negotiate a settlement and at no time have made any territorial claims to the south of this Line.

With regard to the western sector, I would like to say that there has never been any dispute. It is only after the Tibetan revolt that this dispute arose. There too, India for the first time mentioned the Treaty of 1842. We have seen this Treaty and this Treaty has no Article which specifies the boundaries in favour of Indian claims. For 200 years, we have controlled this area and it has been under our jurisdiction.

We should seek an overall agreement of Eastern, Western and Middle sectors. The Tibet question is a thing of the past and we should not let it affect the settlement of the boundary question.

The Finance Minister said that he was thankful for the Chinese Prime Minister's frank exposition of the Tibetan question. He would now like to give his views frankly as he has no desire to complicate matters.

If there has to be any peaceful and amicable settlement, this has to be analysed and worked out. I cannot accept what you have said about the part that India has played in the Tibetan revolt. You are unfair to us when you say that Kalimpong is the centre of the revolt. I do not accept this. Our systems are different and we cannot quarrel about this matter. Your people in Kalimpong are creating trouble for us; we do not seek to liberate other people as you do. I cannot be gagged in my own country; I must be free to say what I feel and if you object to that, then our quarrel cannot be settled. You are aware that Prime Minister persuaded Dalai Lama in 1957 to go back to Tibet because we felt that that was the right thing to do and we did not visualise any future difficulties in Tibet. But after the so-called liberation of Tibet, it may be said that violence was bad, then you will agree we did nothing wrong. Our sympathies for Tibet are old, very old, and as old as those of China. We have special religious and sentimental ties with that region. Mount Kailash is an important centre of pilgrimage and I would like to go to Kailash if I have a chance. The system and ways of life of Tibetans may be backward but you forcibly imposed your system on their ways of life. All that we said was that violence and force should not be used. Nowhere did we say that we were going back from 1950 and 1954 Agreements.

Mr. K.I.Singh⁸⁰ went to China and he carried on political activities but we

80. Nepali politician; took political asylum in China, 1952-55; returned to Nepal and became Prime Minister for four months in 1957.

did not object to that. In our struggle for freedom, people went out to England, France and other countries and carried out all sorts of political activities. The Dalai Lama, on the other hand, is not carrying on any war preparations against you and if he does, he will be stopped. But if he expresses his agony, then we cannot prevent him from doing so. You must see our set-up; our Government may be criticised and even may be thrown out in the next elections. We do not accept communist methods and yet democratically elected communist government ruled Kerala for two years and just as they came in by democratic means, they vacated office by the same means. We have never had any territorial designs on any country and yet we are blamed in China for being imperialists.

Before Tibet, nothing happened in the Western Sector. You built the road in 1955 and in 1957 we protested. Even now, roads are being built and this shows that your occupation of the area is recent. When our people hear all this, they are agitated and, since ours is a free country, we cannot prevent them from saying what they like. Your building activities in these areas are all recent. Here Prime Minister Chou En-lai interrupted and said that Mr. K.I. Singh had not been allowed any political activities in China. As a matter of fact, after he became Prime Minister of Nepal, he spoke against China. Mr. Morarji Desai said that now he is speaking for you (China).

The Finance Minister continued that if the Dalai Lama wanted to go out of India, for example, to U.S.A. then we could not prevent him from doing so. Mr. Chou En-lai said that he will be happy if the Dalai Lama went to U.S.A. Finance Minister said that if he, Dalai Lama, did not wish to go to U.S.A. then he could not force him to go. We cannot force him either to stay or to go.

I would like to tell you, Mr Prime Minister, that in spite of what has been said about us in the Chinese Parliament and in spite of what has been done in Tibet, we have again gone and sponsored your case in the United Nations. We have done this not because we want to oblige you, but because we think this is the right thing to do. But our people say that China has not treated us with gratitude and friendship and has occupied our territory and the Panch Sheel is a one-sided affair. We tell them the only way to settle this question is by mutual agreement and we do not think of war and as to those who think of war, we give no quarter. But we are convinced our claims are right and our methods are right too, and that faith will triumph and so will our friendship. But for the sake of friendship, we cannot give up our territory. So, let us agree on the facts and then we can settle this question (The Finance Minister also requested the Chinese Prime Minister and his Party to see the deliberations of our Parliament for two/three days as that would help him to understand the basis of our society). I am not trying to convert the Chinese Prime Minister to our system but we should not be blamed for something which is inherited and basic in our system.

Prime Minister Chou En-lai said to him that he was glad to hear the frank views of the Finance Minister. He agreed that our border problem could be settled by mutual agreement; war was inconceivable and we should all aim for a peaceful solution.

The Finance Minister said, you should accept the proposal of Prime Minister Nehru and withdraw your troops from these areas and then we can sit down and discuss. But if you continue to hold these areas, then what is there to discuss.

Prime Minister Chou En-lai said that we would like to lay down the same conditions on the Eastern border and if you accept that, then we are willing to discuss.

The Finance Minister said that as far he was concerned, the same yardstick should apply to the Eastern and Western borders because we cannot have two standards for the two borders.

The Chinese Prime Minister said that we will never accept the McMahon Line.

The Finance Minister said, you forget the McMahon Line. But you will agree that there is a line which approximates to the McMahon Line and this is the traditional and customary line, which has been recognised by everybody including the Tibetans when they were not under the total domination of China. The name McMahon is of no relevance.

Prime Minister Chou En-lai said that in the east, we do not recognise the line which you have in mind. But we accept your jurisdiction and have no territorial claims south of the Line. But we do not accept your facts as our facts are different. We say that Kalimpong is a centre of rebellion and we have basis for this and we have mentioned this in our notes. These rebellious activities in Kalimpong started before the revolution in Tibet and continue now and even these days the two brothers of the Dalai Lama are operating from there. There are many spies of all countries in Kalimpong.

Finance Minister said that amongst these spies were the spies of country of the Chinese Prime Minister also. He would, however, like to tell the Chinese Prime Minister that the Chinese nationals in Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi have complete freedom. Have we ever done anything to restrict them?

Mr. Chou En-lai said that they must obey your laws. Mr. Morarji Desai said that the law in this country is the same for all. Mr. Chou En-lai said, I have not studied this problem. Mr. Morarji Desai said, please do study it and then we can talk about our concepts of freedom. Mr. Chou En-lai: but it is common-sense to know that in any country, foreigners cannot be treated in the same way as the nationals of their country. Mr. Morarji Desai: the only difference in India is that foreigners are not eligible to stand for elections. Mr. Chou En-lai:

this is not the main point and we need not argue about this. Mr. Morarji Desai, but this is related to our position. We will prevent any break of law by anyone, but we cannot prevent criticism.

Prime Minister Chou En-lai said, how could the Government of India be a party to allowing the Tibetans to hold an anti-Chinese convention in the Town Hall in Kalimpong?

Mr. Morarji Desai said that in our country everybody holds conventions; the Algerians do so and so do the Indians sometimes against us. The Chinese Prime Minister is aware that Lenin sought asylum in U.K. but nobody restricted his political activities. We in India do not want anyone to conspire against China but we cannot prevent people from expressing their opinions. Freedom of speech is the basis of our democracy. Mr. Chou En-lai said that what he mentioned was that use of Government Hall for the convention by the Tibetan rebels.

Mr. Morarji Desai said: but the Municipal Hall is not a Government building. Municipalities in India are autonomous bodies and anybody can hire the halls.

Prime Minister Chou En-lai said that Mr. Nehru had declared that whilst Dalai Lama would be treated as a respected religious leader, he would not be permitted to carry on political activities. But he is carrying on political activities in India.

The Finance Minister said, you are being unjust to us when you say this. I ask you, is the Dalai Lama recruiting any army or is he threatening to walk into Tibet? All that he is saying is that he would like to go back to Tibet and he has a right to say that and we have no right to prevent him from doing so. This is our concept of freedom and this is applied to everybody including the Congress Party. Anybody can criticise us.

Mr. Chou En-lai said that there was no campaign in China against India. Only some articles appeared as reaction to the Indian criticism of China. (The Finance Minister said that Government of India has been described as a reactionary Government by responsible people in China.)

Mr. Chou En-lai said that that was natural. You had burnt the portrait of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Prime Minister of China.⁸¹ Mr. Morarji Desai said that this is nothing strange in this country. He said that in a little bank strike, the other day, the strikers burnt his effigy in the city of Delhi; effigies of Mahatma Gandhi were burnt in 1956 in Bombay.

To this, Prime Minister Chou En-lai said that this was extraordinary and said that according to the Finance Minister, Indians had the freedom to abuse

81. In April 1959; see SWJN/SS/48/items 139, 143 and Appendices 15 and 16.

China but the Chinese did not even have freedom to criticise India. The Finance Minister said that he was frank and trying to explain the Indian point of view. Mr. Chou En-lai said that the Finance Minister had said enough. The Finance Minister said that the Chinese Prime Minister had said even more. All that he was trying to say was that he condemned his people for condemning the Chinese. If that was not the case, we should not have sponsored your case in the U.N. even after the Tibetan revolt.

Prime Minister Chou En-lai said that he was grateful to Prime Minister Nehru for the efforts India was making for seating China in the United Nations. About the border in the west, the Chinese had been there for the last 200 years and new China inherited the traditional line. Since 1949, we have been using this area as an artery, to go to Tibet and it is our right to build roads there. Two years ago, the Indian Government objected to this activity of ours.

The Finance Minister said that the Chinese had come to that area only four or five years ago. Before that, it was ours.

The Chinese Prime Minister said that it is extraordinary to say that Chinese got there only 4/5⁸² years ago. They had been there for 200 years.

Mr. Morarji Desai said that he did not accept this.

Mr. Chou En-lai said that Chinese troops went to Tibet in 1950. Mr. Morarji Desai said that just because your troops went through that area, you cannot lay claims to it. Prime Minister Chou En-lai said that let us not quarrel about this. We can settle this by mutual agreement and mutual accommodation. Mr. Morarji Desai said that it is all right but there is no question of India giving up its territory. He, however, was sure that a satisfactory and peaceful agreement would be arrived. Prime Minister Chou En-lai said that is why we have come all the way from Peking to Delhi.

20. S. Dutt-Chang Wen Chin Talks ⁸³

[22 April 1960 – 3.45 p.m.]

Mr. Chang Wen Chin, accompanied by two of his Assistants, came and saw the Foreign Secretary at 3.45 p.m. on 22nd April 1960.

Foreign Secretary – I understand the two Prime Ministers have agreed this morning that experts from both sides should exchange information regarding the boundary in the Western Sector. Although both sides have stated their

82. This means “four to five” and not “fourth-fifth.”

83. 22 April 1960, 3. 45 p.m. P.N. Haksar Papers, NMML.

F.S. denotes Foreign Secretary and C.W.C. Chang Wen Chin.

case in the various notes and memoranda exchanged, exchange of more detailed information would be useful. I understand that the Chinese party has not brought their documents with them. I would like to know what procedure should be followed in pursuance of the directive given by the two Prime Ministers.

Chang Wen Chin—I am not fully aware of the discussions between the two Prime Ministers. I was informed that Prime Minister Nehru had suggested that the Chinese officials could check up the factual material which the Indian side possessed. Prime Minister Chou En-lai had told Prime Minister Nehru that they had not brought any material. Prime Minister Nehru said that the Chinese officials could see their material; that the Chinese officials could go and study this material; and that had brought us to the Ministry today. I am not sure of the above and I would like to have your opinion.

F.S.—Because there is disagreement over facts regarding the border, it would be helpful to us to know the facts as you see them.

C.W.C.—We have not brought any material. If you show us your material supporting your stand, it would be beneficial towards promoting understanding. Our stand and view-point has already been clarified. We have not got any material or documents with regard to concrete details. Of course, the situation would have been different if the meeting had been held in Peking. However, we would like to make a careful study of your material.

F.S.—This is very different from what we thought. We understood that apart from the examination of the material, there would be full discussion of each other's case.

C.W.C.—My understanding is that Prime Minister Chou En-lai clearly said that we have no material. Prime Minister Nehru, however, welcomed the idea of Chinese officials looking into your material in order to enable them to understand the Indian case; and this is our explicit understanding.

F.S.—In this regard there is no fundamental difference of understanding between us. Although each side has put its case forward in the notes and memoranda exchanged, further details can be given in these personal discussions. We of course appreciate the fact that you have not got, as you say, material or documents with you in Delhi. All the same, we thought that detailed discussion, at expert's level, on the facts, in order to appreciate each other's

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

point of view, would be useful. I now understand that you are ready to look at our factual material including documents etc. and that your case stands as has already been made clear in your notes and letters. If this is correct, then the position is that you will merely listen to our case and facts as we state them — this is a somewhat odd position. Nevertheless, in view of your understanding of what Prime Minister Nehru told Prime Minister Chou En-lai, our experts will be glad to give you a fuller factual account of the boundary and the connected details of the Western Sector as we know them.

C.W.C.—What you have said is very good. This exchange of views at the expert's level would be useful for arriving at a solution. As you understand, it is difficult for us to bring the material here as Prime Minister Nehru said, the material and documents are bulky and it is difficult to know beforehand

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look at our factual material including documents etc.
stands as has already been made clear in your notes and

21. S. Dutt's Note on Talks with Chinese Officials on 22 April⁸⁶

Secret
Ministry of External Affairs

Following the discussions this morning between the Prime Minister and Premier Chou En-lai, a meeting was arranged this afternoon between the officials on our side and Chinese officials for detailed discussion of the western sector of the Sino-Indian boundary. The three Chinese officers were led by Mr. Chang Wen-chin, Director of the First Asian Department, Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Before the discussions started, I had a talk with Mr. Chang about the procedure to be followed in the discussion between the officials. I referred to the discussion between the two Prime Ministers this morning and said that even as regards facts there is disagreement between the two sides, and the object of the detailed discussion at official level is to help in a better appreciation of each other's point of view. Mr. Chang said that his understanding was that he and his colleagues were to look at the factual material which the Indian side would produce. As his Prime Minister had told Mr. Nehru, they had not brought any material with them. Nevertheless, the Indian Prime Minister said that the Indian side would be glad to place their evidence for scrutiny by the Chinese. It was on that understanding that Mr. Chang and his colleagues had come to the Indian Foreign Office.

2. My reply was that the object of the discussion was to help in a better appreciation of each other's point of view. We recognised that the Chinese side had not brought any material with them to Delhi, but would like to know whether they would be willing, even without producing any detailed material, to let us have full facts as they see them. Mr. Chang's reply was that the Chinese had made their case clear in the previous notes and correspondence. So had we, I said. It would be odd if the Indian side not only made a full statement but also produced all the evidence in support of their statement while the Chinese side merely listened and saw but would not even make a statement of their case. Nevertheless, I added, our experts would be ready to make a full statement of our case. Mr. Chang enquired whether this applied only to the western sector or to the entire boundary. I told him that according to my understanding the western sector only was to be discussed this afternoon; in any case since the whole of the afternoon would be taken up by this discussion, what should be

86. Note to Nehru, 22 April 1960, afternoon. P.N. Haksar Papers, NMML.

done subsequently and how, could be discussed by the two Prime Ministers tomorrow.

3. It was obvious to me that the Chinese want us to produce all our evidence and place it before them so that at the appropriate time, probably later in Peking, they would be in an advantageous position to rebut our statements. It is inconceivable that the Chinese have not brought any material with them, nor was Mr. Chang's statement that in the absence of factual material with them in Delhi he would not be able to make any useful statement particularly convincing.

4. I have asked Shri Gopal and Shri Mehta to give the Chinese a full statement of our case on Ladakh.

22. Meeting of Officials⁸⁷

[22 April 1960 – 4 p.m. to 5.50 p.m.]

22nd April
afternoon

Top Secret

Proceedings of the meeting between the Indian and Chinese officials held on 22nd April, 1960, at 4.00 p.m., in the Conference Room of the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi.

Present:

India

1. Shri J.S. Mehta, Director, Northern Division, Ministry of External Affairs
2. Dr. S. Gopal, Director, Historical Division, Ministry of External Affairs
3. Colonel R.S. Kalha, Director, Survey of India
4. Shri K. Gopalachari, Officer on Special Duty, Ministry of External Affairs
5. Shri S.K. Bhutani, Officer on Special Duty, Ministry of External Affairs
6. Shri G.N. Rao, Historical Division, Ministry of External Affairs

China

1. Mr. Chang Wen-Chin, Director of the First Asian Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of China

87. Conference Room, MEA, 22 April 1960, 4 p.m. P.N. Haksar Papers, NMML.

2. Mr. Chien Chia Tung
3. Mr. Liao Teh-Yen

Shri Mehta: The Foreign Secretary has already welcomed you and discussed with you the lines on which we will proceed here. This evening it has been agreed that we will go over the facts relating to the dispute in Ladakh i.e. the western sector. In one sentence, our case is that the disputed area in Ladakh—the area shown in our maps—has always been part of India. It has been shown on our maps for some time and the local authorities of Jammu and Kashmir have exercised jurisdiction over it. I won't go into further details but I would request my colleague Dr. Gopal to restate briefly but still in much greater detail than what has been stated in the correspondence already exchanged with regard to our position in the western sector.

Dr. Gopal: The boundary of Ladakh with Sinkiang and Tibet, like the rest of the northern boundary of India, is a natural, traditional and customary boundary which has been well recognised for centuries by both sides. From the Karakoram Pass the boundary lies along the watershed between the Shyok and the Yarkand and along the crest of the Kuen Lun mountains upto a point east of 80° E. Thereafter it runs south along the watershed, along the southern bank of the Chumesang and the eastern bank of the Changlung Lungpa, skirts the western extremity of the eastern half of Pangong Lake, lies along the watershed between the streams flowing into the western Pangong Lake and other streams flowing eastwards, cuts across eastern Spanggur Tso and follows the watershed of the Indus upto Jara La. Crossing the Indus about five miles south-east of Demchok, the boundary lies along a spur of the Ladakh Range which in this region is the watershed between the Indus and the Sutlej.

Shri Mehta: That briefly describes the boundary of what we call the western sector. I was wondering at this stage whether you would like to define the extent to which you dispute this description. It would be for you to decide whether we may go on from one point to the next. If we are to exchange information, one could do it conveniently point by point. That is for you to consider.

Mr. Chien Chia Tung: Mr. Chang has mentioned to Mr. Dutt just now that he has come here today in accordance with the understanding that Mr. Nehru has invited our officials to come and listen the Indian officials to present

the Indian standpoint. If there is no inconvenience to your side, Mr. Chang will be prepared to listen fully to what you have to say. As you are presenting point by point, it would be quite clear.

Shri Mehta: Well, the point I wanted to make was that this is a simple matter of fact requiring at this stage no documentation. It is merely a matter of describing the boundary as we see it or you see it. I thought you could simply state the boundary in the western sector as claimed by the Chinese Government with a view to making this exchange useful with whatever information we have or on such points which do not require documentation. This is only a statement. If the Chinese Government could state what they consider to be the boundary, we may even reach the stage of being able to define the extent of the differences between the two sides.

Mr. Chien Chia Tung: It involves the nature of present meeting. Mr. Chang says that it is on the explicit understanding in accordance with the suggestion of Prime Minister Nehru to Premier Chou that Chinese officials should come and listen to the Indian standpoint. So he has come in accordance with that understanding. This afternoon, we will proceed in accordance with that understanding. So Mr. Chang personally is of opinion that we proceed this afternoon in accordance with that understanding. We would be pleased if our Indian friends could go on to explain their point of view and as to how we should proceed for next step, as Mr. Dutt has mentioned, that can be decided upon by us.

Shri Mehta: Very well, then we go on to the next relevant step. I was only trying to make this meeting as useful as possible to both sides so that we serve the primary end which we have in view—that we understand each other better. I will ask my colleague Dr. Gopal to continue to the next point.

Dr. Gopal: This natural boundary which follows for its whole length the major watershed in the region has also been the traditional boundary of Ladakh. At first, an independent state comprising a large part of western Tibet, Ladakh in 1664 became a part of the Mughal Empire.

During 1681 to 1683 a mixed force of Mongols and Tibets [sic] invaded Ladakh but this force was driven out by the Ladakhis with the aid of the Mughal Governor of Kashmir. Even at that time the boundaries of Ladakh were well known. Contemporary Ladakhi chronicles confirm this. They even define the boundary in accordance with the traditional Indian alignment

in this sector. Cunningham,⁸⁸ who visited the area in 1846, states that the eastern boundary of Ladakh was "well-defined by piles of stones which were set up after the last expulsion of the Sokpo or Mongol hordes in 1687, when the Ladakhis received considerable assistance from Kashmir." During the years 1834 to 1841 Gulab Singh of Jammu, a feudatory of the Sikhs, conquered Ladakh and annexed it. In 1841 one of Gulab Singh's generals invaded western Tibet. He was defeated and expelled, but when the Tibetans, with the aid of the Chinese, advanced to Leh, they were in their turn driven back. So the Emperor of China despatched more troops. The Ladakhis were defeated and a peace treaty was signed in 1842. The signatory on behalf of Tibet and China was Kalon Sokon. The article in the 1842 treaty regarding the frontiers runs as follows:-

"Now that in the presence of God, the ill-feeling created by the war which had intervened has been fully removed from the hearts and no complaints now remain on either side, there will never be on any account in future, till the world lasts, any deviation even by the hair's breadth and any breach in the alliance, friendship and unity between the King of the world, Siri Khalsaji Sahib and Siri Maharaj Sahib Rajai-Rajagan Raja Sahib Bahadur, and the Khagan (Emperor) of China and the Lama Guru Sahib of Lhasa. We shall remain in possession of the limits of the boundaries of Ladakh and the neighbourhood subordinate to it, in accordance with the old custom, and there shall be no transgression and no interference beyond the old established frontiers. We shall hold to our own respective frontiers."

So the natural and traditional boundary between Ladakh and Tibet was given the added sanction of recognition by treaty. In 1842, it was recognised by both Tibet and China. The treaty did not describe the boundary in detail because it was well-known. The Chinese Government recognised this in 1846. One of their officials informed the British Government that the borders of Ladakh had been sufficiently and distinctly fixed and no additional measures were necessary for fixing them. Again, in 1899, the British Government stated explicitly to the Chinese Government that the northern boundary of Kashmir lay along the Kuen Lun range to a point east of 80° E. This showed beyond doubt that Aksai Chin was a part of Ladakh and that the eastern boundary of Ladakh lay where Indian maps are now showing it. The Chinese Government raised no objection to this description. So throughout the 19th century, the Ladakhi, British, Tibetan and Chinese

88. Alexander Cunningham (1814-1893); British army engineer and archaeologist.

authorities were all agreed that the traditional boundary of Ladakh was in accordance with the alignment on present Indian maps.

In the 19th century, this area was visited by explorers and surveyors. Their reports and maps provide further evidence in support of the traditional Indian alignment. The accounts of travellers who visited the area also support the Indian alignment. There has never been any report of the presence of Chinese personnel in this area during all these centuries.

This natural and traditional boundary of Ladakh has also been the administrative and customary boundary. The administration of Ladakh and, after Ladakh became a part of Kashmir, of the Government of Kashmir and India, always extended right up to the boundary. There is considerable evidence of official jurisdiction such as revenue settlements. There is also proof that the local inhabitants had been utilising this area for pasturage and salt mining. Topographical and geological surveys were carried out in this area.

In this connection it may be mentioned that from the 17th century onwards Ladakh has had full sovereign authority over the Minsar enclave in Tibet, and exercised administrative jurisdiction in this locality.

Another form of evidence which substantiates the traditional alignment of the boundary of Ladakh is the fact that the area right upto the boundary was traversed by traders with the permission of the Kashmir Government.

The exercise of jurisdiction in this area by the Government of Kashmir and India has continued right down to the present times. In recent years reconnaissance parties have been visiting this area.

Official Chinese maps of the 19th and 20th centuries also show the boundary in accordance with the traditional Indian alignment. One example of this is the Postal Map of China published in 1917.

Shri Mehta: So, we have stated, or rather restated but with fuller details, our view-point which confirms the alignment in the western sector as shown in our maps. If Director Chang would like to comment at this stage or provide any facts, it would be useful. From our side we have clarified the position in pursuance of the directive from the Prime Minister and as clarified in the discussions with the Foreign Secretary.

Mr. Chien Chia Tung: Mr. Chang thanks Mr. Gopal and Mr. Mehta for the statements that they have made. As Mr. Mehta has just said the statement is in most of its parts restatement of the Indian position and in certain parts, some details have been added. Mr. Chang understands the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of India would provide some materials or documents to

testify its position which the Chinese wonder whether Mr. Gopal or Mr. Mehta would be prepared to present those materials and documents. If the materials can be presented that would be helpful for us to understand the view-points of the India side because this would be difficult in correspondence.

Mr. Mehta: At this stage, I think, we have provided the necessary statement in fulfilment of the directive which has been issued to us. Is there any specific point which Chinese Government are doubtful about? It may be useful to have a sort of exchange of information or a similar statement of the position from the Chinese side before we proceed any further.

Mr. Chien Chia Tung: Mr. Chang would like to point out telling that if we have any point which we think is not clear or we have any doubt in regard to the statement made by Mr. Gopal, the Indian side is prepared to present documents or maps in further clarification of the position as proofs or is it that Mr. Mehta just wants a mutual exchange of statements?

Mr. Mehta: I think, it would be more useful if we proceed step by step. Even if perhaps all the documents may not be ready at hand on the Chinese side, a statement of the Chinese position which would be relevant to disputing the statement which has been made with similar details would be beneficial at this stage.

Mr. Chien Chia Tung: Mr. Chang says that the directive that he has received is that Mr. Nehru suggested that the Chinese officials should come to the Ministry and listen to the statement made by the Indian side and apart from that principally to look into the materials which the Indian side will provide because that would be helpful to our further understanding the basis of the Indian stand point. So this is the directive which Mr. Chang got when he came here. Now according to him, Mr. Mehta thought Indian side is not prepared at the present stage to provide materials but that the Indian side wanted to have statements and discussions. So this is not in consonance with the understanding of Mr. Chang and the information he has got. In regard to the general position on both sides, both of us know. So the exchange of correspondence require quite some time in which such position on both sides has been fully stated. Of course, by exchanging statements now, some details might be added to them but such details are all secondary in comparison to the main point and it cannot change the basic and fundamental position.

Mr. Mehta: As I understand it, our purpose was to define, as a preliminary, at least, the area of agreement and the area of disagreement. We have made a statement, a fuller statement of the general position than what has been stated in the correspondence. I think, if the Chinese side is not in a position to make a statement, we will not be progressing further. In that case, I think, we might report to our respective Chiefs and adjourn for the afternoon.

Mr. Chang: According to the understanding of our side, the purpose of this meeting is to look into the facts, particularly the ones on which India and China have different viewpoints. Our material is not ready at hand and that is why we have suggested that the Indian side might provide its material in order that we may understand their position more fully. If Mr. Gopal is willing to supply the material requested for, we might put forward certain questions. But if he is not and desires postponement of the meeting, I have no objection.

Dr. Gopal: Yes, that is my position.

(The meeting then adjourned at 5.50 p.m.)

23. MPs to Nehru⁸⁹

Member of the Lok Sabha
21, Rakabganj Road,
New Delhi,
April 22, 1960

Dear Prime Minister,

In inviting a reference to your kind letter dated the 4th April, 1960, wherein you had been good enough to assure us that, in regard to the talks between you and the Chinese Prime Minister, you would keep the House informed, may we request you to kindly make a statement on the subject, in view of the fact that the talks have proceeded for a number of days and all sorts of news have been appearing in the newspapers. In this connection we may be permitted to draw your attention to an unusual event reported in newspapers to the effect that Shri V.K. Krishna Menon, the Minister of Defence, had at the invitation of the Premier of China, an exclusive interview with the latter and none except the

89. Letter, on N.G. Goray's letterhead. P.N. Haksar Papers, NMML.

Chinese interpreter was allowed to be present. Such reports, you would agree, tend to create misunderstandings all round. May we also have an elucidation whether Shri Menon was also made a delegate on behalf of India to conduct talks with the Chinese Premier.

Therefore, we suggest that such a statement may be made when the Lok Sabha meets on Monday, the 25th of April, 1960.⁹⁰

Yours sincerely,
N.G. Goray
S. Mahanty
Braj Raj Singh
P.K. Deo
A.B. Vajpayee
Khushwaqt Rai

24. Nehru-Chou Talks V⁹¹

V

(April 23-4.30 p.m. to 7.45 p.m.)

Prime Minister: Yesterday afternoon some officials from both sides met but I am afraid the result did not go as far as I had hoped, because I understand the Chinese officials only listened. They said they had come to listen and not to see anything. I had thought that the purpose of such a meeting was that we may discuss and note down points of agreement and disagreement and those on which there was doubt so that the area of discussion might be limited.

No doubt your officers must have reported to you that, although our officials precisely stated our viewpoint on the western sector of the border along with latitudes and longitudes, this was not done by the Chinese side. Your officers said that they would only listen and would not say anything.

I had said that, having discussed the question in the broader aspects, we should try to come to grips with it now, and this involved a clear statement on our part of what we think the right border to be and an equally clear statement of what the Chinese Government thinks on the question. Then we would be in a position to know definitely where our differences lie. My idea was that we

90. For Nehru's letter of 4 April, see SWJN/SS/59/item 154; and his reply, see item 25 in this volume.

91. Source: see fn 18 in this section "Chou En-lai's Visit."

should take each sector of the border and convince the other side of what it believes to be right.

I do not know how I should proceed now. Should I take up the question in details or perhaps you would like to say something?

Premier Chou: I would like to listen to what you have to say.

Prime Minister: We can take up the question more precisely. According to us, the boundary between Sinkiang and Ladakh is traditional and customary and has been well recognised for over a thousand years. It passes from the Karakoram Pass along the watershed between Shyok river system and Yarkand (Tarim system) and it goes on to a point north-east of Haji Langar where it crosses the Qara Qash river and then goes along the crest of the Kuenlun mountain, which forms the watershed between the Yurungkash and the streams flowing south into the lakes in the Aksai Chin area upto a point about 80° east. Then it runs down southwards to Lanakla along the watershed between the streams flowing into the lakes in Tibet and those flowing into the lakes in Ladakh. Then it goes along the watershed between Chanchenmo and Chumesang in Ladakh and the streams flowing into the Dyap Iso lake in Tibet. After this, the boundary lies along the south bank of Chumesang and eastern bank of Changlung lungpa. It then skirts the western extremity of the eastern half of Pangong lake and goes along the watershed of streams flowing into the western Pangong lake and other streams flowing eastward. It then cuts across eastern Spanggur Tso and follows the northern and eastern watershed of the Indus upto Jarala. It crosses the Indus about five miles south-east of Demchok which lies along the watershed between Koyul lungpa and Hanle rivers and streams flowing into Sutlej river. It then crosses Parechu about five miles south of Chumar and reaches Gya Peak. This is the physical description of the western boundary as we believe it and as is shown in our maps.

I have described it tentatively; but if you want, I can also give you a note giving the latitudes and longitudes and some historical facts about the aspects of the western border.

This is the traditional boundary for Ladakh and can be traced back to the 10th century. At one time in the 10th century, Ladakh and Tibet were under one rule. Then occurred family partition and western Tibet was given to one member of the family and Ladakh to another. After that, Ladakh became separate. In 1664, it accepted suzerainty of the then Indian empire, namely, Moghul Empire, which had extended to the area of Kashmir.

In 1681, Ladakh was invaded by Tibetans and Mongols, but they were driven back by Ladakhis with the aid of the Moghul Governor of Kashmir. This

resulted in the peace treaty of 1684. We have still got a copy of this treaty. This treaty repeats these boundaries which it says were there when the three families first ruled and that they should be maintained. Chronicles of those days said that the boundary between Ladakh and Tibet was fixed at Demchok in that area. Other chronicles of the period also confirm this. In 1846, Cunningham visited this area and he found that the eastern boundary of Ladakh was defined by piles of stones.

But between 1834 and 1841, Ladakh was conquered by the ruler of Jammu, Gulab Singh, who was a feudatory of the north Indian Kingdom of the Sikhs. In 1841, Gulab Singh's General, Zorawar Singh, invaded western Tibet. He was, however, defeated by Tibetans, aided by Chinese troops, who advanced towards Leh. The Tibetan and Chinese troops were, however, pushed back by the Ladakhis and a peace treaty was signed in 1842. We have the text of this treaty and, on behalf of the Chinese-Tibetan Forces, it was signed by an army officer who held Chinese rank. The treaty said:

"There shall be no transgression and no interference (in the country) beyond the old established frontiers."

Thus, the natural and traditional boundary between Ladakh and Tibet was given twice in treaties, once in the treaty of 1684, secondly, in the treaty of 1842.

In 1846, the British suggested to the Tibetan and Chinese parties that this accepted boundary should be formally defined. The Chinese Imperial Commissioner at Hong Kong replied saying: "Respecting the frontier, I beg to remark that the border of these territories has been sufficiently and distinctly fixed so that it will be best to adhere to this ancient arrangement and it will prove far more convenient to abstain from any additional measures for fixing them."

I might mention that until then, that is to say, in the late forties of the 18th century, Kashmir and Ladakh were not a part of the British Empire. It was only a little later that Kashmir accepted British suzerainty, but it continued as a State.

In 1899, the British made proposals to the Chinese, again suggesting that this recognised boundary, that is to say, the northern boundary of Kashmir and Ladakh with Sinkiang, should be clearly defined. In making the proposal, the British clearly stated that this boundary of Ladakh, or more correctly Kashmir, lay along the Kuenlun mountain, to a point east of 80°. The Chinese Government took no objection either to this proposal or to this definition of the border.

From all this, it would appear that, till the 19th century, there was no divergence of opinion on the alignment of the boundary of Ladakh in the parties concerned—namely, the Ladakhis, Kashmiris, Tibetans, Chinese, Indians or

the British.

The caravan routes also were used regularly. There is a route from Yarkand to Kavia Pass which went across Aksai Chin. There is also another route which went from Haji Langar to Amtoghar lake.

There is another route from Yarkand to Ladakh which passes through Aksai Chin and Pangong Lake.

Throughout 19th century, many travellers, explorers and surveyors visited this region. Although the Kashmir State acknowledged the suzerainty of the British, the British did not interfere in the internal affairs of the State and, in fact, there were strict rules about British people going to these areas. They could not normally go to these areas unless it was on invitation from the Ruler of Kashmir. Actually, many of these surveyors and travellers were invited by the Rulers of Kashmir for surveying purposes.

We have reports written by these surveyors as well as explorers. There were many surveyors and I could even give the names and details about them, but perhaps this could be better given in the form of a note.

Some of these reports have also maps, attached to them, or areas that they had visited.

Broadly speaking, these reports and maps confirm the natural and traditional boundaries between Tibet and Ladakh which became the administrative boundary also.

The frontier Districts of Kashmir State define these areas for administrative purposes. The revenue reports also describe these areas and a number of revenue settlements had taken place about these areas from 1860 onwards. In 1908, a fresh settlement was carried out in regard to Aksai Chin, Soda plains, Lingzitang, Chang Chen-Mo, Khurnak fort and Demchok. The Wazirs of local Governments toured these areas and have also left accounts of their tours.

There are also many geological surveys. The first was held in 1837-38. Then came surveys in 1852, 1870 and 1874.

Between 1875 to 1882, a particularly extensive survey was made of the area and the reports of these surveys give maps of these areas which are in line with the traditional Indian alignment of the border.

The revenue reports refer to pasturage and salt taxes in Khurnak, Chushul, Chang Chen-Mo, Chumesang. Grazing fees have been included in the land revenue. It is also mentioned in these reports that villagers used to collect salt from Amtoghar Lake.

Evidence of traders who used to go along these routes contains complaints about bad condition of roads and heavy road taxes.

In 1870, the then Viceroy of India, Lord Mayo, signed a commercial treaty with Kashmir for developing trade routes. The treaty says that, with the consent

of the Maharaja of Kashmir, officers will be appointed for surveying the trade routes from Lahaul to the territory of the rulers of Yarkand, including Chang Chen-Mo Valley. Therefore, all these parts were considered to be in the Kashmir State and Lord Mayo had to take consent of the Kashmir Government before sending his men to these areas for surveying work.

These records also deal with abolition of dues on account of goods passing through these areas. All this would indicate that India exercised jurisdiction in this area right upto the present times. In recent years, a number of reconnaissance parties have visited this area. These parties went there in 1952, 1954, 1956, 1957 and 1958. Even in July of 1959, a party visited some of the areas. Patrol parties visiting Lanakla in 1954 had planted our National Flag there. They went there again in 1956 and the flag was still there.

Some Chinese maps, fairly recent ones, which may be considered official, are also in accordance with our delineation of the border. For example, there is the map of 1893 compiled by Hung Ta-Chen, the Chinese Minister at St. Petersburg. Then there is the Postal Map of China of 1917. Chinese Government has said that this map is not reliable, because it is prepared by foreigners. But even the foreigners must have prepared it for official Chinese sources, and there [is] no reason for them for falsifying the maps. Indeed, if I may say so, the British in those days were not so much concerned about the eastern boundary near Ladakh. They were more concerned about the corner of the Indian boundary adjoining Afghanistan, because the Tsarist Russian empire came near to the Indian frontiers there and they were afraid of it. The Ladakh boundary, however, was no worry to them.

What I have just now stated indicates that, in eastern Ladakh (I am not referring to North Aksai Chin area at present), there was no evidence of Chinese authority or activities in the middle fifties of this century. The beginnings of such an evidence came only in 1957, but even then it is very little. In effect, it begins to be evident mainly by the end of 1958 or afterwards.

In the north Aksai Chin area, the Chinese Forces had probably come a little earlier than 1957. But not much earlier. They must have come there sometimes after the establishment of the People's Republic of China. Before that, of course, the big caravan routes were used. But at no time was any claim put forward by either Tibetans or Chinese, supported by any evidence.

Now, I have taken so much time and I have ventured to trace the historical, administrative and other accounts very briefly. I have not mentioned the details, for it would require a long time. But I have indicated precisely what we believe our northern frontier to be and this belief is supported by facts as stated above. Therefore, there is no question of our making any territorial claim, that is to say, any claim on a fresh territory which did not belong to India or to Kashmir

State throughout this long period of time.

I would now like Your Excellency or the Chinese Government to state, apart from general observations, what their approach to this question is, indicating more particularly what they claim as their frontier.

Premier Chou: Thank you for giving so much time to state the standpoint of the Government of India on the western sector of the border and also stating in some detail the material on which the Government of India bases their clear stand. Your Excellency's statement is basically the same as what Director Chang had heard from the officers of the Ministry of External Affairs yesterday. I have already known the substance, as was already conveyed to me by Director Chang. I would now like to give an oral reply and we would also probably send you a written reply on the basis of material which we have on hand here.

When we talk about the western sector of the boundary, we should discuss it in relation to other sectors. This is the first point of common grounds mentioned by me yesterday. The reason why there is dispute on the boundary question is that the factual basis of both sides are different and this difference in factual basis is formulated into different maps. But there are great divergences about eastern and western sectors and these divergences are shown by our maps. As to the Indian maps, there have been a great many changes while in the Chinese maps the changes, if any, have been small.

Your Excellency asked what is claimed by the Chinese Government as their boundary? Since in the western sector and the eastern sector our maps differ so much, therefore, naturally there exists a dispute on the boundary question and we should seek a solution. We have said that the Sino-Indian border is not delimited or determined, but throughout history there must have been points of contact. There are great divergences in the maps published by our two countries. Therefore, if we base anything on these maps, then the difference will be great too.

It is necessary for us to find common ground so that we can reasonably settle it. Our belief is that our boundary is, broadly speaking, not delimited and this is borne out by the western sector.

I would say something in reply to what you have said about the western sector. I would say it in 4 parts:

- (1) Geographical features of the boundary: Since you have mentioned about Karakoram Pass, it is easy to see that the national boundary between China and India or Sinkiang and Ladakh is the Karakoram watershed. This extends from Kilik Pass, passes through the Karakoram Pass to

Kongka Pass. As to area west of Karakoram pass, there is also some divergences of maps, but it involves (concerns) Pakistan and we need not talk about it. This is the Karakoram watershed. (Karakoram which is known in Chinese by the name of Tsung). This is the natural watershed. Broadly speaking, rivers and streams to the south and west of this belong to India while those to the north and east of it are on China's side. On the Chinese side, there are two well-known rivers: Yarkand River (Yi-er-Chiang) to the north and Karakash River to the east. Both these flow towards Khotan region. So much regarding watershed upto the north of Kongka Pass. South of the Kongka Pass, the boundary does not follow any watershed. But there are 3 valleys: Changchenmo valley, Pangong Lake and the Indus River Valley. Kongka Pass forms the dividing line. To the north of Kongka Pass, on one side there is Sinkiang while the other sides belong to Kashmir.

To the south of the Kongka Pass, area to the west belong to Ladakh and areas to the east belong to Tibet. Therefore, on these natural geographical features is formed the administrative boundary.

According to what the External Affairs Ministry officials said and you stated today, the Indian frontier extends from the Karakoram Pass to 80 degrees eastwards towards the Kuenlun mountains, which will mean that the border jumps from the Karakoram mountains to Kuenlun range, which has always been regarded as Chinese territory.

Many peaks of the Karakoram range form a watershed, while even higher peaks of the Karakoram are on the Indian side. Therefore, Karakoram is the natural boundary and we have followed it in our administration. So, in geographical description, we differ widely.

- (2) Northern border of the area of Aksai Chin has always been under Sinkiang and we have many historical records going over a long period of time to prove this. Many of the place names in this area are in Uighur language. This area, together with Sinkiang, has been a part of China for the last 200 years. There are salt lakes and pastures in this area, but people are nomadic and not many lead a settled life. In distant centuries, trade between India and China used to be carried out through this area. We also have records of this and we can put forward historical proofs.

Area south of this is in Tibet.

Your Excellency mentioned about family partition of Ladakh. Once Ladakh was an independent State, but it was divided and boundaries were established. After that, this boundary is shown on our maps. To the east of this boundary, the area belongs to China; to the west, the

area belongs to India.

Your Excellency mentioned cases of tax collection by one country in the areas of another. Even so, China collected taxes in Ladakh. Yesterday, Your Excellency mentioned about Minsar from where taxes were collected. I have checked and find that Minsar is about 200 kilometers from Ladakh. It is actually nearer to the U.P. border.

So, this line of administrative jurisdiction was also formed throughout the historical period. New China inherited this boundary from old China and it made no changes in it. The People's Liberation Army went to Sinkiang in 1949. From there, it went to South Sinkiang in 1950 and thence to Ari district of Tibet through this area by the end of 1950. This area is on a high plateau. In 1950, the People's Liberation Army transported its supplies on horses. Later, a highway was also built. This area has always been under the administrative jurisdiction either of Sinkiang or of Tibet and we have not exceeded the limits of the administrative jurisdiction of either Sinkiang or Tibet in this area.

You have spoken about surveys. But I had also mentioned yesterday about two surveys in 1891-92; during the Manchu dynasty, survey teams went to Karakoram mountains and Kongka Pass. In 1941-1942, surveys were carried out in areas of Aksai Chin and Kongka Pass.

We also have revenue records and survey reports in support of our argument.

Another point mentioned by you requires to be answered. Your Excellency mentioned about reconnaissance parties which went to north-east of Kongka Pass after the independence of India.

It is possible that these parties went into these areas on the basis of Indian maps and that they did not meet Chinese Forces. But this is because the area to the north and east of Kongka Pass is almost uninhabited and some of it, moreover, is like a desert. At many places, motor cars can pass. In some places, there are pastures. But, generally speaking, there are no pastures and the area is almost uninhabited.

All along, our thinking has been like India's, namely, that there could not be any problem in this sector. Our people do not normally go there except during the pasture season. During the winter, there is heavy snow. As Your Excellency has yourself said in the Parliament, this area is very vague. Therefore, it is quite possible for Indian personnel to enter it without our finding them out. But in some cases, as in 1958-1959, we also did find them out. But not being found out is no proof of the area belonging to India.

Areas to the south of Kongka Pass belong to Tibet. In this area,

Demchok is occupied by Indian Forces. According to historical facts, it actually belongs to China. But we only indicated this to the Government of India through diplomatic channels without taking any action.

- (3) Question about Treaties and negotiations: Your Excellency has mentioned two treaties, the treaty of 1684 and the treaty of 1842. But these were treaties only between local authorities and these treaties merely said that each side should stay within its own border and refrain from trespassing or transgressing the border of the other and undertaking to maintain everlasting friendship. There is, however, no mention as to where exactly the boundary lay. It was of course impossible in those days to state it in latitudes and longitudes, but even no specific names of places are mentioned and, therefore, it cannot be proved from these treaties that the boundary was delimited and no one can tell where the boundary lay.

Your Excellency mentioned about Chinese Officer's reply to the British Government in 1846. The Chinese Commissioner merely said that "There is no dispute about boundary between Tibet and Ladakh." This is put in very general terms and it does not mention any specific places along the border. In 1899, the British Government negotiated with our Government on the question of the border between Sinkiang and Kashmir. Through these negotiations, the British Government even proposed that Karakash river valley belonged to China, but no agreement was reached because of other dispute.

Between 1919 and 1927, the local Tibetan Government carried negotiations about the border between Tibet and Ladakh with the British Government. Here too, no agreement was reached.—All this would show that this sector of the boundary was never determined or delimited, although there is a traditional and customary line.

Your Excellency said that India did not make any territorial claims. However, if the Government of India insist that the boundary line as on the Indian maps is the boundary and, therefore, the Chinese armed forces and administrative personnel should withdraw from the western sector, it would amount to a territorial claim.

On the eastern sector, the Chinese Government has documentary evidence that the area, south of the line now reached by the Government of India, used to belong to Tibet and that the Indian administration was extended to it only gradually. But, if we were to demand for withdrawal of Indian troops and their administrative personnel from this area, this will also be a territorial claim.

There are disputes about boundary because it was never delimited and, therefore, we must conduct negotiations; but neither side should ask the other side to withdraw.

- (4) Maps and Accounts of Travellers: I have already mentioned about changes in British and Indian maps. As far as the western sector is concerned, these changes seem to have taken place in four stages:

(i) Before 1862: Up to 1862, the alignment in the British and Indian maps was more or less the same as the alignment in Chinese maps. It is important to note that this period is later than both treaties mentioned by Your Excellency also later than 1846, when the Chinese Commissioner made the reply to the British.

(ii) The second stage is from 1865 to 1943. During this long period, most of the Indian maps did not draw any boundary line at all. But some used colour shade showing the borders as not determined.

(iii) Third stage comes in 1950, when the Indian maps started using colour shade but marked the boundary as undefined. The area in colour is the same as in present Indian maps.

(iv) The fourth stage starts in 1954, when the Indian maps showed the border line as in present maps, but removed the word undefined.

Therefore, the Indian and British maps made great changes, while the Chinese maps broadly are the same despite small divergences.

Your Excellency mentioned two maps—one by Hung Ta-Chen, Minister at St. Petersburg. Even in this map, however, the border line is not entirely the same as in the Indian map.

Postal Map—Your Excellency knows that British Imperialism did many things to the disadvantage of China. Indian Government has mentioned only two maps to our disadvantage. We can mention a number of Indian maps which are to our advantage. We have not got them with us now, but we are willing to show them to you in any treaty negotiations.

As regards accounts of travellers, travellers made different accounts of reports and some of them are in favour of China. But here again, Your Excellency knows well with what purpose these travellers went to Sinkiang and Tibet.

In giving Your Excellency this reply on the condition of western sector boundary, I have no intention to ask the Government of India to entirely agree with our standpoint or explanations. I was merely clarifying that the western sector of the boundary, like the eastern sector of the boundary, is undefined. The stand and the viewpoints on both sides as well as the facts differ greatly and, therefore, there is

need for negotiations. However, in the meantime each side may retain its stand. We should exchange material for finding a common ground and proposals for the solution of the border question.

It is difficult to settle the boundary question specifically in these talks, but we should seek avenues for settlement.

And, therefore, I have made the proposal for a joint committee. We may exchange and examine material and a time-limit can be set for the work of the committee. It should submit its report with a plan for solution of the boundary dispute. This can be later taken up for higher level talks.

I have already mentioned the five points which, I think, form a common ground. These are:-

(i) our boundaries are not delimited and, therefore, there is a dispute about them;

(ii) however, there is a line of actual control both in the eastern as well as the western sector and also in the middle sector;

(iii) geographical features should be taken into account in settling the border. One of these principles would be watershed and there would be also other features, like valleys and mountain passes, etc. These principles should be applicable to all sectors, eastern, western and middle;

(iv) each side should keep to this line and make no territorial claims. This does not discount individual adjustments along the border later;

(v) national sentiments should be respected. For both countries, a lot of sentiments are tied around the Himalayas and the Karakoram.

If Your Excellency agrees with these points, it would facilitate the work of joint committee and also the work for negotiating for a settlement. I would also again suggest that the Forces of both sides should be removed from the border and we should not merely rest satisfied with stoppage of patrolling activity.

(It was decided that the two Prime Ministers should meet again at 10-30 a.m. on 24th April, 1960).

25. Nehru to N.G. Goray⁹²

April 23, 1960

Dear Goray,

I have received the joint letter signed by you and some other MPs dated April 22nd.⁹³ I am replying to you, but I hope you will convey the contents of my reply to the co-signatories of your letter.

It is obvious that I cannot make any statement in the Lok Sabha about my talks with Premier Chou En-lai till they are over. He will be leaving Delhi on the 26th April morning. A day or two after that I hope to make a statement in Parliament about these talks.

In your letter you refer to what you call an unusual event, that is, the Defence Minister meeting the Chinese Prime Minister. The only unusual thing about this is the extraordinary headlines and reports in the Press which seems to have lost all sense of responsibility. The Defence Minister called on the Chinese Prime Minister at my suggestion. We have been arranging meetings of the Chinese Prime Minister with a number of our Ministers.

Among our Ministers the only two persons who have come in contact with Premier Chou En-lai previously are myself and the Defence Minister. The Defence Minister has been for some weeks in Geneva at the time of the conference on Indo-China about five years ago or so and played an important part in the talks there. Even as a matter of courtesy he had to call on him because of this previous acquaintance. But apart from this, I wanted the Chinese Prime Minister to meet some of our senior Ministers separately.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

92. Letter to Goray, PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Poona. P.N. Haksar Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

93. See item 23.

26. Swaran Singh-Chen Yi Talks⁹⁴

[Agra, 23 April 1960 – time not mentioned]

Notes on conversation held between Sardar Swaran Singh
and Marshal Chen Yi on 23rd April, 1960, at Agra

Sardar Swaran Singh: During the course of our talks in Delhi, we discussed the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border. I do not want to go into the details but would like to say one or two things before other subjects are taken up.

I have already indicated the Indian reaction to words like “Imperialism” and “Imperialist”. One thing is noticeable about the Simla Conference that the Central Government of China was not happy about the line suggested by MacMahon between inner and outer Tibet as it considered some part was wrongly shown as not being in China, and it therefore did not accept the arrangements agreed upon by the three plenipotentiaries of China, India and Tibet. It was never suggested by the Chinese Government that the line drawn in the map showing the border between Tibet and India was in any way prejudicial and the dispute was only about the line between Tibet and other provinces of China. The other thing which I would like to mention briefly is that this line (the MacMahon Line) did not transfer any territory one way or the other but only took notice of the existing realities, alignments of watersheds etc. on the basis of which international boundaries are fixed. I may also point out that when such principles were applied to the Sino-Burmese border, they yielded the same results as the MacMahon Line. At the Simla Conference, the border between India and Tibet was based on the same principles on which international boundaries are drawn.

Your Excellency was pleased to say that there were other principles which should be a guide for working a boundary line. Your Excellency must have gone through this aspect. What is the boundary line which works out on the basis of these principles? What are the differences which may arise from the boundary line made on the principles suggested by Your Excellency and the so-called MacMahon Line? If there is not much difference between the two lines, what is the difficulty in accepting the line which was initialled by the Chinese plenipotentiary and which did not transfer any territory but accepted the existing realities and is in accordance with the international principles of watersheds, geographical features, etc.,

94. Agra, 23 April 1960. P.N. Haksar Papers, NMML.

on which boundaries are based. Between our two countries which have so close and friendly relations, there can hardly be any area of dispute if we view this problem in this background.

Mr. Chang Han-Fu: I would like to say something before the Vice-Premier deals with your question. What Your Excellency actually means is to ask us to recognise the illegal so-called MacMohan Line. Your Excellency mentioned the drawing of the MacMohan Line in the Simla Conference. Firstly, this fact has to be made clear that there is no record of the Simla Conference which shows that the Sino-Indian border was discussed. What was actually discussed was the question of boundary between Inner and Outer Tibet. Your Excellency has mentioned a map initialled by the Chinese Plenipotentiary. On this map there is a red line which is the so-called MacMohan Line and another a blue line. Below the map it is explained in a note that the blue line represents the demarcation between Inner and Outer Tibet and the red line shows the demarcation between Tibet and the rest of China. The note in the map does not say that any line represents demarcation between India and China. Indeed, this map was initialled by the Chinese plenipotentiary and the Indian and Tibetan representatives. In India it is said that only initialling was done by the British representative while the initialling made by the Chinese and Tibetan representatives was a formal signature by them. The British representatives, MacMohan, the Chinese representative Ivon Chen [Ivan Chen, Chen I-fan], and the Tibetan representative initialled the map with date and year under a remark:

“We hereby initial in the token of acceptance, etc. etc.”

This clearly shows that all the three representatives only initialled the map and did not sign it. Besides this map, there is another map having similar boundary lines in red and blue. The explanatory note below this map also is the same as the one which was initialled. It did not mention that the red line—the so-called MacMahon Line—was to be the Sino-Indian border. This later map was attached to the Simla Convention and has the signature and the seal of MacMahon and the Tibetan representative. This clearly shows on the one hand that the map attached to the Convention was formally signed and sealed only by the British and the Tibetan representatives while the Chinese representative neither signed it nor put his seal on it. The reason for this was that after the Chinese representative initialled the map, he received instructions from the Central Government not to sign the same. Not only the map but also the Simla Conference agreement was not signed or ratified by the Chinese Government. Instead of ratifying the Conference agreement, the minister of China in Great Britain,

Mr. Liu, gave indications of the same to the British Government. The British representative and the representative of the Tibetan local authority did not draw this MacMohan line at Simla but in Delhi where secret notes were exchanged. This situation shows that the MacMohan Line is illegal and the Simla Convention was not ratified by the Central Government of China. For these reasons, all the Chinese Central Governments have refused to agree to the MacMahon Line. All these points mentioned by me had been made clear in the various letters and notes sent by us. After our viewpoint has been made so clear, you still ask the Chinese Government to recognise the illegal so-called MacMahon Line.

More than ten years have passed when India became independent and China was liberated and this position does not correspond to the existing situation and to the development of friendly relations between our two countries. It is true that we want seriously a settlement of Sino-Indian border in the eastern sector in a friendly manner. Under such Circumstances, If you still want us to recognise the MacMohan Line, it cannot help in the settlement of the question. The very fact that Premier Chou En-lai and the Vice-Premier Chen Yi, have come here shows that we want to settle the matter in a friendly manner based on the Five Principles of co-existence, mutual accommodation and friendliness. It can be clearly seen from the talks between Premier Chou and Premier Nehru and the Vice-Premier Chen Yi and Sardar Swaran Singh that we sincerely want a settlement. As we have moved forward, we hope that India would also come forward. To still hold on to the illegal MacMohan Line and want us to recognise it, creates difficulties. We are anxious to reach a settlement based on historical conditions and existing realities by mutual, consultations and on a reasonable basis. Vice-Premier Chen Yi, in our talks yesterday, had very clearly said about our attitude to this question of the Sino-Indian border. We hope that in our talks today the two sides would get closer to one another.

Marshal Chen Yi: Since we came to Delhi, we have discussed the boundary question many times and today is the fifth day. Both of us have already talked three times and we have also taken part in talks with Mr. Menon, Mr. Desai, Mr. Pant and Mr. R.K. Nehru. The question is: whether the two parties have found a common point, and we need to make efforts to find a common point. It would be bad if we cannot find a common point of agreement. Even if we cannot find a common point on the boundary question, it is essential that we should see that, at any rate, our friendly relations do not deteriorate and we can continue our talks after the two parties have made further consideration. After a lapse of time, we may find some

settlement. As today is the fifth day, I would very much like that in some way China and India should arrive at an agreement. We may compare the views of the two parties. It is impossible for the Chinese side to recognise the Simla Convention or the so-called illegal MacMahon Line. No Central Government of China has ratified the Convention and it has no binding effect on the Chinese Government. This point is absolutely clear. The Indian side considers that the so called MacMahon line is effective and, therefore, the Indian Government by all means wants China to recognise it. It is said that if China does not recognise the MacMahon Line, it would mean that China is raising territorial claims against India. About this matter, there have been many reports in Indian papers which have shocked us and hurt our feelings. This is the main difficulty in reaching a settlement. On the other hand, the Chinese side has repeatedly said that they cannot accept the Simla Convention and the MacMahon Line and would not take it as the basis of a settlement of the border. But we Chinese also say that the two great nations of China and India must be friendly and in accordance with the spirit of friendship and accommodation, find a certain boundary. Liberated China and Independent India must shake off the influences left over by imperialists and adopt a friendly attitude to settle the question. The question can be easily settled if we take into consideration historical conditions and actual state of control. Between China and Burma, there was a quick friendly agreement because both of us decided to do away with the bad influences left by history and moved freely from the MacMahon Line.

After five days of our talks, my personal view is that the Indian friends and the Government still do not have a very profound understanding of the point that the Chinese Government absolutely does not recognise the Simla Convention and the MacMohan Line. This has made us very unhappy. On the other hand, it appears that the Indian friends have not understood the positive and friendly attitude of the Chinese Government in settling the boundary question by shaking off the influences left over by the imperialists and create a new friendly border. We greatly regret this situation. Ambassador Nehru talked about the security of the two countries: Indian security, dignity and self-respect. But we can say that to recognise the Simla Convention and the MacMohan Line, hurts Chinese self-respect. We are two great nations having independent political rights and independent will of our two peoples. Why should we still be manipulated by the outdated so-called MacMohan Line? To force us to recognise it would not be honourable for us and it would also not be honourable for India. Why not the two great men of peace—Premier Chou and Premier Nehru—settle this question independently without following the illegal Simla Convention

and the so-called MacMahon Line? If we look at the question from this aspect, a settlement can be made and I hope that you will tell other Indian friends about it, to preserve self-respect of both the parties. The question must be settled peacefully and on mutual friendly understanding and accommodation. MacMahon was only a coloniser and the Foreign Secretary of the British in India.

Yesterday when Premier Chou called on Mr. Desai, the latter had said that he could not accept that this question was left over by history, it was not left by history but was created by the Chinese during the past three years. This stubborn attitude I do not understand, for it is a question left by history, and should be settled by the two countries on the basis of historical conditions and actual control. Mr. Desai appeared to refuse to talk. We felt great regret over this attitude. Yesterday, Premier Chou was talking and I did not say anything about it. This attitude of Mr. Desai gave us an impression that there was an attempt to force us to accept something stipulated by MacMahon. We want a settlement based on consultations by which both sides will not lose anything and find a friendly border which would be eternal. We do not understand the attitude of Mr. Desai.

You have mentioned the Sino-Burmese border and it is possible that by actual survey the boundary between China and Burma would not be much different from the so-called MacMahon Line. You appreciated the Sino-Burmese agreement. I want to remind that the settlement was reached because we shook off the MacMahon Line and reached an agreement based on friendship. We hope the Indian friends will concede this point. We are proceeding in a spirit of friendship and do not want to hide anything. If the Chinese Government recognise the Simla Convention and the MacMahon Line, there would be an explosion in China and the Chinese people would not agree. Premier Chou has no right to do so. Premier Chou has only authority to settle a common line based on friendship and mutual consultations and not to recognise the Simla Convention and the MacMahon Line.

I would like to say something again about the Sino-Burmese agreement. I am happy that you listened patiently to our explanation about the same. Of course, the Sino-Burmese question is not the same as the Sino-Indian boundary question. But the common point is that the two parties—China-India and China-Burma—can settle quickly questions left by history in a friendly attitude. Strictly speaking, the China-Burma boundary question is more complicated than China-India boundary. The Sino-Burmese boundary question involves not only the MacMahon Line of several hundred kilometres but also the question of the 1941 line signed by the British and the KMT

Government. There is then the Nam Wang Triangular area leased by the British from China. Again the area of Tienmo (?), Kholung (?) and Khamfang (?) was forcibly occupied by the British.⁹⁵ There is also a silver mine below the 1941 line which by treaty China had rights to exploit. Some parts of the boundary were demarcated while others were in dispute and, therefore, the question was very complicated. There was also the question of the border people and the tribes which were the same on both sides. Moreover, in the southern section there were fertile lands where coffee and rubber grow which were in dispute. The Sino-Burmese line was more complicated than the Sino-Indian boundary line. The interests of the two peoples are more involved and only a part of the boundary consists of high mountains and unpopulated land. The Sino-Burmese boundary line is longer than the Sino-Indian line. We have a common boundary line of about 2,000 kilometres, with India and in this sector we have a common border also with Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Pakistan—I do not have any implications in saying so. The most important fact is that we can settle the problem by mutual understanding and accommodation. A quick settlement could be made with Burma because Burma agreed not to base its claim on the MacMohan Line but to draw a boundary in accordance with historical conditions, natural terrain and actual control. Burma knew that China could not accept the MacMohan Line and understood that the position of China was reasonable and the line was illegal. The Chinese Government also made the Burmese Government understand that the solution would be based on actual control and survey etc. The Burmese Government knew that the Chinese Government did not want anything south of the line. South of the traditional line there are some small Tibetan temples and mountains growing Chinese herbs. After delimitation, the Chinese will give up their rights to those places. I hope the Indian friends would consider this example and also the attitude of the Chinese Government to the Sino-Burmese boundary line drawn in 1941. If the Chinese Government did not follow a policy of settling questions with brotherly South-East Asian nations in a friendly manner, it was possible for us not to recognise the 1941 line. This boundary line was drawn by British colonialism at a time when China was in dire straits fighting for its existence against Japan. Our attitude was not to draw this line again and we said that as the treaty was formally signed by the Chiang Kai-shek Government, we would accept it. Though the Chinese Government was unhappy about the 1941 line in the interests of the Sino-

95. Question marks as in original.

Burmese friendship and for implementing international obligations we accepted it. This friendly attitude of our Government was responded by the Burmese in two ways: (i) the Burmese were satisfied that China had accepted the 1941 line and Premier U Nu, in his talks with Premier Chou, said that this line was immoral as the British had taken advantage of difficulties of China during the war against Japan and (ii) the Burmese Government further recognised that though the boundary on this line was delimited, local adjustments could be made. Both the parties recognised the 1941 line but agreed to local adjustments. We also immediately responded to this attitude of the Burmese Government and gave up our rights to Namb Wang triangular area and the Burmese in return willingly gave up in exchange the area of Thang Hung and Thang Ho tribes. After the Sino-Burmese agreement and the friendship treaty were completed, Gen. Ne Win, the then Burmese Premier, told Premier Chou about the Chinese rights to a silver mine south of the 1941 line. Premier Chou immediately replied to him that "We give up that". He did not even ask for my opinion though I was present.

S.S: Both of you knew each other's mind.

CY: By coming to Delhi with a large delegation we have not thought of asking India to give up any territory for our selfish interest. Otherwise we would not have come. We have come here for the sake of friendship, and I see that it is not possible to settle this question if we depend on archives and quote a letter here and there.

As for the Sino-Nepalese agreement, some small areas—9 or 10—may be in dispute. Some of these areas, which are under Chinese administration, are claimed by Nepal, and others under Nepalese administration, claimed by China. We agreed to settle the matter in a spirit of mutual accommodation and friendship based on actual control, historical conditions and joint surveys.

We have been here for five days and have been given a grand reception and warm welcome by all the leaders. We thank you for this. The Indian Government have taken good measures for the security of Premier Chou in a responsible manner and this is an indication of your friendly attitude. If we do not see this friendly attitude of yours, it would not be right for us. We shall show the same friendly attitude and warm welcome when our Indian friends or Your Excellency come to China.

SS: The Indian leaders who have already visited China were given a warm

welcome and if they go there again, they would receive the same welcome. It is a pleasure for us to welcome guests from any part of the world, especially from friendly China.

CY: The most important question is that our Indian friends have failed to understand that we cannot accept the Simla Convention and the MacMahon Line but want a friendly settlement on historical facts and actual control. The insistence on our recognising the Simla Convention and the MacMahon Line makes the position very difficult. When we say to delimit the boundary by joint survey, actual control and historical conditions, it includes local adjustments. It does not mean that India would lose large parts of territory. Nor does India want China to lose large parts of its territory.

Supposing the so-called MacMahon Line is recognised, that would mean that we would recognise that had a right not only to delimit the boundary between China and India but also the boundary between Inner and Outer Tibet. We have no such reactionary settlement as Inner and Outer Tibet. We have only provincial boundaries between Szechwan, Tibet, Yunnan, Chinghai and Singkiang. The Tibetan reactionary elements have an idea of "Greater Tibet" and I hope that our Indian friends would not be misled by the same. According to these Tibetan reactionaries Greater Tibet would include parts of Sikang, Chinghai, Kangsu, Szechwan, Shensi and Yunnan provinces — in fact about one-fourth of the total Chinese area would be handed over to the Dalai Lama. Our non-recognition of Simla Convention and the MacMahon Line should not be misunderstood as our having any intention of making territorial claims over India. Both of us should shake off the colonial influence left after independence. After this bitter experience of a dispute for a year, we must bring about a friendly settlement by mutual consultation and accommodation. Why do Indian friends not consider it? How can our delegation come to India to ask India to lose something?

CHF: If we did so, the Indian people can blame us and the Chinese people would also blame us.

CY: To insist on recognising something to which we cannot agree is not a friendly attitude. We are two friendly countries like relations. We have a long history of friendship and cannot be separated and will always remain close to each other. We should shake off the imperialist legacy and by mutual understanding and accommodation find a new line. We have bright prospects. I hope we will not be blamed for we have been frank in our talks.

SS: Frank talks are very good. Otherwise how could we come closer to each other. Similarly, some of our leaders have also been frank in their talks and they should not be misunderstood.

CY: So, we should settle the eastern sector on mutual understanding, accommodation and joint surveys and shake off the legacy of history. The Western sector of the boundary could also be settled in the same spirit. Prime Minister Nehru said that the Western Section of the boundary was vague and undelimited. An agreement in this sector is easier. Our Prime Ministers are discussing the same and may be that they have already arrived at an agreement and this talk may be unnecessary.

SS: It is necessary to give vent to pent up feelings as we are friendly to each other.

CY: The situation now is such that we do not recognise the MacMahon Line and, therefore, an agreement cannot be reached. Only two days are left and we hope that we may reach some agreement to see that the border clashes do not occur again and both the parties maintain the status quo and talks are continued later. By coming with Premier Chou in Delhi we have at least relaxed the atmosphere and this is a great achievement. We hope that all of us have the same feeling.

SS: Meetings and consultations at various levels have a great value.

CY: Yes.

SS: It is refreshing to have a frank discussion and to hear what you actually feel. Some of the members of our Government who are not normally associated with diplomatic, talks, discussions and meetings, have been taking part in these discussions during these five days. We wanted you to contact the various members of the Government. If things are talked over frankly, any scope for misunderstanding is avoided. You have rightly pointed out that on many occasions issues are highly political and go beyond pure routine documents, etc. Documents, agreements, papers, records etc. have their own value but the political issues must be settled first, before detailed data could be examined. I must say that I did not feel greatly surprised after listening to what Your Excellency has said during our talks. We must express freely and frankly our feelings. You should in the same way not feel surprised at the views expressed by us during the last few days. Specific

issues, lengthy notes etc. cannot solve the question and, therefore, there is the need for personal talks and discussions. I would like to mention that the very fact that we talk frankly indicates our mutual desire to understand the viewpoint of each other and to come to an understanding. History bears testimony to the fact that those who do not want to settle the question do not talk in a friendly and frank manner as the Chinese and Indian friends have been doing.

CY: Yes.

SS: If there are difficulties, they are inherent in the situation and have not arisen from our present arguments, talks and discussions. The important thing is, as you have been good enough to say, that China is keen to have friendship with India. India is also keen to have friendship with China and has always been working for the same. We must settle the matter in this spirit. Unfortunately, the discussions of the boundary dispute and differences are under the shadow of incidents in the form of border clashes. After all, we must remember the basic fact of a long boundary between two friendly countries. It would be a sad state of affairs if we were nervous about each other all the time. To mark that boundary at each yard and to place a police constable or a soldier as a proof of actual Indian border would be impossible. Our two countries have more important things to do than to take this step to prove the boundaries. To place a soldier or a policeman to show the extent of the boundary is not a satisfactory state of affairs. The basic thing is mutual respect for territory, e.g. if any proof of Chinese territory is vacant, the Indian soldiers should not walk forward and occupy the same or if any Indian territory is vacant, the Chinese soldiers should not come forward and take the same. This kind of situation would be very wrong. I would be frank and say that a sort of such feeling has grown, particularly in the Ladakh area. There is a caravan route between Tibet and Singkiang through this area used by people without any elaborate system of control and checks. If that is shown as some sort of proof as the claim of a part of our territory, it is not in the spirit of respect of each other's territory.

In speaking about actual jurisdiction and control the important question is at what date—six months, one year, five years or what? The situation has been changing fast. Because of a feeling of mutual friendship, it was not necessary to place any actual symbols of authority on the Sino-Indian border. It does not mean that the actual jurisdiction is in anyway attenuated or sought to be not exercised. We have a genuine feeling and place implicit trust in Chinese friends that they will respect our territory, especially when

we had raised the question and were not happy about the Chinese maps. It was a great shock to us that instead of discussing the maps, steps were taken to change the actual position.

CY: About the date or year of control, we take the historical conditions and actual present control as the basis. It will mean some adjustments, if a date is to be given. China would give a date which would be favourable to her and India would give a date which would be favourable to her and the present situation would not change. If after a joint survey, there is no agreement, further talks will have to be held.

CHF: What you say about the Western sector should also apply to the eastern sector.

SS: After your visit and frank talks you must have been satisfied that we are keen to solve the problem and have friendly relations with China and unless you have this understanding, it would be difficult to solve the question.

CY: Yes, yes.

The following conversation took place during flight from Agra to Delhi
between Sardar Swaran Singh and Marshal Chen Yi

CY: China has made great industrial progress in steel, iron, etc. and we have also increased our food production. But we have made an agreement with Burma to import rice. As Indians are our good friends, I do not want to hide anything from you. We have not been able to solve the food problem in China. Every one cannot get rice and wheat to eat, and so many people have to eat sweet potatoes or other things. We have to export some of our grains in order to get machinery in exchange: by introducing commune system we have been able to organise our labour for the development of agriculture and industry. The Japan-U.S. Treaty is directed against us and the U.S.A has built bases around us. We are alive to the fact that the U.S.A. may attack and take possession of cities like Canton, Shanghai, Peking, Tiensin etc. but we shall fight hard and ultimately defeat them. We cannot hide these facts from our people and have told them about these. There are KMT troops in Northern Burma and American planes take over from that area and drop radio sets etc. to incite the rebel elements in Tibet and other areas. The United States and Kishi and Chiang are united together against us. We believe in having negotiations with U.S. for having peaceful relations

but U.S. may suddenly attack us and we have to be prepared for this. It is clear to us that our most important enemy is the United States which may attack us any time. In this situation it is most important for us to improve our relations with the South East Asian nations, e.g. Nepal, Burma, India, etc. It is most important for us to have most friendly relations with India. We are anxious that even if there is no solution the situation should not go worse and the status quo be maintained. We may stop patrolling the border and have only police and civil administration and separate the Armed Forces by a belt. We do not want to offend India. Our relations with the United States and Japan in the east are tense. It would be stupid if we created a tense situation with India in the west also. The U.S.A. has its bases, atomic missiles and atomic weapons around us. Our dispute with India is very small. We know that India cannot occupy Chinghai, Sikang etc. and that if we cross the Himalayas, the United States would attack us from the east and we cannot defend ourselves. We do not want to worsen the situation and must come to a settlement by mutual understanding and accommodation. It is not that we want India to fight along with us against the United States. The Indian policy of non-alignment is good for the world. You cannot follow the same policy as ours and we cannot follow the some policy as yours. Japan committed aggression against China for 40 years and still does not recognise China and is helping Chiang to invade China and deprive us of our place in the U.N. We want to relax our tension in relations with the United States and Japan but have to resist their aggression. If there is no war for 20 years, that would be good for us, but if they attack us, we cannot kneel down to them. Some people in India say that they should have understanding with the West. The policy of Prime Minister Nehru of non-alignment is correct. Your attitude towards China is very different from that of the United States and Japan. We are in a serious situation and need your friendship. We cannot fraternise with the other side in the east and oppose India for in that case China would no longer be a socialist country. We want to be friendly with India and were shocked when there was trouble on the border. The situation in the east being so tense, we cannot afford to have trouble in the west also.

SS: Your Excellency should rest assured that as far as India is concerned, we have most friendly feelings and deep regards for China. It is because of this friendly feeling and deep regards that we felt so much hurt over the unfortunate incidents on the boundary. Leaving aside the long history of no conflict during recent years we have always sympathised and maintained friendly relations with China. We do not boast about our friendship with

you as it was in accordance with our overall policy of non-alignment and friendship with all. We have always adopted a correct attitude in our policy towards Formosa, Indo-China, Laos, Viet Nam, SEATO, etc. The very idea that China may have any feeling of danger from India is irritating. I have heard with interest the admirable analysis of the situation in Southeast Asia with reference to China as given by Your Excellency. No argument is required to show as to in which direction India's sympathy lie. My appeal to you is not to view Indian friendship only in the light of your difficulties in the east. We want your friendship as you are a great country and we want friendly relations irrespective of the fact whether you have difficulties elsewhere or not. India has been following a policy of non-alignment and friendship with all and even to imagine that we shall create an inconvenient situation for you in the west because of your difficulties in the east, would be unjust. We had very close friendship with you and so felt shocked and the foundations of friendship were shaken because of recent incidents. This basis of friendship is of greater importance than specific differences. The real basic task before you is to restore the damage done on that front. I have been very frank in telling you what I feel about it.

CY: We have been having friendly and frank talks I do not say that China wants the friendship of India because China has difficulties in the east. I also do not mean that difficulties had been created by India because we have had troubles in the east.

SS: We have no such idea.

CY: We are two great nations and we have a strong friendship with each other. Even if both of us are in difficulties, we should be friends. I am speaking from my heart. Our situation is serious and we have great difficulties and are prepared for coastal areas to be occupied by the United States. We do not want to hide our difficulties from you as we are friends.

SS: As the leader of the people, a Minister in the Government and a leader of the Army, you can assure our people that India would never embarrass China in her difficulties. Whatever our differences, we would all along try to solve them by peaceful discussions. I say this with the same responsibility as you have spoken.

CY: If two ordinary countries are negotiating, they do not expose their difficulties to each other. As we are brothers, I am telling you about our difficulties.

SS: We were shocked by the pressure brought against us by the troop movements, clashes, etc. If there were differences, they could be discussed. I am speaking frankly about these things.

CY: It would be best if we could reach some overall settlement but if that is not possible some interim arrangement should be made.

SS: We also want a settlement to be reached.

27. Nehru-Chou Talks VI⁹⁶

VI

(April 24 - 10.30 a.m. to 1.45 p.m.)

Prime Minister: Yesterday, we had a long talk about the western sector and you gave me in some detail your version of the case. I would like to say something in reply briefly. But this means an interminable argument; but I would like to have your views on one particular thing of factual nature.

You told me that it was not till the end of 1950 that the People's Liberation Army came from Sinkiang to northern Aksai Chin area, I presume by the old caravan route, and it was only about a few years later (4 or 5) that the Chinese authorities built a road there. I would like to know whether this is correct.

Premier Chou: I said that Aksai Chin area always has been under the jurisdiction of Sinkiang and Sinkiang became formally a part of China some 200 years ago. Therefore, being a part of Sinkiang, it has been under our administration for 200 years. As I mentioned earlier, we had surveys conducted in this area twice—one in 1891 and another in 1941. In both the cases, the surveyors went upto the Karakoram range and right upto the Kongka Pass in the area. This shows that Aksai Chin and other areas were surveyed by us and we have many historical documents to prove this.

At the end of 1947, Sinkiang was liberated and, in 1951, the People's Liberation Army reached southern Sinkiang and also Aksai Chin. They also went through this area to the Ari region of Tibet. Since then, our administrative personnel and patrols have been stationed in this area. As I pointed out yesterday, some parts of the area are uninhabited and it is

96. Source: see fn 18 in this section "Chou En-lai's Visit."

impossible to station people there throughout the year. But, ever since 1950, our personnel and supplies pass through this area from Sinkiang to Tibet and it became an important route joining Sinkiang with Tibet.

In 1956-57, we built a highway facilitating transport of men and material from Sinkiang to Tibet. This area was, therefore, administered by both the old and new Chinas.

The statement, therefore, of Your Excellency and the Government of India that we reached this area only in the last year or two, or in the last few years, is not in consonance with facts.

Prime Minister: Aksai Chin area is a wide area and it is only the eastern tip of the area where you have built the highway. But, long after the highway was built, according to us, there were no Chinese or Tibetans in other parts of Aksai Chin area because on a number of occasions we had full reports on these parts and it was only last year (1959) that certain posts were established by the Chinese in this remaining part of Aksai Chin and many roads were also reported to have been built. Thus, according to us, apart from the highway part, the other part was traversed and occupied only a year or a year and a half ago. Some other areas of Tibet, which were not parts of Aksai Chin, were also occupied by China last year. Therefore, I would like to know from Your Excellency about what period of time the parts to the west and south of the highway in Aksai Chin area were occupied by the Chinese.

Premier Chou: Your Excellency has put the question in such a way that it itself becomes a question (a controversial matter).

As I have said, areas to the north and east of Karakoram watershed belong to Sinkiang and the boundary line starts from here, goes to Kongka Pass, down to the South from the Chang Chen Mo Valley, Pangong Lake and Indus Valley. Area east of this belongs to Tibet and Chinese administrative personnel and patrols have reached this area. This was true of both old China and new China.

The case is precisely the same as the eastern sector where India regards the line of actual control as her international boundary. As to when patrol parties of either country reached the line is an internal matter, since the patrols were sent according to needs and we may send them earlier or later as the need arises. Your Excellency had said once that, in the eastern sector, some places are high mountains and are inaccessible. The case is similar on the western sector and we never sent patrols there.

In your letter, Your Excellency had mentioned that you sent your patrols to the eastern sector only in the last year or two, because no need arose

before that. Similarly, in the western sector, in some areas there were no inhabitants and the place has high mountains.

If Your Excellency asks me when the Chinese patrol parties reached a particular point in the western sector, then I can also ask the same question about the eastern sector. This will mean only arguments; and this only goes to prove that there is a dispute both in the eastern as well as the western sectors.

Your Excellency said that, in the eastern sector, your administrative authority was only extended gradually. That is also our information. In the Kameng area, in the eastern sector, the Tibetan administration continued till 1951 when only it was withdrawn.

Therefore, we have disputes in both sectors and the boundary is not delimited. Hence, the need for negotiations; pending final settlement, we can both keep our viewpoints and seek a settlement through negotiations.

If you ask me the same question as to when we reached the border, I may again ask you the same question and it will only mean endless arguments.

In the areas south of Kongka Pass, Indian administrative personnel and patrols even crossed the border line and they were also stationed there but we did not take any action and just informed the Government of India about it and wanted to negotiate, because we realised that a dispute existed here and that it could be dealt with when individual adjustments are made through mutual negotiations. This is also true of the eastern and the middle sectors. I do not understand the purpose of Your Excellency's asking me this question. I do not think it will yield any results.

Prime Minister: My purpose in asking this question was to make it clear as to what period of time the area west of Aksai Chin came in practical possession of the Chinese Government. This obviously was not so before, since, as Premier Chou has himself said, the Chinese authorities came to Aksai Chin area only at the end of 1950 and then later they built a road there and it must have been long after that.

May I ask whether it is your contention that the Chinese or Tibetans were there in any form before?

I am saying this particularly because we have so often been to areas west and south of the highway and we had so many pictures and photographs of this area, and we found that the change took place (in the area west of the highway) in a little more than a year. This is not from the point of view of theoretical position but practical one, and more especially because Your Excellency has been stressing "actualities of the situation" and "status quo".

Now, what is the status quo? Status quo of last year or the status quo of a few years more?

I mentioned about new roads being built at some distance to the west of Aksai Chin highway and these must have been very recent structures.

Premier Chou: I have already made clear the position of the Chinese Government, i.e., that our boundary lies along the Karakoram watershed upto Kongka Pass and then to the central sector. Area to the north and east of this is part of Chinese territory. This is so in history and also in administrative jurisdiction. Large parts of this area are in the jurisdiction of Sinkiang; some parts are in the jurisdiction of Tibet. Our administrative and revenue personnel have always functioned in this area. As regards the question as to when New China reached this place, obviously it can only be after New China was born. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, we sent our people to this area according to needs. If no need arose, and besides there being a friendly neighbour like India, there was no reason why we should send our people there. Our position in this area is like India's position in the eastern sector. India regards the line reached by her personnel as her boundary line. If we consider the time of the arrival of administrative personnel and patrol parties, then we find that, during the British rule, administrative personnel and patrols never reached the area south of the line which India considers to be its border in the eastern sector. It was only in 1941-42 that the British sent personnel; but as soon as they reached the boundary line, the local Tibetan Government raised the matter with the British Government. Even after independence of India, there was only gradual extension of administration to this area.

Therefore, in the eastern and western sectors of the boundary, there exists a dispute of the same nature.

In the eastern sector, what we consider the boundary line has been shown by Chinese maps, and the Indian maps, till 1936, have also accepted and shown the same alignment as shown by the Chinese maps. It was only changed to a formal and defined boundary in 1954.

In the western sector, our maps have always shown the boundary which we consider to be our boundary and, moreover, this boundary was also shown by Indian maps till 1862. Some Indian maps later used colour shade. In 1950, in addition to the colour shade, the Indian maps marked the boundary as "undefined". In 1954, however, the Indian maps changed it to "defined".

The boundary line for the eastern and western sectors, as shown on the Chinese maps, is considered by the Chinese Government to be their

boundary line. This has always been so, and it is also shown that way in the Indian maps. It was not till 1954 that the Indian maps started showing a fixed boundary.

As regards maps, China perhaps has more basis on her side while India has more changes. And yet we say that we would like to have negotiations and then suggest the establishment of a joint boundary committee, and that, pending a settlement, both sides should keep to the area of each side.

In the eastern sector, we acknowledge that what India considers its border has been reached by India's actual administration. But, similarly, we think that India should accept that China's administrative personnel has reached the line which it considers to be her border (in the Western Sector). On our part, we have not exceeded the line; but, on the other hand, India has not only exceeded the line, but has even stationed troops at some places. This is what we mean by "status quo".

In the middle sector, there is also dispute, but the places of dispute are few. But these places, together with the few places in the eastern or western sector, can be considered when negotiations are held. This is the starting point. If we only argue about it and ask when China reached the boundary line, then we can ask the same question and it would only lead to endless argument and it would be impossible to solve the question and will only lead to more disputes. It would thus go against the common desire of both sides to settle the border dispute. It will also run counter to the purpose for which I have come here. Therefore, I suggest to Your Excellency that this kind of argument should be stopped and we should talk something which will be helpful to a settlement. Our desire is for friendship and we should lessen and not extend areas of dispute.

The situation is quite clear and time does not allow us to argue like this.

Prime Minister: I entirely agree about lessening the points of difference and find out ways for approaching a settlement. But what to do if facts vary so much? Apart from facts, there are also the inferences. I have stated a very firm case; that there was no control of Tibet or China in eastern Ladakh and that neither the Chinese, the Sinkianese or the Tibetans had ever been there. Now, that is in entire opposition to what Your Excellency has said. What I meant was—the question is not any of dates of visits by patrol parties; but, that for generations, there has been no sign of Chinese or Tibetans in the eastern and southern parts of Ladakh. This is a basic thing; and, therefore, I venture to ask Your Excellency as to when the patrol parties had visited these areas.

There is a big difference in our minds between jurisdiction of a country and setting up of administrative apparatus. A country may have jurisdiction and yet may not have full administration because of the area being uninhabited or being mountainous. But that does not lessen the jurisdiction. Sending of troops is not an administrative matter, but it is the exercise of jurisdiction. We have fully and cent per cent exercised our jurisdiction in the eastern sector for a long time, but we spread our administration slowly, because we were dealing with primitive tribes and they had to be given training for it. Establishment of military check posts is easy, but that is not administration.

You referred to Indian maps upto 1862 being in line with the Chinese maps. 1862 means about 98 years ago. Actually, the first full survey on the ground of the boundary was made in 1864 by, I think, Johnson,⁹⁷ and it is the first elaborate survey of its type. In 1862, Strachey⁹⁸ and Walker⁹⁹ brought out a map without going there, but Walker later changed his map after Johnson's survey. Therefore, at least for nearly a hundred years, they have not changed or varied. Perhaps some parts were shown in colour, but that is only to show the difference in areas under actual administration and areas under our jurisdiction.

I entirely agree we cannot go on arguing about this endlessly.

Therefore, I thought that some facts can be clarified at the official level. The difficulty is of basic facts, and inferences based on them are so different. You suggested the establishment of a joint committee, but I am unable to understand what it can possibly do. The joint committee will necessarily consist of officials and the like and, in such vital matters, it cannot go far. If we two ourselves disagree, how can a joint committee agree? It can only perhaps report on facts, but the facts are not ascertained by going to these places, to the peaks or check posts, for they could give us no history and, therefore, it can be of no help at all. But officials from both sides may perhaps examine the documents and report to both the Governments. Then, at least, we will have some facts; but no joint committee would have either the authority or competence to deal with these matters.

Premier Chou: Your Excellency's statement proves that my proposal on behalf of the Chinese Government is tenable. Your Excellency says that it is your firm belief that eastern Ladakh has always been under the jurisdiction of Ladakh. Similarly, on our part we firmly believe that, in the eastern

97. W.H. Johnson.

98. Henry Strachey.

99. J.W. Walker.

sector, areas south of the line have belonged to China. If necessary, we can produce many documents to prove this. In the last few days, we have talked mostly about the western sector; but if we were to talk about the eastern sector, we will also need at least three days more. But that will only increase the difference. You mentioned about difference between jurisdiction and administration. According to the Government of India, in the eastern sector, jurisdiction had reached long ago, but administration spread slowly. We can use the same explanation about the western sector also. The Chinese Government always considered and firmly believed that the boundary between Sinkiang and Ladakh is the one as appears on our maps, viz., following the Karakoram watershed to Kongka pass and then reaching the middle sector. Our sovereignty over this area had long reached this line. Although it took time for administration to reach the line, the jurisdiction has always been quite clear and we have documents to support.

As regards Aksai Chin, most places are sparsely inhabited; but Aksai Chin has been under the jurisdiction of Khotan for a long time. Our administration sometimes reached there, sometimes not. Mainly the Sinkianese, who are nomads, went there; but sometimes a few Tibetans also. Therefore, it was only when pasturage was available, our people could go and collect revenues and they returned when winter came. We have also documents to support this.

Therefore, your principle can be used by both sides; yet I do not ask the Government of India to immediately agree to our stand and we would like you to do the same. Therefore, we have been maintaining that there is a dispute and that the boundary is not delimited.

As regards maps in eastern sector, our maps have not changed but Indian maps have changed. It was not till 1954, that is, 6 years after Indian independence, that India made this a formal frontier.

Similar situation obtained in the western sector. Your Excellency mentioned that, in 1864, maps were changed. But we still find that even in that period Indian maps were very vague—there was no line. In 1950 also, the border was still marked “undemarcated”. It was only in 1954 that it came to be marked as “defined”.

Therefore, both in the eastern and the western sectors, the boundaries were made “defined” in 1954.

This would further show that India also acknowledges the fact that boundaries established in the western sector were not delimited. Your Excellency stated in Parliament that the boundary in the western sector was vague. Therefore, there is need to reach agreement through friendly settlement.

I was glad to hear that Your Excellency agrees that officials of both sides should continue to examine materials available with both sides. We have also the same desire and, therefore, after examination of documents eventually we will find some common points.

As regards on-the-spot surveys to be made by the Committee, I said that it "may" be done, only if necessary. The main duty of the Committee would, of course, be to examine the material and report to respective Governments.

I also propose that officials of both sides should make the report to their Governments and then higher level talks should take place. Even if it may not be possible to reach a complete solution in these talks, we very much hope that we can reach at least an agreement on principles and subsequent talks should be held later. I have come with the sincere desire to settle questions once for all; but if it is not possible to do so now, I would still very much like to see that favourable conditions are created for future talks. Friendship between our two countries is important not only to our two peoples but also to the world at large.

We should leave the differences on facts to any organisation formed by diplomatic personnel (i.e., members of the Foreign Office) of both sides. Thus, our talks will lead to effective and positive results.

Prime Minister: I may mention here a point though rather irrelevant; since you have mentioned it, I might refer to it. Your Excellency has mentioned about our patrols going to Khinzemane. I have made enquiries on the point and I find that there were no armed patrols at all. It was only a group of Tibetan refugees who were coming in. I have one advantage over you and that is that I slightly know the area about which we are talking.

I agree that there is no use carrying on the controversial discussion, because there is difference of facts. However, I may mention one thing. Apart from old maps and accounts, our new maps (not only the 1954 maps) have been before everybody, including the Chinese Government, and we have drawn your attention to them while protesting against your maps. As far as I can remember, at no time did the Chinese Government raise objection to our maps. Objection to our maps was raised only in the middle of the last year. I do not say that you have formally accepted our maps, but you had raised no objection and this was in spite of the fact that these maps told precisely what our situation with respect to the western and the eastern sectors of the border was; and even when the map question was raised by us, your Government did not raise any objection. All that you said was that you would consider your own maps when there is time to do so. Now, that indicates that right from the establishment of the

People's Government, it knew of our maps and our position and there could have been no doubt on this point, whether right or wrong. Normally speaking, we would have expected you to tell us about it in case you objected to them, and it is only in September, 1959, that you told us of your objection to our maps. Naturally, we were led to believe all through these years that, broadly speaking, our maps were acceptable to you except for minor border disputes. This was more or less confirmed in my mind when Your Excellency spoke to me some four years ago about the eastern sector. Hence our sense of surprise and shock when, later, the Chinese Government rejected our maps completely.

Premier Chou: Speaking of maps—the maps themselves only show the historical development. When New China was founded, we had no time to study details of neighbouring boundaries and we could only use the old maps. We had no basis to change maps unilaterally. In our conduct with friendly neighbouring countries, we took a very objective view and said that Chinese maps may have some differences with the objective situation. This only represented our friendly attitude and we, therefore, said that it is only after negotiations that all maps (on both sides) should be changed. We made this statement to Burma and to India, as also to some socialist countries with whom we had the same differences in the alignment of maps.

When we discussed the eastern sector, I thought that the dispute was only about the eastern sector and we were always willing to settle it though, of course, we could not recognise the McMahon Line or the Simla Convention; but if a settlement was reached naturally we would change our maps. This was our thinking and it was certainly friendly. We have followed old maps in the eastern and the western sectors as they were, but the Indian maps have changed before and even after independence. In 1954, the maps changed the line from “undefined” to “defined” unilaterally. How can we recognise such unilateral change?

Since 1954, we had a chance of talking about our border question in a friendly way, although it was without maps; but we mentioned the same principles with regard to the western sector.

In your letter of December, 1958, when the question of maps was raised, it was only about the eastern sector. It was only in March 1959 that you mentioned old treaties—not only the Simla Convention but also the peace treaty with Tibet, and therefore, a question was raised about the McMahon Line and the Simla Convention, which we cannot ever accept, but also about the western sector. Hence, our reply of September, 1959. The dispute between us was thus brought about and it extended in this way. Since the differences have been extended, we must try to solve them.

We do not impose maps on India and we would like India to do likewise.

If we must reach a settlement, then both our maps will have to be changed accordingly. Broadly speaking, may be after settlement, the Chinese map will be changed more; but this will be done when China settles the boundary question. This has been our attitude of friendly settlement and not of unilaterally imposing our position on the other side. Your Excellency has known me for the last five or six years and you have known that I have consistently tried to settle questions in a friendly manner and I have the same attitude now.

Prime Minister: May I say that it has been a privilege to know Your Excellency for several years and I attach value to this friendship, not only from a personal point of view but in a larger sense as representatives of two countries, and it is our earnest desire both from the personal as well as larger point of view to settle these disputes.

But, as it appears from the talks, there is such basic difference regarding facts and recent developments that big hurdles have arisen. How can we get over them? It is not a matter of one individual getting over them, because these are national issues affecting vast numbers of people. As a matter of fact, even the slightest change in the border, according to our Constitution, can be made only by a change of the Constitution. As Your Excellency is aware, we recently had an agreement with Pakistan on some areas on the border and the Supreme Court has decided that we can do so only if the Constitution is changed.

But here, we have been trying to find a solution in a friendly way to our questions consistent with dignity and self-respect of both countries. The question is how to do this? We must give it some thought.

It is true, as Your Excellency has said, it is very unlikely and difficult for us to find a way of settlement on this occasion. Your Excellency has suggested this joint committee and you have also mentioned some matters called "common grounds".

Among the common grounds you have mentioned are firstly, that a dispute exists. Secondly, there is a line of actual control; thirdly, that there are geographical principles like watershed, valleys, mountain passes, which should equally apply to all sectors; fourthly, that each side should keep to its line and that no side should put forward any territorial claims. Fifth point is about national feelings.

Regarding these points, I would not say much in detail now except on No. 4 wherein you have said that neither side should put forward territorial claims. This is not quite clear to me. Our accepting things as they are would mean that basically there is no dispute and the question ends there; that we are

unable to do.

I had mentioned earlier that we are agreeable to officers on both sides continuing their examination of materials and then reporting to us on the facts so that we could at least have precise facts. These officers, of course, are not competent to recommend a solution or take any major decisions. They also could not go to particular areas. They could not very well take any evidence from a shepherd and it is no use sitting on a mountain peak. It would not be helpful; moreover, partly because the situation has also been changing recently. If you think that there is something in this, then some of our officers may sit down and tell us how to proceed. They could draft something as to how the officials on both sides would examine the documents and report to us.

Premier Chou: I would like to have one clarification. After our officials draft a programme for work or ways in which they will work, they will require some time and how cannot be done now. But after their work is finished, they can submit their reports.

Prime Minister: Yes, of course.

Premier Chou: What about 4 o'clock this afternoon?

Prime Minister: That should be all right.

Premier Chou : Who will head the team on your side?

Prime Minister: Our Foreign Secretary, Mr. Dutt.

(it was then decided that senior officers of both sides should meet at 4 p.m.)

Premier Chou: I am very glad to know that Your Excellency has no objection to the common grounds mentioned by me. As regards point No. 4, our idea, when we say territorial claims should not be made, is that there should be no pre-requisites. Neither side should be asked to give up its stand; but after an agreement is reached, the maps will have to be changed and each side will have to take necessary constitutional procedures. In our case, agreement has to be ratified by the National People's Congress; in your case, as in the case of Burma, the Constitution may have to be changed.

I would like to make a further proposal. In order to facilitate further negotiations after talks this time, it seems to us that a joint statement will

be a good thing to indicate that some progress has been made in these talks. In this joint statement, we may mention the following:

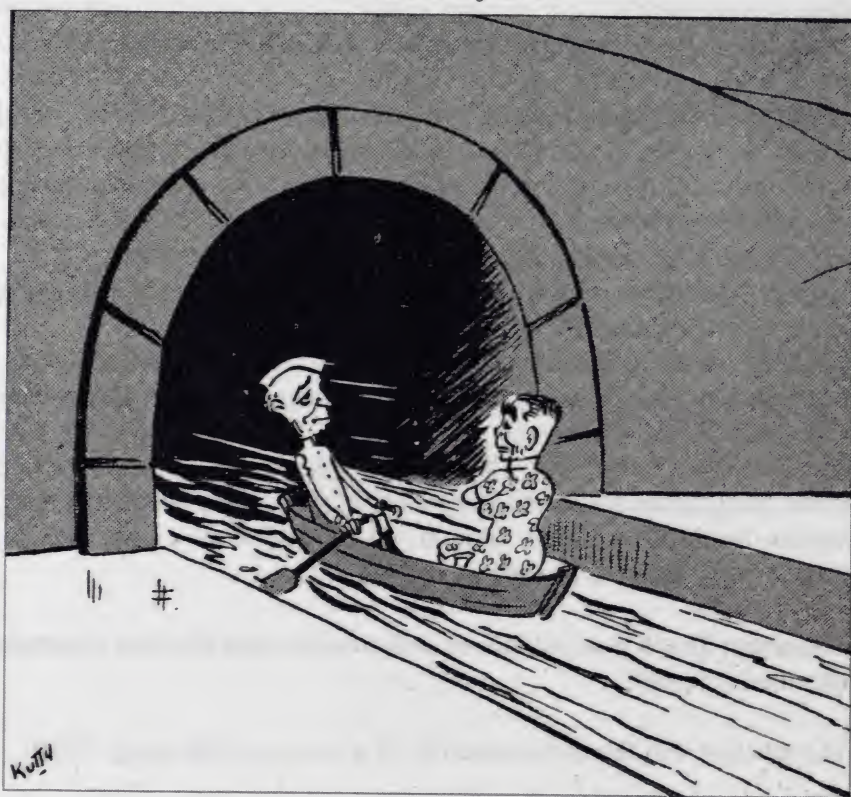
- (i) that both sides stated their stands and viewpoints and these talks have meant a step forward to settlement of the boundary question.
- (ii) we still think that it is best to separate our Forces from the line of actual control.

If you have any difficulty in accepting this, we can think of some other way.

In the joint statement, we should also express our desire for friendly relations. Not only our two peoples but the whole world is interested in these talks and, therefore, a statement would seem necessary.

We should try to lessen tension and eventually tension will be lessened.

The Tunnel of Love



The talks between the Indian and Chinese Prime Ministers are continuing.
(From *Shankar's Weekly*, 24 April 1960, p.17)

Prime Minister: I agree some kind of statement will have to be issued, but it will require careful consideration.

About separation of troops from the border, you would remember what we said when you first wrote to us about it. We are also anxious to avoid clashes; but as far as the eastern sector is concerned, there does not seem to be any chance. There may be a few Tibetan refugees coming in, but then our troops are not in contact at any point.

On the western sector, there are vast areas with a few check posts here and there and it is not even easy to determine lines. All we can, therefore, do is to impress on our people not to do anything leading to clashes.

Premier Chou: As regards the last point, both sides should ensure that they continue to stop patrolling of borders not only in the western sector but also in the eastern sector, because our posts are near, as at Kinzemane. If there are no patrols, we can avoid contact and, even if Tibetan refugees come and go, if we stop patrolling, then we can avoid clashes.

Prime Minister: Yes. On the eastern sector there should be no difficulty. On the western sector, we want to avoid possibility of conflict; but the answer to it is that no patrolling at all, but that patrolling should not be done in a direction where conflict may arise.

Premier Chou: I am afraid this interpretation of stopping patrolling might create some trouble, but I will reply tomorrow on this.

After our officials have examined documents and submitted reports to the respective Governments, I would like to suggest that next talks should be held in China—Peking. In my letter also, I had stated that we would extend to Your Excellency a very warm welcome and hospitality and I would like to extend this invitation today. If there is any difficulty about it, you can decide about it later. There is no need to give me a reply right now. You may visit at any time suitable to you.

Prime Minister: Thank you; but this we will consider only after the Committee has submitted its report.

(The meeting was then adjourned till 10 o'clock on 25th April, 1960).

28. Note¹⁰⁰

At the meeting between the two Prime Ministers this morning, Prime Minister Mr. Nehru suggested that officials of the two Governments should meet and examine the documentary and other material in each other's possession and draw up a report for submission to the two Governments listing the points on which the officials agree and the points on which they disagree or which in their view require further examination and clarification. Mr. Nehru made it clear that he could not agree to a joint committee which would be entrusted the task of touring the frontier area or making definite recommendation as regards determination of the boundary. This is a responsibility which, in Mr. Nehru's view, could not be given to Government officials. He was however agreeable to officials of both sides meeting and examining the documentary evidence in each other's possession with a view to narrowing down the points of disagreement and reaching a common measure of understanding in regard to their interpretation. Mr. Nehru understood that this proposal was acceptable in principle to Premier Chou En-lai and the two Prime Ministers agree that officials on both sides should meet this afternoon in order to draft a paragraph which would define the task to be entrusted to the officials of the two Governments.

We suggest the following draft for your consideration:

"It is agreed that the officials of the two sides should meet and examine the documentary and other material on which each side relies in support of its stand and draw up a report for submission to the two Governments. This report should list the points on which there is agreement among the officials and the points on which there is disagreement or which in their view need further examination and clarification."

It was further agreed that officials should meet before the end of June and should submit their report within a month of their first meeting.

I should like to add time limit is flexible.

100. Unsigned note, but probably by S. Dutt as the last sentence is in his handwriting, New Delhi, 24 April 1960. P.N. Haksar Papers, NMML.

29. Record of Indian and Chinese Officials' Meeting¹⁰¹

[24 April 1960 – begins 4 p.m.]

Verbatim proceedings of the meeting between the Chinese and Indian officials held on 24th April. 1960, at 4.00 p.m. in Rashtrapati Bhavan.

Present

India

1. Shri S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary
2. Shri G. Parthasarthy, India's Ambassador in China
3. Shri J.S. Mehta, Director, Northern Division, MEA
4. Dr. S. Gopal, Director, Historical Division, MEA

(In Attendance)

Shri Bhutani, O.S.D.)

Shri A.S. Mani, O.S.D.) M.E.A.

Dr. V. Kumar, O.S.D.)

China

1. Mr. Chiao Kuan-hun, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs
2. Mr. Chang Wen-Chin, Director, First Asian Department
3. Mr. Chian Chin-tung, Section Chief, 1st Asian Department
4. Mr. Chi Chao-Chu, Interpreter.

Shri S. Dutt: We meet this afternoon as I was told by Prime Minister Mr. Nehru that at the meeting between the two Prime Ministers this morning, Mr. Nehru suggested that officials of the two Governments should meet and examine the documentary and other materials in each other's possession and draw up a report for submission to the two Governments listing the points on which the officials agree and the points on which they disagree and which in their view require further examination and clarification. Mr. Nehru told Premier Chou En-lai that he could not agree to a joint committee which should be entrusted with the task of touring the frontier areas for making definite recommendations as regards determination of the boundary. This is a responsibility which in Prime Minister Nehru's view could not be given to Government officials. He was, however, agreeable to officials of

101. Rashtrapati Bhavan, 24 April 1960, 4. 00 p.m. P.N. Haksar Papers, NMML.

both sides meeting and examining the documentary evidence in each other's possession with a view to narrowing down the points of disagreement and reaching a common measure of understanding in regard to their interpretation of the documents etc. Mr. Nehru understood that these proposals were acceptable in principle to Premier Chou En-lai and it was agreed by the two Prime Ministers that officials on both sides should meet this afternoon in order to draft a paragraph which would define the task to be entrusted to the officials of the two Governments.

We now suggest for your consideration the following draft:

"The two Prime Ministers agree that officials of the two sides should meet and examine the documentary and other material on which each side relies in support of its stand and draw up a report for submission to the two Governments. This report should list the points on which there is agreement among the officials and the points on which there is disagreement or which in their view need further examination and clarification. It was further agreed that officials should meet before the end of June and should submit their report within a month of their first meeting."

Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua: First of all we are happy to meet our friends. We also from our Premier received somewhat similar instructions. Now we would like to submit our draft also. Our draft would be called terms of reference for the working group on the Sino-Indian boundary.

"The Prime Ministers of China and India through friendly consultations are of the common view that

- (1) the boundary between the two countries had not been delimited and that the two parties have a dispute over the boundary.
- (2) there exists between the two countries a line of actual control up to which each side exercises actual control.
- (3) In determining the boundary between the two countries, certain geographical principles, such as, watersheds, river valleys, mountain passes, etc. will be equally applicable to all sectors of the boundary.
- (4) The settlement of the boundary question between the two countries must take into consideration the national feelings of the two peoples towards the Himalayas and the Karakoram mountains.
- (5) In the process of settling the boundary question between the two countries through consultations, both parties will abide by the line of actual control and not raise territorial claims as pre-requisite conditions. However, individual adjustments may be made.

In accordance with the above common understanding, it is decided to

set up a Sino-Indian Boundary Working Group composed of equal number of delegates in each side to exchange, examine, check and study all historical documents, records, accounts, maps, etc. in the possession of each side with regard to the boundary question and, where necessary, might despatch personnel to the spot to carry out surveys so as to record the points where the two parties are agreed, the points where the two parties are not agreed, and points where doubt exists, and may, on the basis of the two parties obtaining an agreed view, raise corresponding proposals and individually or in common report to the two Governments. The Working Group shall function from June to September 1960 and meet in the capitals of the two countries. The first meeting shall take place in Peking. The Working Group shall finish their work within four months and report to the two Governments."

Shri Dutt: Thank you; since this is a somewhat longish draft, I suggest that we adjourn for a while and in the meanwhile it can be typed out.

(The meeting then adjourned for a few minutes).

Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua: By the "meeting" do you mean a meeting of one day or, say, of one month?

Shri Dutt: The day on which they meet first.

Mr. Chiao: Our understanding is that the month will be counted from the first day.

Shri Dutt: Our idea is that if we meet in Peking, we shall take such documentary material etc. as is possible and you will produce yours. The documents will be listed and the lists then exchanged between the two parties. That would enable the two sides to study the implications.

Before we discuss the proposal as it stands, I shall be glad to give clarification on any point that may be needed.

Now towards the end of the first page of your draft you say: "In accordance with the above common understanding, it is decided to set up a Sino-Indian Boundary Working Group composed of equal number of delegates on each side to exchange, examine, check and study all historical documents, records, accounts, maps, etc. in the possession of each side with regard to the boundary question and where necessary might despatch personnel to the spot to carry out surveys so as to record the points where

the two parties are agreed, the points where two parties are not agreed, and points where doubt exists, and may, on the basis of the two parties obtaining an agreed view, raise corresponding proposals and individually or in common report to the two Governments."

Mr. Chiao: Actually the English translation here is not very accurate. We entirely agree with the wording in the Indian draft that they report on the points agreed, on the points not agreed and the points where they need further clarification. But we would like to add further that this Working Group should report to the two Governments on points agreed to by them.

Shri Dutt: I envisage to say that supposing the Chinese officials give a different interpretation and the Indian officials have their own interpretation, it should be recorded in the report. How the whole object of these discussions is to reach a common measure of agreement or to know the points of disagreement. So naturally the same report will have to go to the two Governments. The Chinese officials may be having their own understanding of a certain decision and the Indians their own and it is quite possible that they may be making a wrong report to their respective Governments about the views of the other side due to misunderstanding. If it is a joint report signed by the two sides the element of error will be eliminated.

Mr. Chiao: Yes, I think this can be considered.

Shri Dutt: Now on your draft I would like to make the following observations. Your draft envisages functions for the officials which are very much broader than those envisaged by my Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru. That apart, the Indian officials present here are precluded under our instructions or in terms of the instructions given to us, from subscribing to the views 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. So far as I am aware, these are points of substance which have been discussed between the two Prime Ministers and the two Prime Ministers must decide for themselves as to whether either of them can accept them. In fact these are the points which have been put forward or suggested by Premier Chou En-lai in his talk with Prime Minister Nehru and I am not aware that our Prime Minister has accepted these viewpoints. It is clearly impossible for me as the leader of the Indian officials on this side to agree to these points. The Indian and Chinese officials have not met here to draft an agreed joint communiqué on the results of the discussions which have taken place between the two Prime Ministers. As I said in my opening statement, Mr. Nehru's suggestion at the meeting this morning

was that officials of the two Governments should meet and examine the documentary and other material in each other's possession and draw up a report for submission to the two Governments listing the points on which the officials agree and the points on which they disagree or which in their view require further examination and clarification.

The views which have been mentioned in your draft have to be discussed between the two Prime Ministers and it is for them to say whether they agree or disagree with these. So far as I am aware, Prime Minister Nehru is not in agreement with these views. In the second paragraph of the draft you describe the officials group as a Sino-Indian Boundary Working Group. As I have already stated, we do not envisage the officials visiting the frontier areas or carrying out surveys. In the circumstances to describe these officials working with the limited objective of examining the material in each side's possession as a Sino-Indian Boundary Working group would not be in accordance with facts. To sum up, therefore, we find ourselves unable to accept your draft as it is. We suggest omission of the first paragraph which lists the supposed common view. If you are agreeable, we can proceed to consider the second paragraph in order to see whether we can amend it in accordance with our understanding of the functions envisaged for the officials.

Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua: We thank you for making a clear assessment of your views. We would like you also to express your views on points on which you disagree in the second paragraph.

Shri Dutt: I agree that in certain respects your second paragraph is very detailed than ours. Therefore, I would amend our draft as follows:-

"The two Prime Ministers agree that officials of the two sides should meet and examine, check and study all historical documents, records, accounts, maps and other material relevant to the boundary question, on which each side relies in support of its stand and draw up a report for submission to the two Governments."

We are prepared to accept that the officials shall function from June to September 1960 and meet alternately. It will read as under:

"It is further agreed that the Working Group shall function between June and September 1960 and meet alternately in the capitals of the two countries. The first meeting shall take place in Peking and the officials should finish their work within four months and report to the two Governments."

The only amendment in this is in view of the study of material it would be an exaggeration to call it a Working Group. Secondly, I am not making

it obligatory the mention of alternate meetings in two capitals because at least two meetings will have to take place in any case. It is a matter of detail. We should meet alternately.

May I add that our draft as now amended is practically the same as your second paragraph subject to the omission of these words "in accordance with the above common understanding" and then we have omitted "might despatch personnel to carry out surveys so as to record the points where the two parties are agreed, etc." so that with the omission of these, this is practically the same as your draft because our draft incorporates the other points of your draft.

(The meeting adjourned for some time).

Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua: We have made a preliminary study of your views. Though you have expressed disagreement to many of our views, you have agreed to some of our views, about which we are happy. Suppose we do like this: there are points which you do not accept. We will reserve them and we will report them to our Prime Minister and we also hope that you will also report to your Prime Minister. That is to say on the first paragraph of five points.

Then in second paragraph, there are three points—one point is about the name of the Official Working Group; the second is about despatch of personnel for survey and the third point is about raising corresponding proposals. With the exception of these three points in second paragraph, we agree to your version.

Then on the question of our meeting every month, you suggest the revision that we meet alternately. After preliminary study, I think, it is all right but will study further. Of course, there may be some question of wordings only.

Suppose we report to our Prime Ministers and if either side feels the necessity of having a meeting, we inform the other side, and if not, the points which we have agreed upon, we will submit to our two Prime Ministers.

Shri Dutt : (circulated the revised Indian draft)

"The Two Prime Ministers agree that officials of the two sides should meet and examine, check and study all historical documents, records, accounts, maps and other material relevant to the boundary question on which each side relies in support of its stand and draw up a report

for submission to the two Governments. This report should list the points on which there is agreement among the officials and the points on which there is disagreement or which in their view need further examination and clarification.

The officials shall function from June to September 1960 and meet alternately in the capitals of the two countries. The first meeting shall take place in Peking and the officials will submit their report to the two Governments within four months."

Mr. Chiao: We will consult our Prime Minister.

(The meeting then adjourned).

30. Nehru-Chou Talks VII¹⁰²

VII

(April 25 - 11 a.m. to 12-45 p.m.)

Prime Minister: Yesterday, our officials held a meeting. Since the time is limited, we might perhaps discuss the question of a draft communiqué. We have made a draft of the joint statement which Your Excellency may like to see.

(Prime Minister handed over the Indian draft communiqué to Premier Chou En-lai.)

Premier Chou: We too have drafted a communiqué on the basis of the talks of the last 5 days and I would like you to have a look at it. The contents, however, differ to some extent.

(Premier Chou handed over the Chinese draft to Prime Minister.)

Prime Minister: There is a good deal of difference between our draft and Your Excellency's draft. You have mentioned there certain matters on which we do not agree. You have mentioned that we hold unanimous views on the six points. We do not agree to most of them and in a statement of this kind one must avoid controversial matters; otherwise it would be argumentative. It should represent

102. Source: see fn 18 in this section "Chou En-lai's Visit."

MIND YOUR STEP.

SHANKAR'S WEEKLY



(From *Shankar's Weekly*, 24 April 1960, Cover)

both viewpoints without entering into any arguments. I would, therefore, suggest that we should take our draft as a basis for discussion.

Premier Chou: As to these six points mentioned in the draft, they have been mentioned by me several times and yesterday Your Excellency said that you did not have much to say about them, but that you only wanted some

clarification on point 4 and I gave that clarification. Therefore, I thought that in principle these points were acceptable to Your Excellency.

As regards point No. 1, we have said that our boundaries are "not formally delimited". This wording is taken from one of the letters of Your Excellency.

As regards the point regarding territorial claims, I have already made explanations. As regards stopping of patrolling, there was some difficulty in regard to accepting Your Excellency's suggestion on the western sector and I promised to give an answer. Therefore, I feel that mention of these points in this draft is not without basis; but if Your Excellency objects, then we will not press it. My impression, however, has been that Your Excellency did not raise any objection to them when they were put forward.

Prime Minister: I am afraid, it is not quite correct. I had expressed my view on these matters earlier and I did not think it was necessary to say it again. You said that there was a dispute on the boundary. Yes, that is so, and that there are areas under actual control of either side, and I said that it is probably so. But that was not in this context. On point No. 4, I had pointed out that, if we accepted this, it would mean that practically we have settled our disputes. I did not say anything because I thought that we had made our position sufficiently clear and it is certainly not correct to say that I agree to these points or that we are unanimous on these points. For example, when you said that the dispute existed, it was not a matter for agreement or disagreement on my part, since you were making an assertion about the existence of a dispute. Our claim all along has been that, although the boundary is not marked to the ground, it has all along been well defined through various ways. There may, of course, be difference of opinion on this, but our position is clear.

Premier Chou: It is, of course, good that Your Excellency has further clarified your point of view. It proves that there are still differences of opinion, as you have said. Our views we have already stated in our draft, but I would now like to say something about your draft.

From Your Excellency's draft, one gets the general impression that, after the last six days' talks, we only agreed on procedural matters, but that there was no progress whatsoever. But that is not my appraisal. I think some progress has been made. I cannot say that there has been no difference at all or that as if no exchanges have been made, that we did not review the historical background or that there has been no difference as compared to the days when we had not met. Some progress has been made and this is a fact. To give an impression disappointing to our people

and to the world who are interested in these talks would not be desirable, because this matter does not concern only our two peoples but the entire world. Therefore, I think that the main spirit of the draft should be positive. Particularly, it would be better if para. 3 in your draft is revised.

- (i) Para. 3 could be revised to some such effect: "Both parties explained their stands, viewpoints and ideas and about solution of the question and the talks enabled both sides to further understand each other. Although both parties did not reach a further agreement, they reached agreement on procedure" Some such thing will be more positive and it is also in conformity with the facts and is not embarrassing to the Government of India.

I further feel that something also should be said about prospects after the report of officials on both sides has been submitted, viz., there should be some mention that the two Prime Ministers will meet again. This will give hope to our people. We feel that, no matter how great the difficulties may be, they must be overcome. We came with great hope and we want that hope to persist.

- (ii) As regards the last sentence in para. 5, it is still our view that, while our officials are examining factual material, we should stop patrolling all along the border in order to avoid any clashes. The idea of stopping patrolling was put forward by Your Excellency yourself. Your Excellency said yesterday that, in the eastern sector, it is all right, and that there is no patrolling by Indian troops and that near Kinzemann only a few Tibetan refugees came in. I also had made enquiries on this point and I find that it was not a group of Tibetan refugees; but, according to our information, the original post set up by the Indian army at Kinzemann had been moved to a place one kilometre northwest of the original post and the new post is at Dama where a company of Indian soldiers is now stationed. This place has only six families with 29 inhabitants, all Tibetans. Perhaps Indian troops might have done this in the feeling that they are still in Indian territory. But it shows that Indian Forces have not only not stopped patrolling but they have even pushed their post forward and this brings them nearer to our post at Lotsum and the difference between our post and this new post is only 4 kilometres. So, such a situation does exist in the eastern sector. I received this information just before I came here, and then we have given strict orders not to open fire under any circumstances and also strictly ordered our Forces not to do any patrolling along the line.

Regarding the eastern sector, we have given assurance that our Forces will not exceed India's line of actual control. As far as we can see, Kinzemann

even exceeds this line. But, in the western sector, Indian Government has not given us a similar assurance and, therefore, the problem arises. It is a vast area and most places are without inhabitants. So, in some places, where we have no posts, the Indian side establishes posts; then the posts on both sides would be in very zigzag position. That would make problems very complicated. Therefore, we have suggested stopping of patrolling all along the border. This would give some kind of a guarantee and it seems to us that during further examination of material we should at least have some such kind of a guarantee.

I have a few suggestions regarding para. 6:

- (a) we might add, in addition to the reference to the Paris Conference, in the draft our support to prohibition of nuclear weapons;
- (b) we may also express our support to the just struggle of the African, Asian and Latin American people against Imperialism, racial discrimination and in defence of their independence. If it is possible, we may specifically condemn the Government of the Union of South Africa for taking repressive measures against the African people. If that is not possible, we might put it in other form in a general way;
- (c) we may also reiterate that Geneva Agreement should be respected by all parties concerned. This is also particularly because India is the Chairman of the Supervisory Commission.

At the end, I suggest that one point should be added to your draft stating that I have cordially invited Your Excellency to come to China and that you would do so at your convenience.

I also find that there is no mention of the 5 Principles in the entire draft.

Perhaps, according to Your Excellency, these principles have been shaken. But it is not so. We still feel that these principles should govern our relations. Some temporary or superficial phenomenon might be interpreted by some as our not conforming to the Five Principles. But, as Your Excellency has mentioned, there is no basic conflict of interests between our two countries and so we should continue to reaffirm our faith in the Five Principles. In Chinese, we have a saying which says, "a good horse can be seen only from the distance that it covers and the heart of a person is seen only by events." Our friendship has stood the test of time in the past and I am confident that it will continue to stand the test of time for a thousand years to come.

These are mainly my views. There are also some technical suggestions, but these I will not go into.

Prime Minister: Your Excellency has referred to many matters. The initial difficulty for me is that even your referring to all these matters shows a difference in approach of the two sides. How to bring these differences close together in a statement of this type? Because, in a brief joint statement like this, we cannot have arguments. We cannot mention the difference in our approaches and the Indian view and the Chinese view and so on. It would be out of place.

You say that a more positive approach is desirable. Yes, provided it has a good basis. The position is definite. These long talks have not convinced each other of the rightness of the other's position. We can express it argumentatively or in a brief manner as we have tried to do in the draft.

Your Excellency mentioned about including something about "prospects after receipt of the report". What can one say about this? If we say something, it will be only some pious sentiments and will not lead us anywhere. It will be airy and without much meaning.

I agree that we should approach with hope and try our best.

Your Excellency referred to stopping of patrolling and more particularly you referred to Kinzemann.

According to your information, our post has moved forward. I am not aware of this. We had made an enquiry and I was told that no patrolling was done. Normally speaking, we should have been informed if such a thing had happened. However, since you have mentioned it, I will make enquiries again.

Broadly speaking, I am in favour of stopping patrolling activities which would lead to a clash, but there are many areas of patrolling and they are not against anybody, particularly in a vast area like the western sector. It is dotted with posts, but it is empty otherwise. I admit that we should avoid patrolling, but does it mean that our patrols should stay in their posts without moving out between these vast areas? They have to have some communication and it is a normal thing which does not involve any conflict. Therefore, to stop all movement will not be practicable; but we should issue strict orders that they should refrain from activities which would lead to armed clashes.

Your Excellency referred to para. 6 which makes a mention about international affairs.

You first mentioned that we should include something about prohibition of nuclear weapons. We have been saying it all the time and we support such prohibition; but the point is that this point is not before the Paris Conference but it is being discussed separately as a separate issue. As regards struggle in Africa for independence and racial equality, we have also expressed our opinion frequently, clearly and in very strong terms.

But the main question is whether referring to these things in this kind of a statement would be appropriate. I am afraid this may lead to many kinds of

criticisms, both from our people here and others.

Frankly speaking, our people will say that you talk about other areas, but you do not talk about Tibet. I do not want to say anything about Tibet. But according to our information, statements have been made in Tibet by important representatives of the Central Chinese Government like Chang Ching-Wu and Chang Kuo-Hua that Bhutan and Sikkim are parts of Tibet as Ladakh was part of Tibet, that areas up to Teesta (near Siliguri) come under Tibet and that the areas north of the Brahmaputra are also parts of Tibet. In addition, there are broadcasts of Lhasa Radio and speeches of the Youth League and Women's League meetings. I do not know whether these are responsible or irresponsible people; but such reports affect our people's minds and they will say you talk about distant places like Africa, but you do not say anything about surrounding territories like Bhutan and Sikkim with which we have intimate relations through treaties and practice.

I have also referred to the Bhutanese enclaves in Tibet. There are some 8 villages, especially near Kailash mountain and there the Bhutanese officials have been deprived of their belongings and the Bhutanese Government has asked us to raise this matter with you. All this I am mentioning just to show how difficult it is to enter into a world survey, even in matters where there can be no disagreement. Your Excellency also referred to Indo-China and I believe that, for the same reason, a reference to it in the present context would seem inappropriate.

As regards five principles, we believe in them and, even if they are not acted upon, they still remain good. But a reference to them in the present context would be immediately criticised. The people will say that these principles have been broken and still we are talking about them.

As regards including Your Excellency's invitation to me in the communiqué, it is not normally our practice to refer to such invitations in joint statements. Mr. Khrushchev came here and he also wanted us to put it in the statement. Mr. Nasser also wanted to do the same thing, but we told them about it and they agreed not to mention it in the statement. Actually, Nasser referred to his invitation in a statement but he did it independently.

The point is, we are taking steps. If these steps lead to it, certainly I shall be most happy to follow them up.

As regards prohibition of nuclear weapons and general desire for peace, etc., which Your Excellency mentioned, only two days ago I read an article appearing in the "*Red Flag*", the journal of the Central Committee of C.C.P. It contains an appeal for preparation for war and development of nuclear weapons to win war. Now all this creates reactions and people feel that the Chinese Government is not so anxious for peace as we thought it was and that it wants

to develop the nuclear weapons.

Premier Chou: Does it mean that there would be no changes or amendments at all in the draft statement?

Prime Minister: Of course there can be some minor amendments. If you insist on mentioning about prohibition of nuclear weapons, we can certainly include it. But the general structure should remain the same.

Premier Chou: At the very beginning, I said that we will take your draft as the basis. Although I have talked a great deal, my suggestions are actually few. Since this will be a joint statement, I thought that a possibility for exchange of views should be allowed. Except for some technical matters regarding wording, etc., which can be left to our officials, I suggest that, if Your Excellency will agree, we may go through the draft para by para. and exchange views.

Prime Minister: Yes.

Premier Chou: I would like to revert to para. 3 again particularly the first sentence ("these talks did not result in resolving differences that had arisen".) This sentence puts things in negative way. My suggestion is that we should revise the sentence without saying anything in such specific terms. It may be something as follows: "Both parties explained their stands, viewpoints and ideas about the solution to the question and achieved further understanding, although differences between two sides remain."

This is in conformity with facts, because we do have a better understanding of each other than before. How does Your Excellency like this idea?

Prime Minister: We may perhaps add before the first sentence another sentence to the effect that "both sides explained respective viewpoints" or "respective viewpoints were understood better." But the first sentence is still correct.

Incidentally, I may mention that all along we have been talking about "border question". Actually, it is something more than a mere border question. It does not merely refer to a narrow sector but large areas around our border.

Premier Chou: Yes, it is true, but then we will have to explain not only the western sector but also the eastern sector in the same manner.

The details of wording we can, however, leave to our officials.

As regards second line in para. 4 on page 2 (where the sentence ends as follows: "draw up a report for submission to the two Governments"), I would suggest that we should add something like the following to show some hope. "In order to facilitate further talks of the two Prime Ministers." If Your Excellency does not agree to this wording, then we may add something like "In order to facilitate a reasonable settlement of the boundary question." I am suggesting this just to express a hope.

Prime Minister: Well, perhaps we might say— "in order to facilitate further consideration of this question."

Premier Chou: I would suggest an alternative expression which are actually the words taken from one of Your Excellency's letters— "in order to facilitate further exploration of avenues for a settlement of the boundary question."

Prime Minister: But officials can hardly do that (i.e. exploration of avenues). It has to be done at a higher level.

Premier Chou: When I say "further consideration", it means consideration at a higher level.

Prime Minister: Wording, we will consider further.

Premier Chou: As regards the last sentence of para 5, I suggest that we should provide for stopping of patrolling all along the border.

When we say stopping of patrolling, it does not mean stopping of all movement, but that we should not send any patrols to the border to avoid clashes. The question is that, in the western sector, the Government of India does not accept that other side has a line of actual control. It is precisely here where the danger lies. As Your Excellency has said in the Parliament, the border in this area is undelimited.

Prime Minister: Our actual border is 150 miles away.

Premier Chou: According to us, in this area (the western sector) our boundary has all along been like this and our administrative jurisdiction has always reached this area and the area has been under Khotan Rudok. Our revenue officers have also been going to these places, wherever there has been any need. There is no time for making any surveys, but we can examine the

documents. In the western sector, the Chinese do have a line of actual control; but the Indian Government does not accept it. Therefore, the situation is mobile. Although we say we want to avoid clashes, the danger remains. I would, therefore, still propose our wording, namely, "both sides should stop sending patrols to the border." This does not mean that all movement should be stopped.

Does Your Excellency think that this would be appropriate?

Prime Minister: On the western sector, as Your Excellency has said, it is a mobile border. It is mobile as far as occupation is concerned, not in theory. So, it is difficult to call anything a precise border. Your Excellency said that this area (western sector) has been for a long time under your control and that you have been collecting revenue there. Our claim is that for long years it was not under occupation and there is no trace of occupation till only recently. Other people have been there and, as I said earlier, I have myself been to places which are now reportedly under Chinese occupation.

If you say "a border", then we have to acknowledge a border and, therefore, we should better say that we "should avoid any movement which may lead to a clash".

Premier Chou: I do not say that the western border is mobile. We are definite where our border lies. As I have said earlier, our border lies along the Karakoram watershed and Kongka Pass in the middle sector. This has always been regarded as our border and our jurisdiction has always reached the border. When I said "mobile", I meant that administrative personnel could not be stationed there permanently because there are no people. But it does not mean that the border is mobile. I find on the Indian maps the border line in this sector has changed four times, and two times there has been no border line.

Your Excellency says that we should merely say "avoid movements". If there are movements only in areas under your control, it will not lead to clashes. But what we ask is that your Forces in the western sector, like our Forces in the eastern sector, should stop patrolling.

Prime Minister: Your Excellency has said that our maps have been changing. It is not so. You refer to maps which are 98 years old. But a complete survey was done only 96 years ago and since then the Indian maps have not changed. In some, there may be a colour shade; in some, there are firm lines. This is because these are vast areas. You say that your administrative personnel have been going there. We say the same. So, there is a clash of factual statements.

[The Nehru-Chou Revolving Door]

MAY 1, 1960

SHANKAR'S WEEKLY

"The Present Actualities"



(From *Shankar's Weekly*, 1 May 1960, Cover)

Therefore, I would still like to suggest the wording "avoid movement which may bring about clashes and frictions."

Otherwise, it means for all practical purposes we accept the border as claimed by China.

Premier Chou: All right, let's leave the wording to the officials.

Now we come to para 6. I had mentioned three international questions. Your Excellency said that prohibition of nuclear weapons was not on the agenda of the Paris Conference and therefore there was no point in mentioning it. It makes no difference to us whether it is mentioned in the communiqué or not.

But we would like to make this clear that China, like India, has all along favoured prohibition of testing and production of nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government has made many statements on this. I also spoke at the People's Congress recently and suggested that all Asian nations should sign a pact for an atom free zone.

Your Excellency mentioned an article in "*Red Flag*". It is permissible to give theoretical articles giving two kind of thinking like (1) which advocates immediate stopping of testing and production of nuclear weapons and destruction of nuclear weapons already manufactured. This is of course a more thorough way of ending nuclear threat so that the atomic energy is used only for peaceful purposes. There is also the other way of thinking. (2) War-mongering groups are still using great piles of nuclear weapons to intimidate certain countries and these countries are forced to seek a way out. As soon as these countries learn the technique and have atomic weapons in their possession, there will be a possibility of reaching an agreement for disuse of these weapons. The same thing happened in the First World War in the case of chemical warfare. So these are two things. One is to take initiative to appeal for cessation of testing and production of nuclear weapons and we favour such an agreement. But war-mongering groups have a monopoly and then we must endeavour to get such weapons. Therefore, there are two ways of thinking, both maintaining abolition of nuclear weapons. This does not mean that we advocate a nuclear war.

Your Excellency can understand quite well which of the two countries is under greater threat; undoubtedly China. There are very large military bases in South Korea, in Japan, in Taiwan, in the Philippines and in Vietnam and even in Pakistan. Many of these are armed with nuclear weapons and, although the warheads are controlled by the USA, they can be used by USA any time it chooses. China in this regard is weak and, if USA pushes a button, we will suffer heavy losses. Our position is different from the position taken by India of peace and neutrality. We praise it, but India should also understand the great threat to which China is subjected, and, therefore, we must write articles to remind and educate people of our country. We cannot watch with folded hands destruction coming to our country.

What we face is the threat of powerful U.S. imperialism and revived Japanese militarism. Besides, these are facing only us and no one else.

In passing, I would like to take this occasion for mentioning about flights of unknown aircraft in the last two months, particularly February and March. The Government of India had mentioned that there were unknown aircraft flying over the Sino-Indian boundary. We have found that these aircrafts are American. I would like to inform Your Excellency that they have flown over six times over this area. They start from Bangkok and then sometimes go via Burma, sometimes through China and then over the Sino-Indian Boundary they go to Tibet and go right upto Chinghai. They come for the purpose of subversion, dropping Chinese agents, trained in Bangkok, supplies, weapons and wireless sets. We have captured these agents, supplies, radios, etc., in each case. On their return journey, these planes flew to Bangkok or in some cases to Karachi. We have confirmed about all these flights. These six flights were on the following dates:

February 10th, 11th, 12th, 16th and 17th and March 9th. Only one flight on February 23rd still remains untraced.

I can assure Your Excellency that we do not allow our aircraft in Tibet to cross the present actual line of control by the Indian side. Firstly, we have few aircraft in Tibet and there is difficulty for them to fly over the high Himalayan ranges.

We have also sent a note to Burma and have told them that they have full right to shoot or bring down these planes when they come to their territory. These aircraft mostly do night flights.

I am just mentioning this to show that we are facing threat not only from the sea side but also from the mainland and we will take appropriate measures in dealing with these aircraft.

Your Excellency mentioned about Tibet. I would like to say a few words about it. You spoke about the statements by responsible people in Tibet, but I have not read them; so, I cannot say anything about it. But, I can say this much that, from top to bottom, there is no one in the Chinese Government who has any intention of raising the history regarding Bhutan and Sikkim in order to give rise to new dispute. In two documents we have already said that we have no border disputes with Bhutan and Sikkim and that their border does not fall within the scope of this discussion on 3 sectors. We have also stated that we respect the relations between Bhutan and India and Sikkim and India and our attitude remains the same.

If Bhutan wants to raise the question of its tax collection activities in Tibet, it can be settled in an appropriate way and in a friendly manner.

As regards Tibet, we have settled the question in accordance with the

interests of the serfs who form majority of the Tibetan population and also in the interest of freedom of the Tibetan people. The rebels constitute a very small minority. Apart from those who fled away, those who still stay in Tibet can still get land if they wish to till it. The nobles can get compensation for land if they support the democratic reforms. I am sure that the economy in Tibet will develop and the Tibetans will prosper.

As regards those who fled to India, we have no objection to the Indian Government giving asylum to them. We have also noticed that your Government has allowed freedom to them only for religious activities and not for political activities. But we have also noticed that, ever since Dalai Lama came to India till today, he has carried on political activities in India and outside far exceeding the scope of freedom set for him by the Indian authorities. Kalimpong still continues to be the centre for conducting anti-China activities by them in India. We have made reservations regarding Dalai Lama and his followers; but their activities, which have exceeded the limits set by the Government of India, not only continue but at the same time they are encouraged and this will only hinder their return to the fatherland. We can only deplore this.

As regards the South African question, Your Excellency mentioned that some people might link it up with the question of Tibet because of general suppression in South Africa.

But the question of Tibet is different. In South Africa, the people oppressed are the majority of the people; while in Tibet, the majority is emancipated while only a minority of serf-owners is denied opportunity to exploit the serfs. I am glad to know that Your Excellency also agrees that the Geneva Agreement should be respected. I would, however, like to bring to your notice that the Agreement is being repeatedly violated by the U.S.A. and the Laos Government and is causing great worry to the North Vietnam Government. The "patriotic front" in Laos is suppressed. I do hope that India, as Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, will take effective measures to improve the situation.

If Your Excellency thinks these (international) questions should not be mentioned in the joint statement, that is all right.

If Your Excellency also feels that we should not mention anything about our Government's invitation to Your Excellency to visit China, that also is all right. I, however, feel that it is a matter of great regret that the Five Principles are not mentioned. We continue to firmly believe in them.

I have stated all my views. I will take this draft back and tell my colleagues about the three points about which we have talked.

We are not very satisfied with this draft. Frankly speaking, I do not

like this draft much. I feel that a better statement should be issued. But since Your Excellency has put forward the draft and you insist on it, we will try to persuade our colleagues.

If they agree, then at 4.30, I will send one of our officials, Mr. Chiao Kuan-Hua, to meet officials of your side (the Foreign Secretary). They can meet and fix the wording. I may also have an opportunity to discuss the matter further at the tea party of the Home Minister, if need be.

If, however, the officials meet with serious difficulties, then we can talk again at 6.30 or later on separately.

Prime Minister: I would like to take the opportunity of mentioning something about the working of our missions in Tibet, particularly the difficulties faced by them. As you are aware, our Trade Agency at Gyantse is having numerous difficulties regarding its buildings. The houses were washed off by floods¹⁰³

[The Anarkali Moment]

"THE PRESENT ACTUALITIES"



(From *The Times of India*, 29 April 1960, p.7)

103. In July 1954; see SWJN/SS/47/p. 448.

and they have not been able to get land so far. Then, there is also the question of Ladakhi Lamas and the citizenship question of the Kashmiri Muslims.¹⁰⁴ But I will present you a note on these points.¹⁰⁵

Premier Chou: I will welcome such a note.

I can also assure Your Excellency that, now that the Tibetan rebellion has been put down, democratic reforms are being carried out and social order established, our relations in Tibet will improve, and our relations in the field of economy and culture, etc., will, I hope, improve and I also hope that mutual visits will be more frequent.

31. Record of Indian and Chinese Officials' Meeting¹⁰⁶

[25 April 1960 – begins 4.30 p.m.]

Verbatim proceedings of the meeting of the Indian and Chinese officials held at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, on 25th April, 1960, at 4.30 P.M.

Present

India

1. Shri S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary
2. Shri G. Parthasarthy, India's Ambassador in China
3. Shri J.S. Mehta, Director, Northern Division, MEA
4. Dr. S. Gopal, Director, Historical Division, MEA

(In Attendance)

Shri S.K. Bhutani, O.S.D.

Shri A.S. Mani, O.S.D.

Dr. V. Kumar, O.S.D.

} M.E.A.

China

1. Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua, Asst. Foreign Minister
2. Mr. Pu Shou-chang (interpreter)

Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua: Our Prime Minister brought back this draft and exchanged views with his colleagues. They all think that this draft does not reflect the

104. See also item 43.

105. See item 32 "Indian Note on Matters other than Border."

106. Rashtrapati Bhavan, 25 April 1960, 4.30 p.m. P.N. Haksar Papers, NMML.

entire situation of the talks and does not reflect the friendly desires on both sides. So, we on our part are not entirely satisfied with this draft.

However, since this draft includes parts that had been agreed upon by the two Prime Ministers, therefore, on the basis of the draft and on the basis of the views already exchanged between the two Prime Ministers, I would like to put forward a few revisions. So, we start from the beginning.

- (i) First is about the title of the statement. He suggest that the title be a "joint statement" of the Prime Ministers of India and China (for you) and "joint statement" of the Prime Ministers of China and India (for our copy). In the first sentence, mention was made about certain differences but it was not made clear differences about what. Actually we all know "differences" are on the boundary question. So, that question should be made clear. So, we suggest that at the end of the sentence after the words "People's Republic of China" the words "on the boundary question" be added. That is to say, the latter half of the sentence would read:—

"To discuss certain differences which have arisen between the Government of India and the Government of the People's Republic of China on the boundary question."

- (ii) Then in the last sentence of the first paragraph we suggest that the "word 'stay' be changed to 'visit'"; that is to say, it "concluded its visit to India on the 26th April morning".
- (iii) Next revision. This revision has been thought about by the two Prime Ministers. They have agreed that a sentence be added at the beginning of the third paragraph. We have this draft to present:—

"The two Prime Ministers expounded the stands of their respective Governments on the Sino-Indian boundary question and the views held by their respective Governments on the settlement of this question.

These talks promoted the mutual understanding of each other, although did not result in resolving the differences that had arisen."

- (iv) The next revision was also talked about by the two Prime Ministers this morning. They have agreed that a clause be added to the sentence you find on page 2, second line, at the end. This sentence now concludes with the words: "draw up a report for submission to the two Governments". Our proposition is that at the end of this sentence the following clause be added:—"In order to facilitate further exploration for avenues to a reasonable settlement of the boundary question."
- (v) The next revision is the last sentence of paragraph 5. This was also talked about by the two Prime Ministers this morning. Our proposition is that this last sentence should be revised to read as follows:

“During the period of further examination of the factual material, both parties will continue to stop patrolling along all sectors of the entire boundary in order to avoid friction and clashes.”

The two Prime Ministers have exchanged views on most of these revisions this morning and some revisions are purely technical. That is all I have to say. I would like to listen to your views.

Shri Dutt: On behalf of my colleagues, I thank you Mr. Assistant Minister for coming here. You have rightly said that most of the points mentioned by you were raised during the discussions of the two Prime Ministers this morning. For convenience, I might take these points in the order in which you have taken them. You have said “joint statement”. Actually, in our view, it should have been “joint communiqué”, and not a statement. Many joint statements have been signed in Delhi, as I am sure they have been signed in Peking, during the last few years, at least since 1954. We mean by a joint statement a statement signed by the two Prime Ministers. During the last three years, to my recollection, formal signing of statements has not taken place and where the statements are not signed by the two Prime Ministers, we call them “agreed” or “joint” communiqué, e.g. during the last three months we have had visits from President Voroshilov, Mr. Khrushchev and President Nasser. On each occasion, long agreed communiqués were issued. So, we would like to adhere to the practice and instead of calling it a joint statement, we would like to call it a joint communiqué or agreed communiqué.

Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua: The reason why we suggest that the title might remain “a joint statement” is that we saw that you used this word “statement” in your draft. That is the first reason. Secondly, we attach importance to this joint statement and we cannot understand why you want to avoid the use of the word “statement”.

Shri Dutt: The draft which Premier Chou gave to our Prime Minister itself had said joint communiqué. So, we preferred to leave it as joint communiqué.

Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua: We are inclined towards the word “statement” for the reasons we have stated but as to whether this should be signed by the two Prime Ministers, I have no instruction from our Prime Minister.

Shri Dutt: In fact this is not intended to be signed so far as we are concerned.

Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua: So, you are speaking for your Prime Minister.

Shri Dutt: Yes.

Mr. Chiao Kuan-hun: Then we would report this to our Prime Minister. So, whether the title should be joint statement or joint communiqué, we will leave it for the time being.

Shri Dutt: Although It would not be signed by the two Prime Ministers, naturally the two Prime Ministers will have to approve of the text.

Now in para. 1 you have suggested two amendments. We have no objection to the last sentence being amended to read "concluded their visit to India."

Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua: You agree.

Shri Dutt: Then I understood from our Prime Minister that His Excellency Premier Chou En-lai agreed to the first two paragraphs as they stood in our draft.

Actually a number of things were discussed by the two Prime Ministers. Naturally most of the time the border problem was discussed and to say that they met to discuss certain differences, is a very broad description. So, we prefer it to remain as it is.

Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua: I would like further clarification on this point. What do you mean when you say the words "certain differences" have broader meaning?

Shri Dutt: I said that a number of things came up for discussion more or less. It is not merely boundary or border problem or border areas in a general sense. A number of things had been mentioned, e.g. you referred to anti-Chinese activities in Kalimpong and other areas also. They in a sense arise from differences in regard to the border and connected matters but are not exactly a boundary question.

Chiao Kuan-hua: Actually we know and world knows that our differences are differences on boundary question. Besides, the word "boundary question" appears in the draft already in paragraph 4. So we do not quite understand why we should avoid making it more specific.

Shri S. Dutt: Well, I will report this to my Prime Minister. Then we come to the next point in paragraph 3. Now we have a slightly different draft from yours although the idea is more or less the same. We suggest that paragraph 3 should start as follows:-

First sentence should be –

“Both parties explained fully their respective stands on the problem affecting the border areas. Although this led to a greater clarification of the respective viewpoints, the talks did not result in resolving the differences that have arisen.”

Mr. Chiao: The Assistant Minister says that he would like first of all to know your views on our draft.

Shri Dutt: Your view is that the first sentence is the same as this. We feel that both parties explained their respective stands on the problem affecting the border areas because it is not only the border line, but large areas are involved. I do not know whether there was a greater clarification of the respective viewpoints in these talks. So by saying that talks led to an understanding, I think, we are slightly going beyond the facts of the situation.

Mr. Chiao: What is the difference with greater clarification?

Shri Dutt: Clarification is desired when it is not clear what is the standpoint of each side; in fact the clarification gives a better meaning of the result of these talks than understanding. Understanding means an appreciation but clarification implies that it is not quite clear to either side on what basis you are claiming these territories. I think, clarification is a better expression than understanding.

Mr. Chiao: The Assistant Minister says that he fails to see the difference between understanding and clarification. These two things in our draft reflect better the actuality of the talks which the two Prime Ministers had. In our draft, we have mentioned that the two Prime Ministers not only expounded their respective stands but also explained the views on the settlement of the question; that we did explain our views on the settlement of the question and we should reflect our views.

In your draft, you have used such words as affecting border areas and in your explanation you have also explained that the problem involves large border areas. The Assistant Minister says that according to his understanding, the two Prime Ministers in their talks agreed that no territorial

claims would be put forward by either side. So in that context, the wording "affecting the border areas" seems not appropriate.

Shri Dutt: I am not informed that the two Prime Ministers—at least my Prime Minister—agreed to the particular view about the territorial claim in the manner in which you put it but certainly large areas are involved and the problem affect these areas;— and therefore, this is a more correct expression of the nature of talks between the two Prime Ministers; while you say avenues of settlement we say—respective viewpoints. First we said respective stands on the problem but viewpoints is a general expression and according to my information it is in accord with the trend of the talks between the two Prime Ministers.

Mr. Chiao: The Assistant Minister says that we would like again to ask you to consider again our draft and if you cannot come to an agreement, then on this point, we cannot agree.

Shri Dutt: I have carefully considered your draft. I am of the view that our draft reflects more truly and correctly the discussions between the two Prime Ministers. So I would still request you to accept our draft.

Mr. Chiao: The Assistant Minister says that it seems to us that your draft does not reflect entirely the actuality of the talks whereas our draft does. So we cannot agree to your draft. If you cannot agree, then we should better leave this point.

Shri S. Dutt: It is better that we leave it because we have no doubt in our mind that our draft correctly reflects (the position) and if you cannot agree, I think, we should leave this point for the two Prime Ministers.

In paragraph 4, we have a slightly different form of amendment which reads as follows:-

In paragraph 4, we suggest that the second sentence should be as follows:-

"This report would list the points on which there was agreement and the points on which there were disagreement or which should be examined more fully and clarified."

Then we want to add –

"This report should facilitate further consideration of these problems."

I would like to add a word of explanation. Now the amendment is in respect of the points on which there are disagreement or which in view of

the officials require further examination. In the following sentence, we have used the word further so that this report should facilitate further examination of these problems. You will appreciate that the suggestion is for bringing out this point that the object of listing the points on which there was agreement or disagreement etc, is to facilitate further consideration of the problems. At the moment, it is too early—at least on the results of the present talks—to find a reasonable settlement of the boundary question.

Mr. Chiao: We can just say that we cannot agree to this wording which you have just read out. It seems to us that it is necessary to mention here about the prospect of a reasonable settlement. We do not consider it too early to mention it. We never take this kind of pessimistic attitude.

Shri Dutt: I entirely agree that Government should not take a pessimistic view of the situation. Certainly Governments should explore possibilities or avenues of reasonable settlement, but the officials have been given a strictly limited task viz, to study, examine, and check all historical documents, records, accounts, maps and other material and they are not to recommend or suggest any methods of solving the problem. They are only to report the results of their study and the report will facilitate further consideration of the problems by the two Governments. Our draft, therefore, correctly represents the object of the study by the officials of the two Governments.

Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua: There is no difference in our understanding of the task given to the officials of both sides. As you have read from the text, the task has been given to the two Governments and we have also the same understanding that the task of seeking a solution to the problem is the task of the two Governments. The question now is: shall we mention about the prospect of a reasonable settlement since we all are agreed that this is a task for the two Governments? Shall we mention about the prospect of a reasonable settlement? We think we should mention this. We never meant that this task should be given to the officials. In our draft we also mentioned that this is a task for the Government.

If we are in agreement as far as the substantial question is concerned, then we might even change our word or clause into a complete sentence and instead of putting it in a form of clause the form of we can put it in the form a complete sentence. This we thought would facilitate further exploration for avenues to a reasonable settlement of the boundary question. It would make the point more clear.

Shri Dutt: I would still prefer our words as they stand because this is what the report is intended to do; for when the reports go to the two Governments they will consider the problems and the report is intended to facilitate consideration of the problems.

Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua: We are now drafting something for our two Prime Ministers. This thing is going to be issued by the two Prime Ministers. So, the two Prime Ministers, it seems to us, should express in this document their hope as to indicate a prospect, a hope, to the people, not only to our people but to the people of the world — that is the prospect of a reasonable settlement. It is not merely of the officials of the two sides but this thing has got to be issued by the two Prime Ministers. We think that the two Prime Ministers should say something about the prospect of a settlement so that they can give to the peoples of our two countries some hope.

Shri Dutt: This paragraph refers to the functions of the two officials. The two Prime Ministers have had long discussion and the viewpoints of the two Governments are now clarified to a great extent. But the problem is yet to be considered. So far as officials are aware, the settlement is nowhere in sight and to refer to the prospect of a settlement at this stage and in the present context is, you will forgive my saying so, somewhat premature and unrealistic. I have no doubt that our two countries have to solve this problem peacefully and we cannot conceive of any conflict between our two countries. That would be disastrous for us and for the world. With all these I am in full agreement but in the present context the object of the report is to facilitate further consideration of the problems by the two Prime Ministers. So, I do suggest that you accept our wording.

I may add that if you so desire, we may add these words: "This report would facilitate further consideration of this problem by the two Governments."

Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua: Our stand had been made clear on this point. We cannot agree to your draft. It seems that we cannot come to an agreement on this point. So, let us go ahead.

Shri Dutt: Finally paragraph 5. I regret that we cannot accept your amendment. This point was discussed in detail by the two Prime Ministers at the morning meeting today and our Prime Minister explained in detail why he would prefer the wording to remain as it is. His Excellency the Premier Chou En-lai knows these reasons fully. The important thing is that both parties should

avoid friction and clashes in the border areas and so long as the parties are determined to do so and make sure that their personnel in the border areas carry out their instructions, there should be no friction or clashes.

Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua: We also understand what the two Prime Ministers talked about in the morning. Our revision on these points make our stand more clear. Besides it was His Excellency Prime Minister Nehru himself who first proposed the stopping of patrolling. So, comparing these two amendments we do think that ours (draft) is better but for sake of coming to an agreement, if you should find it possible to agree to our amendment to para. 4, we might agree to withdraw our amendment to para. 5 and use the original wording.

Shri Dutt: Well, this is really not a matter of adjustment.

Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua: Just to lessen our differences.

Shri Dutt: I would rather leave it to our two Prime Ministers to discuss this point also because we have not been able to save the Prime Ministers any trouble. So one further point would not matter very much.

Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua: I just want to add in regard to the title of this document. It is true that we used the title "joint communiqué" but when we saw this word "statement" we thought that it would be better. That is why we used this word.

Shri Dutt: If my attention had been drawn to this earlier, I would not have used that expression.

Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua: That is not the major question.

Shri Dutt: I entirely agree.

Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua: Then we would report back to our Prime Minister.

Shri Dutt: Yes.

Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua: If necessary, then we will meet again.

Shri Dutt: The night is long.

At the morning meeting today between the two Prime Ministers, they

discussed a number of miscellaneous points and our Prime Minister explained to your Prime Minister and said that for convenience — because there might be minor points which your Prime Minister might not note — we might give a written note about these points and so if the Assistant Minister agrees, I can hand this note over to him informally or if he so prefers, our Prime Minister can give it to your Prime Minister. The Prime Minister Nehru said that he would give a note.¹⁰⁷

Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua: I agree.

We do not stand on ceremony.

Shri Dutt: Well, I am sorry that we have not been able to be helpful to our Prime Ministers.

The meeting then adjourned.

32. Indian Note on Matters other than the Border¹⁰⁸

Appendix II

Note on certain points mentioned by the Prime Minister to Mr. Chou En-lai handed over informally by Shri S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary, to Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs of China, at Rashtrapati Bhavan on April 25, 1960.

1. Bhutan and Sikkim.

Under India's Treaties with Bhutan and Sikkim, Government of India is clearly responsible for the external relations of these two States. This has been pointed out to the Government of the People's Republic of China, as also the fact that the question relating to the northern boundaries of Sikkim and Bhutan has to be considered at the same time as the boundary between India and China.

Our concern is all the greater, because persistent reports have reached us over a period of months that propaganda organs as well as senior Chinese officials in the Tibet region have been saying that China intends incorporating

107. See the next item.

108. Undated. This is an appendix in the original dossier. Source: see fn 18 in this section "Chou En-lai's Visit."

Sikkim and Bhutan like Ladakh into the Chinese People's Republic. On some occasions, it was even stated that China might take military steps to occupy these territories. It is hoped that in the interest of restoring Sino-Indian relations and assuaging apprehensions, India's responsibility in respect of the external relations of Sikkim and Bhutan would be fully understood and respected and such propaganda would be stopped.

2. Difficulties in the implementation of the 1954 Agreement regarding the Tibet Region.

Indian official representatives in the Tibet region as well as Indian nationals continue to suffer unnecessary and crippling restrictions even though the privileges are guaranteed on a reciprocal basis by the 1954 Agreement.

Following are some examples of such restrictions:-

(i) Accommodation Difficulties

(a) Gyantse.

Ever since the buildings of the Agency were washed away in 1954, we have been trying to negotiate with the Chinese authorities for the reconstruction of the Agency premises. We even offered to construct protective works along the river embankment at our own expense and to send our Chief Engineer to explain that our proposals would in no way damage the public highway and bridge in the Gyantse Township. Later, we even offered to surrender the area along the river bank if an equivalent area could be provided on the other side of the existing Agency site. The lease for the land on which the Agency was located is valid till 1971; but, as a measure of goodwill, we agreed to sign a new lease. Despite these offers and many representations, no satisfactory agreement has been reached or facilities provided to resolve the difficulties. The Government of the People's Republic of China, in a recent note, has suggested our resuming reconstruction of the premises; but no lease has yet been finalised. The Government of India is anxious that the lease for at least 19.13 acres of land (which is the area left over from the original site) should be concluded to enable reconstruction to be started. Unless the lease is signed and this area, largely on the original site, made available, it would not be possible for the Government of India to embark on large-scale and expensive construction measures. This request is fully in accordance with the provisions of the 1954 Agreement.

We also hope that, pending reconstruction, the local authorities would help in improving the temporary accommodation facilities of

the Agency.

(b) Gartok.

A lease deed for the area was at last signed in 1959. We request that the Chinese authorities will give us active co-operation to enable us to start the construction of the Agency buildings this season.

(ii) Functioning of the Trade Agencies.

Very strict restrictions have been imposed on the freedom of movement and functioning of the Indian Consulate-General in Lhasa and the Indian Trade Agencies in Yatung, Gyantse and in Western Tibet. In contrast with the facilities enjoyed by the Chinese posts in India, our officers are afforded no opportunity to move around or to have any contact, even of a cultural nature, with local nationals. Despite the provisions of the Agreement, in 1957, the Indian Trade Agent in Western Tibet was not only greatly delayed, but was not even able to visit the specified trade marts.

The Agencies have also experienced a variety of small but irritating difficulties in their functioning in such matters as the hiring of transport and communication facilities. Local servants have been discouraged from serving in the Indian posts.

(iii) Indo-Tibetan Trade.

The traditional trade has suffered serious decline, largely because the customary export of wool, salt, etc., is not being facilitated. Traders are not allowed to contact their traditional trading partners. Moreover, no remittance facilities are being provided to enable Indian traders to repatriate their legitimate profits. Either bank drafts are not provided at all or, if they are, under restrictive conditions; the rate of commission is exorbitantly high. The traders, especially in Western Tibet, are also experiencing difficulties in obtaining premises, hiring transport and in realising old debts.

It is hoped that the Government of the People's Republic of China would ease these difficulties and continue facilities for the traditional exchange in accordance with the 1954 Agreement.

(iv) Pilgrims.

Pilgrims were discouraged from proceeding to Kailash and Manasarovar last year. In view of their sanctity attached by Hindus to these places, it is hoped that necessary facilities to Indian pilgrims would be provided in accordance with the provisions of the 1954 Agreement.

(v) Indian nationals.

According to our information, about 125 families of Kashmiri

Muslims residing in the Lhasa area and a few hundred Ladakhi Lamas now in Tibet region are extremely anxious to return to India. Under Indian laws, regardless of the period of their residence abroad, these persons of Indian origin are entitled to Indian nationality. We are not aware that they have accepted Chinese nationality under any law promulgated by the Government of the People's Republic of China. Even if they have qualified for Chinese nationality, in accordance with international usage governing Dual Nationality, persons of Indian origin should be given the option to return to India, if they so wish.

This is fully in accordance with the stand of the Government of the People's Republic of China in respect of persons of Chinese origin in Indonesia, and with the principles embodied in the Treaty of Dual Nationality signed after Bandung. It is also in accordance with the arrangement agreed between China and Nepal with regard to persons of mixed parentage residing in the Tibet region.

Apart from Indians wishing to leave Tibet, there are about 22 Indian nationals reported to be under arrest. According to the Agreement, they should have been treated as foreigners and in any case have been provided with opportunity to seek the help of the local Indian representatives.

In respect of all these matters pertaining to the 1954 Agreement, one or more representations have been made to the Government of the People's Republic of China, explaining the Indian requests in detail during the last year.

3. Enclaves.

Apart from the above, it is also hoped that the Government of the People's Republic of China would respect the sovereign rights of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir and, therefore, of the Government of India over Minsar in Western Tibet. Similarly, in accordance with the representation made last year, the control of Bhutan should be restored over the Bhutan enclaves near Kailash in Western Tibet.

It is also requested that Sikkimese nationals, who have been residing in certain estates in the Chumbi Valley and are traditionally treated as distinct from Tibetans, might continue to receive the treatment which has been traditionally accorded to them and allowed facilities of movement to Sikkim.

33. Joint Communiqué¹⁰⁹

At the invitation of the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, arrived in Delhi on April 19 to discuss certain differences relating to the border areas which have arisen between the Government of India and the Government of the People's Republic of China. Mr. Chou En-lai was accompanied by Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Chang Han-Fu, Vice-Foreign Minister of China, and other officials of the Chinese Government. The Premier and his party concluded their visit to India on the morning of April 26.

The two Prime Ministers had several long, frank and friendly talks between themselves. The Premier of the Chinese People's Republic and the Vice-Premier also had long talks with the President, the Vice-President and several senior ministers of the Government of India.

The two Prime Ministers explained fully their respective stands on the problems affecting the border areas. This led to a greater understanding of the views of the two Governments, but the talks did not result in resolving the differences that had arisen. The two Prime Ministers were of opinion that further examination should take place by officials of the two sides of the factual material in the possession of both Governments.

The two Prime Ministers, therefore, agreed that officials of the two Governments should meet and examine, check and study all historical documents, records, accounts, maps and other material relevant to the boundary question, which each side relied upon in support of its stand, and draw up a report for submission to the two Governments. This report would list the points on which there was agreement and the points on which there was disagreement or which should be examined more fully and clarified. This report should prove helpful towards further consideration of these problems by the two governments.

It was further agreed that the officials should meet from June to September, 1960, alternately in the capitals of the two countries. The first meeting should take place in Peking and the officials would report to the two Governments, by the end of September, 1960. During the period of further examination of the factual material, every effort should be made by the parties to avoid friction and clashes in the border areas.

109. Text of the joint communiqué by the two Prime Ministers released through PTI, 25 April 1960, and published in the daily newspapers on 26 April 1960. Also available on the MEA website <http://mealib.nic.in/?25887000>, accessed on 9 September 2014.

Advantage was taken of the meeting by the two Prime Ministers to discuss certain other important problems in world affairs. The two Prime Ministers, welcomed the forthcoming conference in Paris of the heads of Governments and expressed the hope that this conference would help in lessening international tensions, banning the production and use of nuclear weapons and promoting disarmament.

The Star Turn



(From *Shankar's Weekly*, 1 May 1960, p.14)

34. Chou En-lai's Press Conference¹¹⁰

[25 April 1960, 10.45 p.m. to 26 April 1960, 1 a.m.]

Version from P.N. Haksar Papers

Premier Chou En-lai's Press
Conference

Held on April 25, 1960

Time: 10.45 p.m. to 1 a.m.

Peking Review Version¹¹¹

Prime Minister: Ladies and gentlemen, we are very happy to see you at Delhi. Because today the last date of our visit is a very busy day, we have prepared a statement but the English translation has not been completed. Therefore, before reading out this statement, I would like to say some words to you.

But don't have any fears that I would only issue a statement and not say anything else to you. After making my statement, I would be willing to listen to any questions raised by any of you and I would like to answer all that I could answer. And if you are not very tired, it does not matter if our Conference lasts rather a long time. We have also prepared our note papers and so the questions and answers which are going [to] take place today will not only appear in your papers but will also be issued by our New China News Agency and all

110. New Delhi, 25 April 1960, 10.45 p.m. to 1 a.m. P.N. Haksar Papers, NMML. Published in the daily newspapers on 26 April 1960.

The gaps between paragraphs are not due to the omissions; they are due to the columns being composed here for ready comparison. The equivalent of the first two paragraphs of the P.N. Haksar Papers version appear on p. 193 of the *Peking Review* version.

111. New Delhi, 25 April 1960. *Peking Review*, 3 May 1960, pp. 18-22.

Version from P.N. Haksar Papers***Peking Review* Version**

the questions and answers today will be published in our papers. We have an English magazine in China called the *Peking Review* in which we plan to have the full text of today's interview. If you are interested, each of you may leave his address with us, and we will send each of you a copy of the *Peking Review* after some time. And, therefore, I would also like to ask all of you that all the questions and all the answers to this interview will be published in full in your papers too. So let us have this gentleman's agreement to show our freedom of the Press. Because the translation of the statement has not yet arrived, we cannot issue the statement to all of you now.

Statement

At the invitation of Prime Minister Nehru, I have paid a friendly visit in India from April 19 to 25, 1960. I am pleased to have this opportunity to visit once again the great Republic of India and extend greetings to the great Indian people. During the visit, we have been accorded cordial welcome and hospitality by the Indian Government and Prime Minister Nehru. For this, Vice Premier Chen Yi and I, as well as my other colleagues, wish to express our hearty thanks.

The Chinese and Indian peoples are two great nations of Asia. From

Chou En-lai's Written Statement

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The Chinese and Indian peoples are two great nations of Asia. From

Version from P.N. Haksar Papers

the remote past, there have always existed between the two peoples mutual friendship and mutual sympathy, but never mutual antagonism or aggression against each other. Since our two countries successively achieved independence, particularly since we jointly initiated the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence, the profound friendship between the two peoples has undergone further development on a new basis. There is no basic conflict of interests between our two countries. Our two countries have every reason to remain friendly to each other for thousands and tens of thousands of years to come. During the past one year or two, although disputes have arisen between the two countries on the boundary question left over by history, our two peoples have nonetheless consistently cherished the desire to be friendly to each other. We are convinced that it is entirely possible to achieve, through peaceful consultations, a fair and reasonable settlement of the boundary question between the two countries. It is precisely with this conviction that we have come here.

During the visit, Prime Minister Nehru and I have held many long discussions on matters of common interest, particularly the Sino-Indian boundary question. Our two sides expounded our respective stands and viewpoints on the boundary question,

Peking Review Version

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Version from P.N. Haksar Papers

as well as our respective propositions for a settlement of this question. I am of the opinion that such discussions are conducive to the enhancing of mutual understanding. Vice Premier Chen Yi, Vice Minister Chang Han-fu and I have also met and held frank discussions separately with a number of Cabinet Ministers of the Indian Government. After seven days of talks, although, unlike what we expected, no agreement has been reached for the settlement of the boundary question, the two sides have unanimously agreed that the officials of the two sides should meet and examine, check and study the factual material relevant to the boundary

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The Mark of Friendship

*Mr. Chou En-lai has just completed a goodwill tour of Cambodia.
(From Shankar's Weekly, 15 May 1960, p.7)*

Version from P.N. Haksar Papers

question and submit report to the Governments of the two countries. Both sides have also agreed that while the officials of the two countries are holding meetings, all efforts should be made to avoid friction and clashes in the border areas. These agreements have been set forth in the Joint Communiqué of the two Prime Ministers. We hold that these agreements have a positive bearing on the maintenance of tranquillity on the border and on the continued search for avenues to a reasonable settlement of the boundary question.

Through frankly exchanging views between the two Prime Ministers, I have found that the two sides not only share the common desire to maintain friendly relations between the two countries, but that, on the boundary question, too, it is not impossible for the two sides to find common points or points of proximity, which, in my view, can be broadly summarised into the following six points:

1. There exist disputes with regard to the boundary between the two sides.
2. There exists between the two countries a line of actual control up to which each side exercises administrative jurisdiction.
3. In determining the boundary between the two countries certain geographical principles, such as watersheds, river valleys and

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- I. There exist disputes with regard to the boundary between the two sides.
- II. There exists between the two countries a line of actual control up to which each side exercises administrative jurisdiction.
- III. In determining the boundary between the two countries, certain geographical principles, such as water-sheds, river valleys

Version from P.N. Haksar Papers

mountain passes, should be equally applicable to all sectors of the boundary.

4. A settlement of the boundary question between the two countries should take into account the national feelings of the two peoples towards the Himalayas and the Karakoram Mountain.
5. Pending a settlement of the boundary question between the two countries through discussions, both sides should keep to the line of actual control and should not put forward territorial claims as pre-conditions, but individual adjustments may be made.
6. In order to ensure tranquillity on the border so as to facilitate the discussions, both sides should continue to refrain from patrolling along all sectors of the boundary.

Of course, there are now still distances between us and the Indian Government with regard to the above six points. However I am of the opinion that as long as both sides continue consultations, it will not be difficult to narrow down and eliminate these distances. Once these common points are found, the two sides undoubtedly will have taken a big stride forward towards the reasonable settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

The Chinese Government has consistently maintained that since the

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and mountain passes, should be equally applicable to all sectors of the boundary.

- IV. A settlement of the boundary question between the two countries should take into account the national feelings of the two peoples towards the Himalayas and the Karakoram Mountains.
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Sino-Indian boundary has never been formally delimited, both the Chinese and Indian sides should seek a reasonable settlement of the boundary question between the two countries through peaceful and friendly consultations, taking into consideration the historical background and the present actualities, acting on the Five Principles jointly initiated by the two countries and adopting an attitude of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. Pending this, both sides should maintain the present state of the boundary and not change it by unilateral action, let alone by force. Regarding some of the disputes, provisional agreements can be reached through negotiations. The Chinese Government holds that Sino-Indian friendship is of extremely great significance both to the 1,000 million people of the two countries and to Asian and world peace. This friendship should not be, nor can it be jeopardized because of the temporary lack of a settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

Tomorrow, we shall bid farewell to the state leaders of India and the great Indian people. On the eve of departure, I would like to state once again that the Chinese Government has unshakable confidence in a settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question and the strengthening of the friendship between the two countries, and that it

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will exert unremitting efforts for this end. In order to provide the Prime Ministers of the two countries with another opportunity for talks, in order to promote friendly relations between the two countries and reciprocate Prime Minister Nehru's kind hospitality, I have invited Prime Minister Nehru to visit China at a time convenient to him.

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Premier Chou's Press Conference in New Delhi

Premier Chou En-lai gave a press conference in Rashtrapati Bhavan in New Delhi from 10:30 p.m. April 25th to 1:00 a.m. April 26th.

More than 150 correspondents from India and other countries attended the press conference. Premier Chou En-lai first issued a written statement (which was released on April 25th). He then said that he was willing to answer any question put by the correspondents. However, he expressed the hope that the newspapers or news agencies would publish the full proceedings or the full text of their respective questions and the answers to them. The major Chinese newspapers would publish the proceedings in full and the English language *Peking Review* would also print them so that a copy would be made available to every one of them. Following are the questions and answers:

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Question: Has the Prime Minister accepted this invitation?

Prime Minister: The Prime Minister replies that he will decide according to the results of the work done by the officials of the two sides.

Question: Mr. Prime Minister, at the beginning of this Conference, you said you would be reproducing all the questions and answers in this Conference. Would you also take the same steps in publishing the letters written by our Prime Minister? Whereas the letters by you to our Prime Minister have been published in this country, the letters written by our Prime Minister to you have not been published in your country. Will you take that first step towards that.

Prime Minister: Most probably you have not read any Chinese newspaper. The Chinese newspapers have published in full all the letters to our Prime Minister from Prime Minister, Nehru.

Question: What was the difficulty in returning to the position on the

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Question (K. Sabarwal, an Indian correspondent for the Press Syndicate of Japan): Your Excellency has invited Prime Minister Nehru to visit China. Has Nehru accepted the invitation?

Answer: Prime Minister Nehru told me that he would consider according to how the work between the officials of the two sides proceeds.

Question (C. Raghavan of the Press Trust of India): In India, your letters to Prime Minister Nehru have all been published in full. But the Chinese newspapers have not published Prime Minister Nehru's letters to you. Speaking about freedom of speech, would you also take steps to publish the letters sent by our Prime Minister in the Chinese press?

Answer: This gentleman has probably not read the Chinese newspapers. The Chinese papers long ago published in full Prime Minister Nehru's letters to me and my replies to him.

Question (Mahesh Chandra of *The Statesman*, India): What has

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border as it existed a year ago or two years ago as a basis for these talks because some of the action took place recently?

Prime Minister: As far as China is concerned, we have taken no action in the last one or two years to change the status quo ante of the border.

Question: In which sector did the two Prime Ministers find acute difference, Central, Eastern or Northern sector?

Prime Minister : There are disputes both with regard to the Eastern sector and to the Western sector. As regards the Middle sector, the dispute is very small. Regarding the Eastern sector, the boundary line which appears on the Chinese map is to the south of the line which appears on the Indian map. The area in between the two lines had once been under the jurisdiction of China,

Chinese administration once reached this place. But since India's independence, the Indian administration gradually extended into this area and has now reached the line which appears on India's map. Now, the Indian Government has asked the Chinese Government to give

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prevented you from returning to the status quo ante, that is the position of the border as it obtained one or two years ago? For it was one or two years ago that actions were taken.

Answer: On the part of China, in the last one or two years as well as in the past, the Chinese Government has never taken action to change the existing state of the border.

Question (K. Rangaswami of *The Hindu*, India): In which sector, in the talks, did the two Prime Ministers find the greatest difference?

Answer: There are disputes both with regard to the eastern sector and the western sector. As regards the middle sector, the dispute is comparatively small.

Regarding the eastern sector: The boundary line which appears on our maps is to the south of the boundary line on Indian maps. The area included in India on Indian maps had long been under Chinese administrative jurisdiction. Since its independence, India has gradually moved forward up to the line delineated on its present maps. The Indian Government asks us to recognize this line which it sometimes even openly said is the McMahon Line. We absolutely cannot recognize this line, because it was

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recognition to this line which appears on the Indian map and sometimes the Indian Government calls this line the so-called MacMahon Line. The so-called MacMahon Line is absolutely unacceptable to China, because it was a line fixed through the exchange of secret notes between the British imperialists and the local Government of Tibet. Nevertheless, we are willing to maintain present state of that sector of the boundary. We will not cross that line and in our negotiations with the Indian Government we have never put forward any territorial claims. Since we have adopted such an attitude of understanding and conciliation, the dispute regarding the eastern sector has become a smaller one in the talks between the two Prime Ministers in the last few days.

With regard to the Western sector, China's maps and India's maps differ from each other. In the past, the alignment of this sector of the boundary on India's maps changed several times, whereas China has always followed a line which appeared on our maps in exercising our jurisdiction. This sector of the boundary follows the watershed of Karakoram up to Kongka Pass. And then southward to the starting point of the middle sector of the boundary, the area to the north and east of this boundary line has been under China's jurisdiction throughout history. The greater part of this area is under the

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illegally delineated through an exchange of secret notes by British imperialism with the Tibetan local authorities of China, and successive Chinese Governments have never recognized it. Nevertheless, pending a settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, we are willing to maintain the present state and will not cross this line; in negotiations on the boundary question, too, we have not put forward territorial claims as pre-conditions. Since we have adopted such an attitude of understanding and conciliation, it seems that comparatively less time has been spent on discussions of the eastern sector of the boundary.

With regard to the western sector: The way of delineating the boundary on Chinese maps is different from that on Indian maps. Despite small discrepancies which exist in the delineations of this sector on past Chinese maps, these maps are in the main consistent. The Indian maps, however, have changed many times. China has always exercised administrative jurisdiction in accordance with the line on Chinese maps, that is, the line which runs from the Karakoram Pass southeastward roughly along the watershed of the Karakoram Mountains to the Kongka Pass, then turns southward from the Kongka Pass and extends to the vicinity of the Pare River. The border area to the north and east of this line

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jurisdiction of Sinkiang of China. A smaller part of this area is under the jurisdiction of Tibet of China. We have historical material to prove our administrative jurisdiction in this area throughout history. Ever since the founding of New China, this area has also been under China's jurisdiction. As a matter of fact, the area called Aksai Chin has become an important thoroughfare to Sinkiang in Ladakh region of Tibet.

The alignment of this sector, boundary on India's map changed several times. Up to the middle of 19th century, the alignment of this sector on India's map was similar to that on China's map. From 1865 to 1943, most of India's maps were quite vague about this sector of the boundary and did not even draw a boundary line of this sector. In 1950, the Indian maps used colour shade to indicate this sector of the boundary but marked clearly this sector of the boundary as undefined. That was in 1950 and finally in 1954, a map appeared, as you see now in India's newspapers which give this sector of the boundary as defined. So, from the Indian maps, you can see that even India thinks that this sector of the boundary is undelimited. Therefore the alignment which appears on China's map has historical basis and historical foundation. We have asked, we have requested the Indian Government to take an attitude towards this sector of

has historically been under the jurisdiction of China. The greater part of it, including the Aksai Chin area, is under the jurisdiction of Sinkiang of China, and the smaller part under the jurisdiction of Tibet of China. We have many historical documents and materials to prove this historical administrative jurisdiction. Since the founding of New China, it has always exercised jurisdiction in this area as the main communication artery linking southern Sinkiang and the Ari area of Tibet. With regard to this area, the delineation of the boundary on Indian maps before the middle of the nineteenth century approximated that on Chinese maps. During the period from 1865 to 1943, the more important maps of India were quite vague with regard to the delineation of this sector of the boundary. The official Indian map of 1850 used colour shades to indicate an outline of this sector of the boundary as now advocated by India. Nevertheless, this map still marked the area as undelimited. Finally, in 1954, the line just like the eastern sector of the boundary, came to be drawn as if it had been formally delineated as shown on the map you now see in Indian newspapers. Therefore, even the changes of the Indian maps during the past one hundred and more years can also fully prove that the boundary in this area is undelimited. We have asked the Indian Government to adopt an

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boundary similar to the attitude which the Chinese Government has taken towards the Eastern sector of the boundary. We have said that the Indian Government can keep its stand and enter into negotiation with us.

We have also asked India not to cross the line up to which China has exercised its jurisdiction. This line is the line, which appears on China's Map. To all this the Indian Government has not entirely agreed. Therefore there is this bigger dispute with regard to the Western sector of the boundary.

We hope that after the officials of the two sides have examined and studied documents and maps as provided in the Joint Communiqué, the Indian Government will take an attitude similar to that which the Chinese Government has taken towards the Eastern sector, that is to say, an attitude of mutual accommodation. In this way, we believe settlement of the question can be reached.

With regard to the Middle sector of the boundary, there are disputes too but they are disputes about individual areas.

Question: What is the Chinese claim with regard to Bhutan?

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attitude towards this area similar to the attitude of the Chinese Government towards the area of the eastern sector, that is, it may keep its own stand, while agreeing to conduct negotiations and not to cross the line of China's administrative jurisdiction as shown on Chinese maps. The Indian Government has not entirely agreed to this. Therefore, there exists a relatively bigger dispute and the two Prime Ministers spent a particularly long period of time on discussions in this connection.

With regard to the middle sector: There are also disputes, but they are questions concerning individual places.

Question (B.G. Verghese of the *Times of India*): What are the Chinese claims in regard to Bhutan?

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Prime Minister: Prime Minister is sorry to disappoint you because we do not have any disputes with Bhutan. He wonders if you remember that he mentioned twice in his letters to Prime Minister Nehru that China has no boundary disputes with Sikkim and Bhutan. China respects the relation, between India and Sikkim and Bhutan.

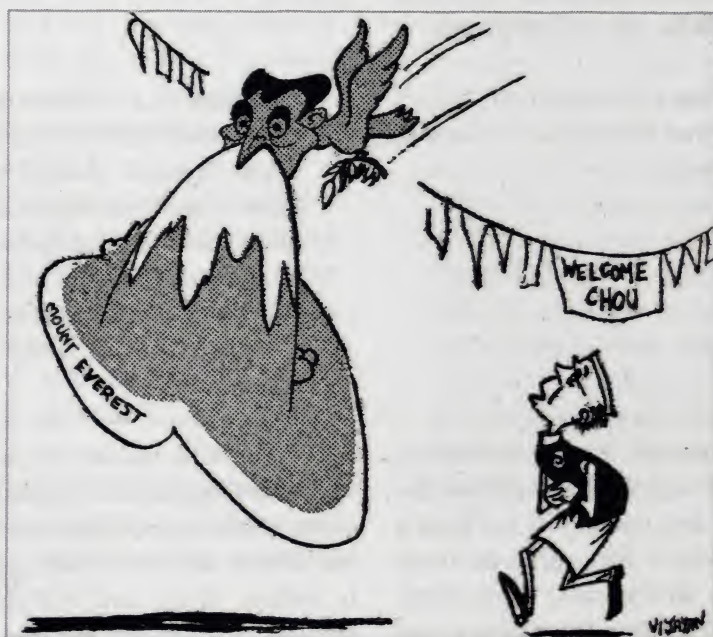
Question: Is it true that as Mr. Koirala, Nepalese Prime Minister said, you claimed Mount Everest as yours?

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Answer: I am sorry to disappoint you. We have no claim with regard to Bhutan, nor do we have any dispute with it. You may recall that in its letters to the Indian Government, the Chinese Government twice mentioned that China has no boundary dispute with Sikkim and Bhutan and that China respects India's proper relations with Sikkim and Bhutan.

Question (S.G. Roy of the *Pakistan Times*): Prime Minister Koirala of Nepal said that China laid claim to Mt. Jolmo Lungma, What is the situation?

Peking More Than Can Be Swallowed



(From *Shankar's Weekly*, 17 April 1960, p.4)

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Prime Minister: Thank you for reminding me of this question. I am going to Nepal tomorrow. Surely we will be able to settle this question with Nepal in a very friendly way.

Question: Is it true that you have claimed Everest as belonging to you?

Prime Minister: The Prime Minister says the situation with regard to this question is not like what you have learnt from papers. This is a topic between the two Prime Ministers of China and Nepal. He has no intention of disclosing the discussion between the two Prime Ministers on this question till he gets to Kathmandu.

Question: The basis of India's talks was for China to vacate aggression.

Prime Minister: China has never committed aggression against the territory of any country. It is China's territory which has suffered from aggression which came from other countries in history. Even now a part of our territory has been invaded by a

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Answer: Thank you for reminding us of this question. Tomorrow we are going to Nepal. I believe that we shall be able to settle this question in a friendly manner.

Question (G.M. Telang of the Press Trust of India): I mean to ask whether it is true that China regards that mountain as its own.

Answer: The course of events is not like what you have learnt. Since this is a question of foreign relations, I do not intend to disclose the detailed contents of the talks between the Prime Ministers of our two countries.

Question (L.P. Atkinson of the British *Daily Mail*): Is the Chinese Prime Minister pleased with his talks in Delhi inasmuch as he has not given an inch to India? It is to be remembered in this connection that India's basis for these talks is that China should vacate aggression.

Answer: China has never committed aggression against the territory of any country. Moreover, China in its history has always suffered from aggression by others. Even now, we still have territory, Taiwan for instance, which has been invaded and occupied by

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foreign country, that is, Taiwan. I am happy to say that in the talks between the two Prime Ministers, it was unanimously agreed that no territorial claims should be put forward by any one of them. This shows that China and India have carried their negotiations on the basis of friendship. You represent a British paper. You probably know what Chinese territory England still occupies.

Question: Is it a fact that when the Government of India drew the attention of the Chinese Government towards these maps, it was stated that these maps were prepared at the time of Chiang Kai-shek and were not systematically prepared, no survey had been made, and when a proper survey will be made then these maps will be corrected.

You did not question all these maps either in the first meeting with Mr. Nehru or the second time when you came to India. What is the reason you have changed your views and pressed forward claims from old China's history? While you want us to forget anything that happened during the British period, you want to carry on the traditions of old emperors and all others.

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others. I am very glad that both the Chinese and Indian Prime Ministers in their talks fully agreed that territorial claims should not be made by either side as pre-conditions for negotiations. This proves that the talks have proceeded on a friendly basis. Speaking about aggression against others' territory, since this gentleman represents a British newspaper, he of course knows what Chinese territory Britain is still occupying up till now.

Question (J.P. Chaturvedi of the Hindi daily *Aj*): When the Indian Government drew the attention of the Chinese Government to Chinese maps, the Chinese Government said that they were drawn during the period of the Kuomintang without systematic and careful surveys and that they would be adjusted once careful surveys are made. Is this true? Why didn't you raise the question of the maps during your first and second talks with Nehru? And why do you now want to press forward the Chinese claim on the basis of Chinese history while you want us to forget about the things which happened during the British period?

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Prime Minister: China's map is prepared according to conditions which have prevailed throughout the history. We have a number of times frankly said there might be some minor divergences between our maps and the actual situation of administration. There are differences between China's maps and India's maps. There are differences between China's maps and maps of other countries too. We have told Prime Minister Nehru several times that after a survey is made and after the boundary is delimited through negotiations between the two sides, the maps of our two countries will have to be revised according to agreements reached between the two countries. Of course China will have to revise these maps according to the agreement. China has reached an agreement with Burma on the border question. Once a treaty on the border question is signed between China and Burma, both China and Burma will revise their maps accordingly. Therefore, friendly countries should negotiate for the final delimitation of their boundary and then revise their maps accordingly. Before a survey is made, before the boundary is delimited through negotiation, neither side should impose its maps on the other side, neither side should ask the other side to follow its wishes in revising maps. If such a demand is made, then it is unfriendly and inaccurate. Of

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Answer: Chinese maps have been drawn according to the situation which has prevailed throughout history. At some places there are differences between these maps and the actual state of jurisdiction. And this is what we have always been saying. The same holds true not only between China and India, but also between China and other neighbouring countries. To put it the other way around, such a situation also exists on the maps of other countries with regard to the areas bordering on China. Therefore, we have told Prime Minister Nehru many times that in connection with the Chinese maps, after both sides conduct surveys and delimit the boundary, we shall revise our respective maps in accordance with the agreement between both sides. Regarding this point, you gentlemen can find proof in the boundary agreement between China and Burma. That is to say, once we have signed a Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty, both sides will revise their respective maps. However, pending the survey and delimitation through negotiations, certainly neither side can unilaterally impose its maps on the other side and ask the other side to revise maps according to its demands. This is not a friendly attitude, nor a fair attitude.

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course, we cannot agree to such a map.

Question: What is the position of Longju?

Prime Minister: According to the so-called Macmahon Line on which the Indian Government bases itself, Longju is to the north of that Line. We also have historical documents to prove that. Even according to the line which appears now on the Indian map which the Indian Government claims as the line up to which India has exercised its jurisdiction, Longju is not in the area which is under the jurisdiction of India.

Question: Are you carrying the impression that a change has come over India and the feeling of friendship and the implicit faith in China has given faith [way] to disillusionment, bitterness and hostility and are you doing something radically to change that situation?

Prime Minister: He does not have the same views as you have. As he mentioned in his statement in writing that the great friendship between China and India is immortal. The dispute with regard to the boundary question

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Therefore we cannot do it this way.

Question (S.V. Bedi of the weekly magazine *Link*): What is the position of Longju?

Answer: Longju lies to the north of the so-called McMahon Line and this is proved by historical materials. The Indian Government, however, alleges that it is to the south of the so-called McMahon Line and within its jurisdiction.

Question (Anand Swarup of *The Hindustan Times*): During your talks with Indian leaders and after, are you carrying the impression that great changes have taken place in India and that the friendship and faith of the Indian people towards the Chinese people are changing? And what drastic steps are you taking to change this situation?

Answer: I do not share your views. I have already said in my written statement that the friendship between the Chinese and the Indian peoples is immortal and that the disputes over the boundary question are temporary.

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is temporary. The two Governments in their negotiations on the boundary question might meet with some difficulties but that too is temporary. As a result of the talks this time, mutual understanding has already been promoted and we are sure that the dark clouds hovering over the relations of our two countries will go away. The Chinese people and the Indian people have no basic conflict of interests. We have been friendly to each other in the past and we will remain friendly in thousands and tens of thousands of years to come.

The Prime Minister says, he would like to tell the Indian people, through you present here, that the Chinese people and the Chinese Government have no intention to claim any territory from India. We have no intention to claim territory from any country. We will never commit aggression against any country. At the same time, we will not tolerate any aggression committed by other people against us. We are sure that the dispute between China and India on the boundary question will eventually be settled in a friendly manner. That is our firm conviction. Likewise we are convinced that the Chinese people and the Indian people will forever be friendly to each other. The Prime Minister says, through you ladies and gentlemen present, here he would like to extend his greetings to the Indian people. Not long ago there was the

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The two Governments, in the course of negotiating a settlement, may meet with temporary barriers. However, as a result of the present talks, the understanding between the two sides has been further enhanced. I believe that the dark clouds hovering for the time being will disappear, because there is no conflict of fundamental interests between the Chinese and Indian peoples. We have been friendly to each other in the past and shall remain so for thousands and tens of thousands of years to come. I would like to tell you and particularly the broad masses of the Indian people, that the Chinese people and Government do not claim any territory from India or any of our neighbouring countries. We will never commit aggression against a single inch of territory of any country. And of course we will never tolerate aggression by others against us. As for the relations between China and India, I firmly believe that the temporary disputes over the boundary can be settled, that the peoples of the two countries will remain friends for ever, and that on the part of the overwhelming majority of the Indian people their ideas of friendship with China have not changed. This was shown by the fact that the broad masses of the Indian people appreciated and attached importance to the Chinese Agricultural Exhibition held not long ago in Delhi. I would

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Chinese Agricultural Exhibition in Delhi. That was appreciated by a great number of Indian people. We are most grateful for that. That fact in itself shows that Sino-Indian friendship is immortal. The Prime Minister says that what his Delegation could do in the last seven days was limited. But the great friendship remains in the hearts of thousands of Chinese and Indian people.

Question: Would you consider inviting President Eisenhower to Peking provided it did not involve recognition of Red China?

Prime Minister: The Prime Minister says your good wishes are cancelled by the conditions you put forward. Since the United States does not recognise New China, how can New China invite the Head of its State, Mr. Eisenhower to this New China?

Question: You are uncommonly young for 62. I assume your hair has the real colour or do you maintain a particular diet or exercise?

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like to avail myself of this opportunity to express through you our thanks to the broad masses of the Indian people. My colleagues and I of course can do some work in promoting Sino-Indian friendship, but the most important thing is the solidarity of the 1,000 million people of the two great countries which cannot be undermined by any forces of reaction.

Question (Miss Elaine Shepard of the North America News Alliance and Women's News Service): Would you consider inviting President Eisenhower to visit Peking provided it does not involve recognizing Red China?

Answer: Your good wishes are annulled by the condition you put forward. Since the United States does not recognize New China, how could China invite President Eisenhower, the head of state of the United States, to visit Peking?

Question (Elaine Shepard): Now my second question which I ask on behalf of the Women's News Service. The Prime Minister looks exceptionally fit for his 62 years of age. How does he look after his health? Does he maintain a particular diet or does he always exercise?

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Prime Minister: The Prime Minister says there is no particular secret. He is following the Oriental way of life. I assume, it is natural here.

Answer: Thank you. I am an oriental and I follow an oriental way of life.

Question: Has the Prime Minister in his talks with the Indian leaders received the suggestion that China had committed aggression? If so, how could talks at the official level remove such a fundamental difference in view of the fact that you and Mr. Nehru have failed to remove it?

Question (Charles Wheeler, B.B.C. correspondent in Delhi): In your consultations with the Indian leaders, was there any suggestion from these leaders that China committed aggression against India? How did you remove such a basic difference in your talks? And how could the officials of the two countries remove such a difference in view of the fact that you and Prime Minister Nehru failed to do so?

Prime Minister: The Prime Minister says that this hope is cherished by Western imperialists. In his talks with Prime Minister Nehru and with other high officials of the Indian Government, he never got that impression. If the leaders of the Indian Government raised that kind of question, that will not be in conformity with facts and besides will be very unfriendly. None of the leaders of the Indian Government has ever raised such a question.

Answer: This is an idea entertained by Western imperialists. During our talks this time, this question has not been raised, if the leaders of the Indian Government had brought up such a question, it would not only be out of keeping with objective reality, but would also be extremely unfriendly. I would only say that our two friendly countries have no intention of satisfying the desire of the Western countries in this regard.

The Prime Minister can only say this. The two friendly countries, China and India, have no intention to satisfy the desire of Western countries on this question.

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Question : In view of the fact that negotiations about such a tiny spot as Bara Hoti have taken more than three years, has [have] the two Prime Ministers agreed to some special measures or instructions to be given to officials so that the forthcoming negotiations may be expedited.

Prime Minister: With regard to the place called Bara Hoti, there does exist a dispute between China and India but that never leads to any conflicts between the two countries. As regards the meetings to be held by officials of the two countries, besides their terms of reference which have been set forth in the Joint Communiqué, the two Governments will give them further instructions in order to facilitate their work. In the Joint Communiqué it was stated that both sides hope that the work done by the officials of the two sides will facilitate further consideration of the boundary question by the two Governments.

Question: You said no two countries should impose its maps on the other countries. Does it not follow that in the interest of immortal friendship between India and China, you should agree to neutralise the disputed area in Ladakh as suggested by our Prime Minister.

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Question (K.N. Sharma of *Assam Tribune*): In view of the fact that negotiations about such a tiny spot as Bara Hoti went on for three years without a settlement, have the two Prime Ministers agreed on some special instructions to be given to the officials so that their forthcoming negotiations may be expedited?

Answer: With regard to Bara Hoti which we call Wu-Je in China, although the dispute has existed for a long time, it has never led to clashes, and, moreover, it will eventually be resolved. As for the terms of reference of the meetings of officials, they have been made public in the Joint Communiqué. Of course, to facilitate their work, the two Governments will respectively give them further instructions. The communiqué has expressed the hope that the work of the officials of the two countries will be helpful to the two Governments in their further consideration of a settlement of the boundary question.

Question (Inder Jit of the *Times of India*): You said that no country should impose its map on the other country. Does it not follow in the interests of the immortal friendship, as you said, that you should agree, as Prime Minister Nehru suggested, to neutralise the disputed area of Ladakh?

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Prime Minister : In the talks this time, Prime Minister Nehru did not make that demand again. If the Indian Government should make that demand again with regard to Aksai Chin area in Ladakh, the Chinese Government can make a similar demand that the Indian personnel be withdrawn from that area in between the two boundary lines for the Eastern sector, one boundary line on China's maps and the other boundary line on the Indian side. If the Chinese Government should make such a demand that the Indian personnel be withdrawn in between the two lines; in the Eastern sector, the Chinese Government never made such a demand. Therefore, in the friendly talks this time, this question did not arise.

Question: Would you be able to specify if there has been any shift whatsoever in the position taken by you before you started talking... As a result of these talks, any shift at all?

Prime Minister: The Prime Minister says he has been sent by the Chinese Government to Delhi to have talks with Prime Minister Nehru, with such a position of seeking friendly settlement to the boundary dispute, a position of settling the boundary question on the basis of the principle of mutual understanding and mutual

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Answer: During the talks this time, Prime Minister Nehru did not insist on such a demand. If Prime Minister Nehru should ask China to withdraw from the Aksai Chin area, that is what you call Ladakh, the Chinese Government similarly could also ask India to withdraw from the area in the eastern sector, that is, from the area in the eastern sector where the delineations on Indian and Chinese maps show very great discrepancies. How could the Indian Government accept this? Of course the Chinese Government has not raised such a demand.

Question (Bedi of the weekly magazine *Link*): Could one observe any shift in the position taken by you before you started the talks?

Answer: China's position is to find a friendly, reasonable and fair settlement of the border disputes between the two countries and first to reach an agreement in principle. This position has not changed. As for specific questions, we have not been able to touch upon many of them during those talks.

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accommodation. We still maintain that position. Since in those talks more specific questions have not been touched upon, the Prime Minister expresses his hope that meetings to be held between the officials of our two Governments will prove to be helpful to the two Governments in their consideration of propositions towards settlement of the boundary question.

Question: Apart from these boundary disputes, did the two Prime Ministers express any grievances against each other with reference to the events in Tibet, with reference to the asylum given to the Dalai Lama in India or to any other event or action done by the Indian people which might have offended the susceptibilities of the Chinese people?

Prime Minister: The Prime Minister says that Dalai Lama and his followers started a revolt in Tibet in an attempt to keep the serfdom in Tibet but that revolt failed and after that Dalai Lama and his followers fled to India. In India they are given political asylum. That is a normal international practice. We have no objection. But the activities of the Dalai Lama and his followers ever since they came to India have far exceeded the limit which the

Question (B.B. Saxena of the Hindi daily *Nai Duniya*): Did the two Prime Ministers, apart from the boundary question, touch on any other grievances, like the Tibet question, political asylum for the Dalai Lama, observance of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence? Did the Indian people or Government take any action which offended your sentiment?

Answer: Speaking about the Tibet question, the Dalai Lama and mainly his followers started the rebellion in order to maintain the system of serfdom in Tibet. But the rebellion failed and they fled to India and in India they were given political asylum. This is normal international practice and we have no objection to it. However, their activities after they came to India have gone beyond that limit. The Indian Government has repeatedly told the

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Indian Government has promised the Chinese Government, that is to say the Indian Government has promised that it will not allow Dalai Lama and his followers to carry out any political activities in India against New China, but Dalai Lama and his followers both in India and without, have on a number of occasions carried out political activities against New China. This is a matter of regret to the Chinese Government. On the question of Tibet, the Prime Minister says Tibet is a part of China and that the Indian Government has acknowledged. The great majority of the people in Tibet who in the past lived under serfdom have now been emancipated. They have been given land.

They have been given land reforms, democratic reforms have been carried out in Tibet. The economy in Tibet will develop. The population in Tibet will grow. The Tibetan people will forever be a member of the big family of nationalities in China. Any attempt on the part of any foreign country to interfere in China's internal affairs will surely fail. Besides any such activity of intervention would be in violation of the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence jointly enunciated by China and India.

Question: Would it be possible to put a curb to this Press Conference, setting a time at

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Chinese Government that it would not allow the Dalai Lama and his followers to carry out in India any political activity against New China. But the Dalai Lama and his followers have on quite a few occasions carried out, within and outside India, activities against China. We feel regret over this.

Tibet is a part of China and this is what the Indian Government has recognized. I can tell this gentleman that the overwhelming majority of the Tibetan people have now been freed from serfdom. Land has been distributed among them and democratic reform has been carried out. The economy in Tibet will develop continuously and the population there will grow. Tibet will for ever be a member of the great family of the various nationalities of China. Any act of foreign interference in China's internal affairs is doomed to failure. Such an act is in itself a violation of the Five Principles jointly initiated by China and India.

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which it must end.

Prime Minister: The gentleman from the London *Times* had made a very good suggestion, namely, a time-limit be set for this Press Conference. The Prime Minister says we end this Press Conference at 1 O'clock.

Question: In your formal statement this evening, you have suggested in the fifth point that pending settlement both sides should keep to the line of actual control. Supposing a settlement is not reached, then do you suggest that both sides should go on keeping to the line of actual control?

Prime Minister: A line of actual control does exist not only on the Eastern Sector but also in the Western Sector, likewise in the Middle sector. If both sides keep to this line of actual control and stop patrolling along all sectors of the boundary, then we can avoid friction and clashes along the border and surely facilitate

Question (Walter Friedenberg of the *Chicago Daily News*): In your formal statement this evening, in the fifth point, it is said that pending a settlement by the two sides, they may keep to the line of actual control. If no settlement can be made, would it be your suggestion that both sides keep to that line of control?

Answer: This line of actual control exists not only in the eastern sector, but also in the western sector and the middle sector. For both sides, to keep to this line of actual control and stop patrolling along all sectors of the boundary will avoid border clashes and facilitate the proceeding of negotiations. This is what we hold to.

Version from P.N. Haksar Papers

negotiations and friendly settlement of boundary questions.

Question: In the Joint Communiqué it is mentioned that the Prime Ministers discussed the present world situation. Was there any reference to the Summit Conference? Can you throw some light on the Chinese attitude?

Prime Minister: It is mentioned in the Joint Communiqué "The two Prime Ministers welcomed the forthcoming conference in Paris of the Heads of Governments and expressed the hope that this conference would help in lessening international tensions, banning the production and use of nuclear weapons and promoting disarmament." As to the attitude of the Chinese Government, it has been stated repeatedly in statements made by the Chinese Government on its foreign policy that we support the propositions made by the Soviet Union on disarmament and on such questions as Berlin.

Question: Did you find Mr. Nehru the same as you found in 1954 and 1956 or a little different this time?

Peking Review Version

Question (Dusan Ruppeldt of the Czechoslovak Broadcasting Corporation): In the Joint Communiqué it was mentioned that the two parties discussed the world situation. Could you tell us some of the contents of the talks in this respect and especially China's attitude to the summit conference?

Answer: In the Joint Communiqué it was said that we held hopes for the forthcoming conference of the big powers, hoping that it would help to ease international tension, to prohibit nuclear weapons and promote disarmament. As for the attitude of the Chinese Government, it has repeatedly stated its full support for the Soviet Government's propositions with regard to general disarmament, the Berlin question and a number of other questions.

Question (S.G. Roy of the *Pakistan Times*): Do you find Prime Minister Nehru the same as in 1956 or a little different?

Version from P.N. Haksar Papers

Prime Minister: The Prime Minister says that Prime Minister Nehru and he himself share a common desire of maintaining friendship between China and India. On the boundary question, they have expounded their respective stands and viewpoints regarding this question. Naturally their talks were more about this question in the last few days.

Question: When the Dalai Lama arrived in India, the Chinese Government issued a statement suggesting that he was under duress and forced to come to India by his followers, and presumably they had it in mind when they created a new Government in Tibet and left open the Chairmanship for Dalai Lama to occupy. In his recent answer to a question, the Prime Minister stated that the Dalai Lama and his followers had been carrying on such political activity which gave the impression to the Chinese Government that the Dalai Lama is now free in India. I would like to ask if the Chinese Government had changed its earlier view?

Peking Review Version

Answer: Prime Minister Nehru and I alike have expressed the common desire to maintain Sino-Indian friendship. On the boundary question, we have expounded our respective views and stands and devoted more time in our talks to it.

Question (Roderick MacFarquhar of the British *Daily Telegraph*): When the Dalai Lama came to India the Chinese Government issued a statement suggesting that he was under duress and forced to come to India by his followers. Presumably bearing this in mind when you created the new government in Tibet, the seat of chairman was left for the Dalai Lama to occupy. In your answer to a question just now you stated that the Dalai Lama and his followers had been carrying out certain political activities against China. It would appear from this that the Dalai Lama is a free and independent agent in India. I therefore ask: One. What made the Chinese Government change its earlier view? Two. What action is taken by you to describe to the Chinese people the Dalai Lama as carrying on in India activities against the Chinese Government?

Version from P.N. Haksar Papers

Prime Minister: Before Dalai Lama left Lhasa, he sent three letters to the Chinese authorities. These three letters proved that he was under duress of the people who surrounded him. After Dalai Lama came to India, he admitted that he did send these three letters to the Chinese authorities. In the measures taken by the Chinese Government with regard to Dalai Lama, reservations have been made. We have not only reserved the post of Chairmanship of the Preparation Committee of the autonomous region of Tibet, we have not only reserved this post for Dalai Lama but we have made Dalai Lama the Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of our People's Congress. Those people who are surrounding Dalai Lama are trying to prevent his return to his home land. As to how much Dalai Lama can exercise his free will at the present time, the Prime Minister says that since he did not see Dalai Lama, he cannot answer that question.

Question: You said you have extended an invitation to the Prime Minister. Have you extended invitations to other Cabinet Ministers apart from the Prime Minister?

Peking Review Version

Three. Is the position of the head of the autonomous region of Tibet still open for the Dalai Lama?

Answer: The three letters written by the Dalai Lama to the Chinese authorities at the time before he left Lhasa proved that he was held under duress by those persons surrounding him. After he came to India, the Dalai Lama also admitted that he wrote those three letters. The Chinese people left room for the Dalai Lama, reserving for him not only the chairmanship of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, but also the vice-chairmanship of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. The persons surrounding the Dalai Lama, however, have made him go farther and farther, pushing him into betrayal of the motherland and trying their utmost to prevent his return to the fold of the motherland. As to how much free will the Dalai Lama can now exercise, I cannot answer the question because I have not seen him.

Question (D.G. Kulkarni of the Tamil daily *Dina Seithi*): Besides inviting Prime Minister Nehru, did you invite any other ministers to visit China?

श्री राम सेवक यादव :¹⁴³ अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस सिलसिले में मेरा एक निवेदन है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अभी नहीं।

श्री राम सेवक यादव : पहले सुन तो लें कि निवेदन क्या है। मेरा निवेदन अपने संशोधन के सम्बन्ध में है। मैंने अपना संशोधन हिन्दी में दिया था। इसमें जो दिया गया है वह उस प्रकार से नहीं है जैसा कि मैंने दिया था।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैंने उसका कुछ हिस्सा काट लिया है।

[Translation begins:

Shri Ram Sewak Yadava: ¹⁴⁴ Mr Speaker, I want to make a point in this regard.

Mr. Speaker: Not now.

Shri Ram Sewak Yadava: First please listen to me what my point is. My point is regarding my amendment. I had given my amendment in Hindi. What is given here is not what I had given.

Mr. Speaker: I have cut out some part of it.

Translation ends]

[Speaker continues in English]

I cut it out because I felt it to be out of order. Instead of ruling out the whole thing as out of order, I have cut that portion so as to enable the hon. Member to move at least the other portion that is there.

श्री राम सेवक यादव : मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि किस प्रकार से वह आउट ऑफ आर्डर है।

143. Socialist Party, Lok Sabha MP from Bara Banki, UP.

144. See fn 143 in this section.

[Save Me from My Friends]

INDIA AND CHINA

CHOU EN-LAI SPOKE OF CHINA'S
FRIENDSHIP AND SYMPATHY FOR INDIA

NOW WE NEED ONLY PROTECTION AGAINST LOVE



(From *Shankar's Weekly*, 1 May 1960, p.12)

35. Nehru to S. Dutt: Forwarding Papers¹¹²

I am sending you various papers in connection with my talks with Premier Chou En-lai. These contain—

- 1) some notes you had given me,
- 2) the note on the points to be taken up with the Chinese Premier, apart from the main border issue,
- 3) various drafts of the Joint Communiqué, and
- 4) my notes about our talks.

These are in two sets.

2. You can have these sorted out and such papers as are to be kept for record may be separated.
3. I have also a boxful of other notes prepared in the Ministry. These will be handed over to Shri Jagat Mehta.

36. Nehru's Talk with Pressmen¹¹³

Present High Degree of Tension Will Lessen
P.M. on Outcome of Border Talks
Peaceful Settlement Not Ruled Out

New Delhi, April 26 - Prime Minister Nehru told pressmen at the Palam airport today that the result of the Sino-Indian border talks was that while the basic tensions remained, the present high degree of tension would naturally lessen. Asked whether he was optimistic that the dispute could be solved by peaceful means, Pandit Nehru said that it was always good to try and reach a peaceful settlement, "We shall continue to try, and one cannot rule out the possibility of success", he said.

Pandit Nehru said that while there had been no specific agreements, he was hopeful that as a result of the talks there would be no further clashes or encroachments. Even during the last seven or eight months there had been no clashes. That was partly due to instructions on both sides to avoid forward patrolling.

112. Note to FS, 25 April 1960.

113. PTI report of the talk at Palam, New Delhi, 26 April 1960. *National Herald*, 27 April 1960

Soon after Mr. Chou En-lai emplaned for Kathmandu, pressmen surrounded Pandit Nehru at the airport and asked for his comments on the Chinese Prime Minister's press conference last night. Pandit Nehru said that he had not been able as yet to read all that had been said.

Asked to give the Indian version of the talks, Pandit Nehru said: "The (joint) statement does indicate that we were unable to come to any agreement. That is eloquent of the position."

Question: Mr. Chou told us that he did not get the impression, during his talks with you and other Indian leaders, that we charged the Chinese with having committed aggression. He also told us that if this had been our stand it would be unfriendly.

Pandit Nehru: If we think, and if I told them that they have come on our territory, what does it mean? Obviously it means they have committed aggression.

No Question of Barter

Question: Last night Mr. Chou seemed to be oozing optimism and seemed to think that though no agreement has been reached in the present talks in the future India should and would, show "a spirit of accommodation on the western (Ladakh) sector in return for the Chinese spirit of accommodation on the eastern (Mac Mohan Line) sector". Do you share this view?

Pandit Nehru: There is no question of barter in these matters. The set of facts or the set of what he considers facts and the set of our facts are basically different—I am not talking about the conclusions to be drawn—but their facts themselves are so different from ours that naturally conclusions will differ if we accept the facts.

Asked about Mr. Chou's invitation to him to visit Peking, Pandit Nehru said the question of his visit did not arise now, as the Chinese Prime Minister himself had said last night. "It will depend on Governments on and after the visit of the official team (envisage in the joint communiqué) and what they report and the position then," he said.

Question: In view of the known capacity of the Chinese for protracting negotiations without reaching any settlement, do you think that our negotiations will also be protracted?

Pandit Nehru: I cannot say whether they will be protracted. It is protracted even at the present moment. I do not know about the future.

Official Teams' Scope

Question: In view of the inability of the two Prime Ministers to reach an agreement, do you think that the officials on the two sides will be able to reach any agreement?

Pandit Nehru: Officials are not supposed to come to an agreement. They have neither the competence nor the authority to come to an agreement. They are merely to investigate certain basic facts on which we have differences. They have to bring them (facts) together in a concrete form. That too does not mean there will be an agreement on facts. But it will be easier to consider facts not only of the recent past, but further back too. So the officials merely collect materials, sort them out, arrange them and present them to us.

Question: Does it mean that we did not have enough material?

Pandit Nehru: We had a fair amount of material. But they did not have.

Question: Will there be a lessening of tension as a result of these long discussions?

Pandit Nehru: Well, yes. Not the basic tension but the high degree of tension that exists lessens naturally for the moment. But the basic thing remains.

Question: In your welcome speech to Mr. Chou and later at the banquet, you said that the boundary question is a grave problem. But the joint communiqué describes it as certain differences. Can you explain to us the change in language?

Pandit Nehru: What is wrong with that (difference)? These are state documents and contain state languages not hyperbolics. Of course, it is a big difference. If it is not, why should he (Mr. Chou) run up here for talks? Because differences have arisen between the two Governments, we had talks.

Possibility of Success Not Ruled Out

Question: You previously expressed your optimism that the dispute would

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

be solved by peaceful means. After these talks, do you still believe it will be solved by peaceful means and that they will vacate aggression in Ladakh.

Pandit Nehru: I do not know what measure of optimism I had any time. But one always tries for that (peaceful settlement) and trying for that which is always good. We shall continue to try and one cannot rule out the possibility of success.

Question: After these long talks, have you altered your basic views about Chinese expansionism?

Pandit Nehru: That is a historical view which I had always held, and I hold still.

Question: Did the Chinese answer that view?

Pandit Nehru: Am I to discuss all that with them? The whole point is we say "You have come on our territory". I do not discuss past history of which generations, building up of empires and all that.

Further Encroachments Unlikely

Question: Is their stepping into our territory merely by way of rectification of frontiers of some kind of design on their part to expand their dominion?

Pandit Nehru: We have had their view. They think it (territory) has always been theirs, in the past and the present. It is their view and it is not our view.

Question: Do you think as a result of these talks there will be no further clashes or encroachments?

Pandit Nehru: I do not think there will be any clashes or further encroachments.

Question: How is this to be achieved? Were any concrete proposals in the form of ground rules for patrols, etcetera, discussed.

Pandit Nehru: Hardly. It is difficult to lay down rigid rules about it. If there is a definite desire to avoid clashes they do not occur. It has not occurred for the last seven or eight months.

A correspondent: That is because of the winter.

Pandit Nehru: Yes, partly due to winter but also partly because of instructions on both sides to avoid them.

Question: Will the earlier suggestions about patrolling continue?

Pandit Nehru: I do not think there were any earlier suggestions about patrolling as such. The suggestion was that there should be no forward patrolling which would bring the parties into conflict. Patrolling as such is on. You cannot keep people cooped up all the time, but patrolling which would lead to conflicts has to be avoided.

Sikkim and Bhutan

Question: Apart from the border disputes, did you discuss long range Sino-Indian relations, situation in Tibet, the Dalai Lama and all that?

Pandit Nehru: It could hardly be called discussion. References to these matters came in the course of our talks.

Question: Mr. Chou said that in regard to the central and eastern sectors they had not much serious claims. Do you think this is a substantial improvement in the situation?

Pandit Nehru: It is a way of looking at things. You may say so because out of three areas, he (Mr. Chou) does not consider two of them presenting any great difficulty. But in the other area, there is a big stumbling block.

Question: But Mr. Chou seemed to suggest that in the central and eastern, sectors they had only some individual areas to discuss. What have you to say about it?

Pandit Nehru: It has been our position that if there are any particular points we may discuss it.

Question: But the Chinese seem to accept that position now.

Pandit Nehru: Yes, but they tie it up with the west (Ladakh).

Asked to comment on Mr. Chou's statement at the press conference last night that China respected India's relations with Sikkim and Bhutan, Pandit Nehru

said: "They have said that before. As a statement it is good, so far as Sikkim and Bhutan are concerned".

37. In the Lok Sabha: Joint Communiqué¹¹⁴

Joint Communiqué of the Indian and Chinese Prime Ministers

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I beg to lay on the Table of the House a copy of the joint communiqué issued last night as a result of the conversations that I have been having with Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China.

Shri Braj Raj Singh:¹¹⁵ In view of the joint communiqué which has already appeared in the press, may we know from the Prime Minister what immediate steps he proposes to take now to get the territory which is already occupied by the Chinese vacated?

Shri Hem Barua:¹¹⁶ I would like to know the trend of the discussions that the two Prime Ministers had, because the whole country is anxious to know about it, and the newspapers are not capable of giving the information. The Chinese Prime Minister has already held a press conference.

Shri Vajpayee:¹¹⁷ I want to say the House should be given an opportunity to discuss the whole situation.

Shri Mahanty:¹¹⁸ The joint communiqué has already appeared in the press. Therefore, there is practically nothing very significant in laying that document on the Table of the House. What we would like to know, and what we expect from the Prime Minister, is clarification about the six points which have been mentioned by the Chinese Premier. In fact, we find there enunciation of the principle of a plebiscite in the border areas.

114. 26 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol XLIII, cols 13791-13804.

115. Socialist Party, Lok Sabha MP from Firozabad, UP.

116. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Gauhati, Assam.

117. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Bharatiya Jan Sangh, Lok Sabha MP from Balrampur, UP.

118. Surendra Mahanty, Ganatantra Parishad, Lok Sabha MP from Dhenkanal, Orissa.

Mr Speaker:¹¹⁹ We are not having a discussion. What does he want? If there is a statement, let him read it properly.

Shri Mahanty: We want that there should be a full-fledged discussion of this.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Before Parliament adjourns.

Shri Mahanty: Many crucial issues have been raised.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Last night, soon after the issue of the joint communiqué, Premier Chou En-lai held a press conference. It was a very prolonged press conference which, I believe, lasted for about two hours and a half. There is some reference to it in this morning's papers, but they have been unable to give a full report, which possibly may appear tomorrow. I myself have not seen the full report of that, but such things as I have seen indicate that he had naturally stated and given expression to his point of view, which, very often, is not our point of view, of the Government of India. It is possible some misapprehension might arise occasionally.

The hon. Member refers to the six points.

Shri Mahanty: But what are our reactions to these six points?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We do not agree to them. The points were—I am reading from the script which he gave to the press:

“1. There exist disputes on the boundary between the two sides.”

Of course, there exist disputes. That is the first point.

“2. There exists between the two countries a line of actual control up to which each side exercises administrative jurisdiction.”

Shri Mahanty: This is very important.

Shri Khushwaqt Rai:¹²⁰ Because that is what the Defence Minister said.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It may be very important, it is very obvious too. It is obvious; I do not know where the importance of it is.

119. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

120. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Kheri, UP.

Shri Mahanty: I may be pardoned for interrupting, but does the Prime Minister draw a line of distinction between the area under administrative control and the geographical area? That we would like to know. We have our sovereignty.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no question of administrative control or any control. What it says is, not very happily, not correctly, but broadly, that there is a line of actual control broadly meaning military control.

Shri Hem Barua: That would mean that Longju and part of Ladakh would be in their hands, and the status quo should be maintained.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Longju is in their hand that is under military control. It is military control, it means military control.

“3. While determining the boundary between the two countries, certain geographical principles such as watershed, river valley and mountain passes could be applicable equally to all sectors of the boundary.”

It is a principle laid down that watersheds are applicable, and we naturally agree that watersheds are very important factors; it is the most important factor in mountainous regions, river valleys etc. It does not carry us anywhere.

“4. A settlement of the boundary question between the two countries should take into account the national feelings of the two peoples for the Himalayas and the Karakorum mountains.”

I take it as a response to the fact that the Himalayas are an intimate part of India and Indian culture and all that.

Shri Vajpayee: What about Karakorum?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: If the Chinese feel strongly about the Karakorum, they are welcome to do so, I have no objection to it.

Shri Hem Barua: Do they mean a plebiscite there?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no reference to a plebiscite anywhere. I do not know where the hon. Member got hold of the plebiscite. We cannot have a plebiscite of the mountain peaks in the Himalayas.

Shri Hem Barua: Of the mountain people, I mean.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Then,

"5. Pending settlement of the boundary question through discussions, both sides should keep to the line of actual control and should not put forward territorial claims as preconditions, but individual adjustments may be made."

Whatever the explanation of that may be, it is rather an odd way of putting it. Presumably it means that they will not discuss anything unless the territorial claim is accepted. It may be that; it is not quite clear.

"6. In order to ensure tranquillity on the border so as to facilitate the discussions, both sides should continue to refrain from patrolling along all sectors of the boundary."

An Hon. Member: Which boundary?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: This is what he has said. This is not something that I agreed to. In fact, he said before stating this, that:

"On the boundary question, it is not impossible for the two sides to find common points or points of proximity, which in my view may be summarised as follows:", and then he has summarised them. He has given his view; it has not been clear, but there it is. Anyhow, I am not agreeable to this particular approach, but I should like to make one or two things clear.

I believe he was asked something like "Were you asked to vacate?" In what form, I do not remember. He said, "No" or something to that effect. I think his answer was.....

Shri Vajpayee: He is reported to have said that the issue of Chinese aggression was not raised by India.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: He said that he was not asked to vacate or something like that.

The Prime Minister of the Chinese People's Republic presumably came here because something important had happened, the important thing being that according to us, they had entered our territory, over a large area of our territory, which we considered aggression. That was the whole basis of his coming here. And if hon. Members may remember, in one or two public statements I made at the airport and at the banquet, I had repeatedly referred to something having been done which should be undone.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Which we all appreciated.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The whole argument was based; our argument was based, on the Chinese forces having come into our territory. Their argument was based on the fact that they have always been there, that is to say, not those particular forces, but that the Chinese authorities either of Sinkiang in the north or of Tibet have been in constructive or actual possession of those areas, not now, but for two hundred years. That was such a variance, such a tremendous variance in the factual state that there was no meeting-ground, when, according to us, and we repeat that now too after all these talks, that their forces came into this area within quite recent times; naturally, they did not enter a broad area on one date, but in the main, they had come to this area in the course of the last year and a half or so.

That is our position. Some may be even less than a year, some may be a little more than a year, and some may be a little more than that. I am talking about the western sector. That is our case, to which we hold.

Their reply to that was that they have been in constructive and actual possession or actual possession of this for two hundred years. Now, there is some difference, factual difference between the two statements, a very considerable difference, and there it is. And naturally, in the course of our long talks, we considered various things they had to say and I had to say. We listened to each other. May I remind the House that in talking with interpreters having to interpret Chinese into the English language, it is a very laborious process? Broadly, it takes three times the amount of time that a normal talk takes, that is to say, an hour's talk will become a three hour talk with interpretation into Chinese, not double but three times. And so, very prolonged talks took place. And this basic disagreement about historical and actual facts came up again and again.

Now, we are quite clear in our minds about our facts, and we are prepared to, and we did state them, and we are prepared to establish them with such material as we have got. The Chinese position was, as I said, basically different facts; historically, actually, practically, they are quite different.

Also, the attempt was made, it was frequently stated, to equate the eastern sector with the western sector. That is, according to the Chinese, although in the eastern sector, we had no right to be there, we had nevertheless advanced gradually in the course of the last few years, last six or seven or eight or ten years, to the present boundary line which we call the McMahon Line. They equated it to the western sector, although the conditions are quite different and the facts are quite different.

So, the position emerged that apart from friendly sentiments and all that, the actual discussion came against a rock of an entirely different, set of facts. If facts differ, inferences differ, arguments differ; after all, every argument,

every inference, depends on a certain set of facts. If the basic facts are different, then, there is no meeting-ground at all, unless some slight clarification takes place about certain basic facts.

Therefore, it was suggested and ultimately agreed to, that these facts should be explored from the material available with us and with the Chinese Government. I had suggested that it might be done here and now, but, to that, while we were prepared to do it, they said they did not have most of their material here, so that we could not advance much on that line.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: To gain time.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Thereafter, it was suggested that this pure examination, factual examination might be done on an official basis later, that is, after our talks, and this was agreed to.

It is obvious that the officials who might do it have no authority or competence to deal with this problem in the sense of suggesting anything, in the sense of dealing with the political aspect of the problem or suggesting any solution or recommending anything; they cannot do it. It is not their function. All they can do is to examine such facts, and as is stated in the communiqué, to more or less list the facts that are agreed to, the facts on which there is a difference of opinion or such on which perhaps some further inquiry may be necessary. Anyhow, I do not imagine that this process will clarify the situation and make it easy of solution. I do not think so, but it might somewhat make some basic facts clear or at any rate, we would know exactly on what evidence their case stands. For the moment, we do not know that except what they state. They know to some extent our evidence, not all of it, because when they could not produce all their evidence, there was no reason why we should produce all of it. Anyhow, that is the position in this communiqué that a committee or a set of officials,—to call it is committee was not correct—some of our officials are going to meet some of their officials with our set of facts, material, documents, etc. and to examine their set of material, maps, documents, and all these—there are such things as revenue reports, revenue records, collection of taxes and all kinds of things. They will give an objective report which, presumably, would not be a report in which both agree. But anyhow they will draw up a list.

That is as far as we have gone at present—to present that report. Then presumably that report will be considered by the two Governments and they will decide what other steps might be taken.

There are two things which I would like to clear up. As I said, I have not seen the full report of Premier Chou En-lai's Press Conference.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:¹²¹ Is there a time-limit fixed for the discussion and submission of the report?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, the hon. Member will find that mentioned in the Joint Communiqué.

Shri Ranga:¹²² The earlier discussion took more than a year!

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: In the Communiqué itself, a period of four months has been fixed for this process for the meetings which are going to take place in Peking and New Delhi—two centres—for examining these papers. Probably the first meeting will take place right at the beginning of June, the first week of June. No exact date has been fixed.

Broadly speaking, the position, therefore, is that after these prolonged talks, which consisted of our stating fully whatever we thought about our respective stands and positions, we were unable to convince each other and we—both parties—remained unconvinced at the end of it—we standing for what the House knows we stand for, and they standing for something entirely opposite and based on an entirely different set of facts. We thought that in the circumstances it was desirable from many points of view to pursue this line of inquiry at the official level, without any authority to the officials to come to any decisions, and then take this up. Meanwhile, obviously, when this is being done—and otherwise too—we have to avoid clashes on these border areas, because these clashes do not help anybody

That is the position. I would gladly have answered any further question that is asked of me but for the fact that we are very much short of time for discussing these various things.

Shri Vajpayee: We want a discussion on the question.

Shri Khadilkar:¹²³ Apart from these claims and counter-claims based on either historical date or actual possession, as the Prime Minister suggested in his speech of welcome, namely, that the primary issue was the restoration of the atmosphere of peace which had absolutely disappeared, was there

121. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Kendrapara, Orissa.

122. N.G. Ranga, elected Congress MP from Tenali, Andhra Pradesh; moved to the Swatantra Party which was formed in June 1959.

123. R.K. Khadilkar, Mazdoor Kisan Party, Lok Sabha MP from Ahmednagar, Bombay State.

any reciprocation of that sentiment from the other side during the course of the talks?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: How am I to answer that? As far as I remember, I said "good faith". Obviously, when there is a conflict, one of the elements which helps in removing it is good faith and, of course, peace. We were always coming against this hard rock of an entirely different set of facts. This House accepts a certain set of facts which we have ventured to place before it with some confidence that they are correct and which we have believed. Now they produce an entirely different set of facts relating to what had happened for 200 or 300 years plus what has happened in recent years.

So it becomes a little difficult to discuss. If one is fairly clear about some basic facts, one can draw inferences and discuss. But when the basic facts are so completely different, some kind of an attempt should be made to find out what the basis is for those facts.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: In view of what has been said by the Prime Minister about our attitude—he also said that both have remained unconvinced on these matters—I want to know whether he is convinced that these meetings of the officials at Peking and New Delhi, our officials and the Chinese officials, will bring in any fruit? Or will it be some sort of a roving commission which will not bring about any result? Does he not propose to take some immediate steps?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: How can I say? I just said that they may—I hope they will—throw some light on the factual situation. But by themselves they cannot take us very far. That is all they can do. But in a state of affairs of this kind, one naturally tries every method which might prove helpful.

Shri Tyagi:¹²⁴ I wonder if it would be possible at any stage during these negotiations to make the people of India aware of their facts and their claims.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Neither their facts nor our facts are secret. Our facts are well-known; so are theirs except in minor matters. In two or three sentences, I will place it before the House now.

124. Mahavir Tyagi, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Dehra Dun, UP.

Their case is that from immemorial times, you might say, or at any rate, for hundreds of years, their border has been the Karakoram Range up to the Kanakla pass. Unless you have maps, you will not be able to understand it. If you accept that border, a large area of Ladakh is cut off. They say that of this area, the northern part pertained to Sinkiang, not to Tibet at all, and the little lower part to Tibet. That is, broadly, their case. They say that they came there—not the present Government but the previous Chinese Government—previously. They referred to something that I had said in Parliament here which some hon. Members perhaps did not like. They took advantage of that from their own point of view. They said, “How is possession there in an area which is an arid area where nobody lives?”

Shri Hem Barua: We pointed it out.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: They said that most of this area is like the Gobi desert. You do not have normal administrative apparatus in such areas. You have constructive control; in addition, sometimes an administrative officer goes there, occasionally some tax collector goes there. They do not sit there. It is because it is so deserted. During winter periods, nobody can go there at all; nobody can move about there. They said, “But we have been in constructive and actual possession of this all along, long before the present People’s Government came, before that too.”

That is their case, and they gave this boundary.

But one thing which is worth noticing is that throughout our correspondence or talks, the boundaries have never been given precisely by them, as we have latitude, longitude, mountain peaks, this and that, hon. Members will see how even in the *White Paper* we have given very precise boundaries. But in spite of our efforts to get a precise boundary we did not succeed except these broad ranges.

An Hon. Member: Did Chou En-lai invite you to Peking? (Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Vajpayee: I may be allowed to put a question.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Let us fix some time. (Interruption)

Shri Kalika Singh:¹²⁵ There is one important point about Dalai Lama. (Interruption)

125. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Azamgarh, UP.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: What is the distance between our territory which has been occupied by China and our administered area in the remaining part of Ladakh? As it has been agreed, and as our Prime Minister has also said that we have agreed to avoid clashes, does it mean that our patrol personnel will not go to patrol our territory?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I did not understand the questions of hon. Members. But I will try to answer them to the extent I understood. There was a question—I think somebody asked about Premier Chou En-lai's invitation to me. My answer to that was that it is not time when I can give an answer. In fact, I said that we must await developments, await the report of this official committee then we can consider that.

The hon. Member asked me, as far as I understood, about patrolling.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh :¹²⁶ Yes.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: If the hon. Members will see, in this communiqué it is said that every effort should be made by the parties to avoid friction and clashes in the border areas. That is a general direction which we take and which we give. We found that it is very difficult and partly undesirable to be precise about it. I think we cannot immobilise people so that they can go and sit and not go to the right or left. I think it was right anyhow to tell them that they should not take any step which obviously brings them into conflict.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: That is not my point. My point is this. There is a long distance between the Chinese occupied area of Ladakh and our actually administered area in the terms of what the Government of India has been saying. Therefore, I want to know, if that is possible, what will be the situation, if our patrol personnel are not allowed to go to patrol the territory because whenever they went to patrol our territory they were arrested by the Chinese.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Our people will be completely free to move about these areas without coming into conflict.

Shri Vajpayee: Does it mean that Government has committed itself that pending factual investigation, no steps will be taken to eject the Chinese from Indian soil?

126. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Sasaram, Bihar.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I should think that it was absolutely clear. Is there any doubt about it in the hon. Member's mind?

Shri Vajpayee: Yes, Sir.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am very sorry. If there is one point that should be clear even to an average mind—and the hon. Member is not average; he is a super-average mind—it is this that you either have war or you have some kind of, call it talks or steps; you cannot have something in between the two. We cannot declare war on the frontier and, at the same time, talk about discussions or sending official teams. The two cannot go together.

Shri Vajpayee: That does not mean war.

Shri Kalika Singh: The Chinese Premier talked about Dalai Lama.
(Interruptions)

“What Next Please?”



The talks between the Indian and Chinese Prime Minister ended inconclusively.

(From *Shankar's Weekly*, 1 May 1960, p.5)

Left to right : Group on left, pressmen; Nehru, G.B. Pant, Swaran Singh,
Morarji Desai, V.K. Krishna Menon, S. Radhakrishnan

Mr Speaker: I find that a number of hon. Members are interested. This is a very important matter. We have fixed up some No-Day-Yet-named motions for these days. I will avoid one of those and fix up a discussion on this matter for a couple of hours.

Some Hon. Members: One full day, Sir.

Mr Speaker: Either tomorrow or on the 29th as is found convenient to the hon. Prime Minister.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am in your hands, Sir. But I think it is quite impossible for me to come tomorrow or the day after. On the 29th I am in your hands and it is the last day. There is a tremendous deal to be done here and elsewhere. But if you say so I shall present myself on the 29th.

38. In the Rajya Sabha: Indian Mission in Lhasa¹²⁷

Restrictions on the Movement of the Personnel of Indian Mission in Lhasa

Shri Faridul Haq Ansari:¹²⁸ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether there exist any restrictions on the movement of the personnel of the Indian Consul-General at Lhasa and the Trade Agent at Gyantse?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): According to the latest information available with us, the Indian Consul-General and his staff move freely within the Municipal limits of Lhasa, excepting a few restricted places. The Indian Trade Agent, Gyantse, and his staff also move freely within a radius of about 2 miles in Gyantse town. For going beyond urban limits, they have to obtain permits from the local authorities.

Shri Faridul Haq Ansari: May I know whether it is a fact that people of Indian origin who want to meet our representatives there are not allowed to meet them even now?

127. Oral answers to questions, 26 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, col. 1928.

128. PSP, Rajya Sabha MP from UP.

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: There were some restrictions some time ago but I do not think those restrictions are valid now.

Shri N.M. Lingam:¹²⁹ May I know why these restrictions are placed on the movement of our officers there when we have not placed similar restrictions on the Chinese Counsel here?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Partly because our two systems are quite different and partly because there was a rebellion in Tibet.

39. In the Rajya Sabha: Europe Tour¹³⁰

Prime Minister's Visit to Foreign Countries

Shri Bairagi Dwibedy:¹³¹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state the names of the countries which he intends to visit before or after the ensuing Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference at London?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): During the Prime Minister's visit to the United Kingdom he will go to Paris for a few hours to meet the French President. The Prime Minister may also visit Cairo while returning to India.

Shri Bairagi Dwibedy: May I know, Sir, if there is any possibility of drawing the attention of the countries to the approach of China to the boundary dispute?

Mr Chairman:¹³² He asks whether there is any possibility of your drawing the attention of the Premiers concerned to our dispute with China.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No possibility is ruled out, but the question of desirability also comes in.

129. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Madras.

130. Oral answers to questions, 26 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, cols 1957-1958.

131. Ganatantra Parishad, Rajya Sabha MP from Orissa.

132. S. Radhakrishnan.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta:¹³³ May I know, Sir, if the Prime Minister's attention has been drawn to a newspaper report that President Ayub Khan¹³⁴ proposes to discuss the question of Kashmir with the Commonwealth Prime Ministers and if the Prime Minister has received any official intimation to the effect that such is sought to be discussed there?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have seen that newspaper report; I have received no other intimation.

40. In the Rajya Sabha: *White Paper II*¹³⁵

Dr. A.N. Bose:¹³⁶ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether his attention has been drawn to the discrepancies which occurred in the headings, dates and contents of the communications exchanged between the Governments of India and China and published in *White Paper II* and in the handouts issued by the Press Information Bureau; e.g., the headings and dates on pages 3, 8 and 54 of the *White Paper* and the corresponding headings and dates in the handouts and the contents of page 54, para 2 of the *White Paper* and the corresponding contents of the handout; and
- (b) whether proper care is being taken that such discrepancies do not occur in future?

The Deputy Minister of external Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) Yes. The errors in the Press handouts were mainly of a typographical character. The handouts were based on telegrams received from our embassy in Peking. Later when the *White Paper* was compiled the errors were rectified by reference to the original communications which had by then arrived.

(b) Yes.

Dr. A.N. Bose: I beg to point out that all the errors were not of a typographic nature. In some cases the dates are different, for example the date and the

133. CPI, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal.

134. President of Pakistan.

135. Oral answers to questions, 26 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, cols 1958-1959.

136. PSP, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal.

contents of paragraphs 1 and 2 on page 54, vary from those given in the corresponding matter appearing in the handout. According to the latter statement, it reads, "... intruded into China's air space above the Tibetan region and the southern part of Sinkiang circling and carrying out reconnoitring activities..." but in the *White Paper* it is not the "southern part" but "south-western part". Moreover, Sir, there is some difference in the words, "Memorandum, Message and Note" and these three words are indiscriminately used in the handouts and the *White Paper*.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The answer has been given. Long telegrams come which contain some mistakes. We are anxious to issue them as soon as they come. It is the original text which is more correct.

41. Nehru to W. Averell Harriman¹³⁷

April 26, 1960

My dear Mr Harriman,

Thank you for your letter of April 8th¹³⁸ which I received a few days ago.

In view of our differences with the Chinese Government and the particular occasion of the visit of Premier Chou En-lai to India, I was not quite clear in my mind whether I should mention your name to him and your desire to visit China. There was just the possibility of this having an effect opposite to the one I intended. However, last night at a dinner which the Chinese Ambassador gave, I did mention that you had written to me on the subject of your going to China. He asked one or two questions to which I replied. I did not think it would be right for me to press him for an answer and so I left it at that. I have no doubt that he will remember this. I have found that he does not forget even casual remarks.¹³⁹

With warm regards and all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

137. Letter.

138. See item 2.

139. For Harriman's reply of 18 May, see item 45.

42. S. Dutt to Heads of Missions¹⁴⁰

Premier Chou En-lai and his party left Delhi 26th morning. The Premier had seven long talks with the Prime Minister. He and Foreign Minister Chen Yi had also separate talks with Vice-President and several senior Ministers. The views of the two Governments remain as far apart as before. The Chinese took the following stand.

(1) The Sino-Indian boundary is not delimited and has to be settled by discussion between the two Governments.

(2) The Chinese will never accept the McMahon Line as a valid boundary. The NEFA area was traditionally part of Tibet and in many parts the Tibetans had been exercising jurisdiction. Indian control has extended there during the last 20 or 30 years. The Chinese however recognise that the area is now under full Indian control. This area has always been disputed between China and India.

(3) The Ladakh area has been historically and traditionally part of Sinkiang in China and western Tibet, and has never been disputed until India tried to extend her control during the last one or two years. The dispute in this area has therefore arisen because of attempted penetration by India. Chinese have always been in control of this area which has been shown as part of China in Chinese maps.

(4) Neither side should make a territorial claim as a precondition. China is not making any such claim to the NEFA and undertakes not to cross the line upto which Indian control has extended. Similarly, India should recognise that Chinese control extends upto the line shown in the Chinese maps and should not try to cross that line. The position in Ladakh and NEFA is exactly similar in that there is a line upto which Indian control extends in NEFA and there is a line upto which Chinese control extends in Ladakh. The Indian claim to Ladakh must be treated in exactly the same basis as the Chinese claim to the NEFA.

(5) A joint committee of officials should meet, examine the material in the possession of both sides and make recommendations for border adjustments.

2. We have disagreed with the Chinese stand on every single point. In regard to point (2) we have reiterated that the NEFA area south of the McMahon Line has always been part of India by custom, tradition and exercise of jurisdiction and there is no similarity between the Indian stand in respect of NEFA and the supposed Chinese stand in respect of Ladakh. We have also

140. Circular telegram, 27 April 1960. P.N. Haksar Papers, NMML.

made it quite clear that officials cannot be entrusted with the task of making proposals involving the sovereignty of a country.

Top Secret

3. It is quite obvious that the Chinese aim is to make us accept their claim in Ladakh as a price for their recognition of our position in NEFA. Throughout the discussions they have invariably connected Ladakh with NEFA and stressed that the same principles of settling the boundary must govern both these areas. It was also obvious that if we accepted the line claimed by China in Ladakh they would accept the McMahon Line. There might be need for minor frontier rectifications, but that would not create much practical difficulty.

4. The only substantive agreement in the joint communiqué is that officers of both sides should examine the maps, documents etc. in each other's possession and send a joint report to the two Governments listing the points on which they agree and the points on which they either disagree or which, in their view, need further clarification. It is not known whether the Chinese will implement this agreement sincerely. Whatever be it, it leaves the way open for further consideration of the border problem by the two Prime Ministers. It would however be entirely incorrect to give the impression, that each side appreciates the other's point of view better or that prospect of reasonable settlement is even remotely in sight. The Chinese might try to give that impression to the world.

5. You should use the information contained in this telegram discreetly for rebutting any misleading Chinese propaganda and to give a correct appraisal of the Delhi talks.

43. In the Lok Sabha: Nehru-Chou Talks¹⁴¹

Motion Re: Joint Communiqué Issued on Conclusion
of Talks Between the Prime Ministers
of India and China

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I beg to move:

“That the joint communiqué issued on the conclusion of the talks between
Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China and Prime

141. 29 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLIII, cols 14784-14844.

Minister of India, laid on the Table of the House on Tuesday, April 26, 1960, be taken into consideration.”

On that day, Sir, when this communiqué was published, three days ago, I had occasion to say something about it, to explain some parts of it in this House, in answer to a number of questions that had been put. Therefore, I do not think it is necessary for me at this stage to say much. There is not too much time available and I would like rather that hon. Members of this House have as much time as possible so that I could reply or give any points of explanation at the end of the debate.

There are just one or two matters I would mention, in this morning's newspapers there is some reference to what Premier Chou En-lai has said yesterday in Kathmandu. Now, it is not perhaps quite right in such circumstances to rely on newspapers reports, but he is reported to have said that what I had stated to have said that what I had stated in this House or some part of it was unfriendly. I do not know to what particular passage or words he was referring to, and it is rather difficult for me to explain that or say anything about it.

[Mr. Speaker in the Chair]

But much has been said in the last many months, about a year, which certainly has not been very friendly to either country, much has been said on both sides. On the whole, considering the deep feelings that have been aroused in these matters, we as a Government have tried our utmost, whatever we may say, to say it in a friendly way, although the content might necessarily be such as he has not liked.

Now, we are dealing in this matter with what perhaps cannot be described precisely as a border dispute. It is, of course, a border dispute, but that is rather a narrow description. What we are dealing with is a dispute about extensive border areas. There is difference between the two, and when we claim that certain areas of ours have been occupied by the Chinese forces or authorities and when we ask them to retire from that area, necessarily it is not something which is likely to be appreciated or liked by the other party. In the nature of things that is so, but I would like to lay stress on this because in one of the six points which Premier Chou En-lai referred to in a Press interview here, there was something about not making territorial claims, subsequently he said, as pre-conditions. But anyhow, the whole of this case is about territory, and when we say this territory is ours and they have occupied it wrongly and that they should withdraw from it, inevitably, that is a matter dealing with that territory, and it would be odd to say that this matter is something apart from territorial claims.

However, I do not wish to go more into this matter, Sir, at this stage, and I should be glad to explain anything that requires explanation towards the end of this debate.

Mr Speaker: Motion moved:

“That the joint communiqué issued on the conclusion of the talks between Premier of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China and Prime Minister of India, laid on the Table of the House on Tuesday, April 26, 1960, be taken into consideration.”

Hon. Members have tabled some amendments. Do they wish to move them?

Some Hon. Members: Yes.

Mr. Speaker: Let them move their amendments.

Shri P. K. Deo:¹⁴² I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—
“This House having considered the Joint Communiqué issued on the conclusion of the talks between Premier of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China and Prime Minister of India, laid on the Table of the House on Tuesday, April 26, 1960, is opinion that—

- (a) a clear date line should be fixed by which the Chinese should vacate aggression; and
- (b) pending vacation, positive steps be taken to ensure the safety and inviolability of the Indian territory.” (1)

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely: —
“This House having taken into consideration the Joint Communiqué on the talks that have taken place between China and India in regard to the Chinese aggression and her claims on the Indian territory, and further having noted the intransigent attitude adopted by China is of the opinion that no useful purpose would be served by continuing the talks or by appointing a team of officers to consider the details of the Chinese claims.” (2)

142. Ganatantra Parishad, Lok Sabha MP from Kalahandi, Orissa.

श्री राम सेवक यादव :¹⁴³ अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस सिलसिले में मेरा एक निवेदन है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अभी नहीं।

श्री राम सेवक यादव : पहले सुन तो लें कि निवेदन क्या है। मेरा निवेदन अपने संशोधन के सम्बन्ध में है। मैंने अपना संशोधन हिन्दी में दिया था। इसमें जो दिया गया है वह उस प्रकार से नहीं है जैसा कि मैंने दिया था।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैंने उसका कुछ हिस्सा काट लिया है।

[Translation begins:

Shri Ram Sewak Yadava: ¹⁴⁴ Mr Speaker, I want to make a point in this regard.

Mr. Speaker: Not now.

Shri Ram Sewak Yadava: First please listen to me what my point is. My point is regarding my amendment. I had given my amendment in Hindi. What is given here is not what I had given.

Mr. Speaker: I have cut out some part of it.

Translation ends]

[Speaker continues in English]

I cut it out because I felt it to be out of order. Instead of ruling out the whole thing as out of order, I have cut that portion so as to enable the hon. Member to move at least the other portion that is there.

श्री राम सेवक यादव : मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि किस प्रकार से वह आउट ऑफ आर्डर है।

143. Socialist Party, Lok Sabha MP from Bara Banki, UP.

144. See fn 143 in this section.

[Translation begins:

Shri Ram Sewak Yadava: I want to know in what way it is out of order.

Translation ends]

[Shri Ram Sewak Yadava continues in English]

I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—
“This House, having considered the joint communique issued on the conclusion of the talks between Premier of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China and Prime Minister of India, laid on the Table of the House on Tuesday, April 26, 1960, is of opinion that the foreign policy has been a complete failure.” (3)

Shri Vajpayee: I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—
“This House having considered the Joint Communiqué issued on the conclusion of the talks between Premier of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China and Prime Minister of India, laid on the Table of the House on Tuesday, April 26, 1960, regrets the intransigence of the Chinese Government in respect of its aggression in Ladakh, its persistence in fantastic claims over huge chunks of Indian territory and its deliberate attempt to prolong negotiations in order to gain time for the consolidation of its illegal accretion.

Further, this House is of opinion that the latest talks between the Prime Ministers of India and China have only confirmed that there is no meeting ground between the two countries about the various points at issue. As such this House disapproves of—

- (a) the Government’s decision to continue these talks at official level; and
- (b) the Government’s abdication of rights over its own territory, implicit in the proposal to undertake measures to avoid ‘friction and clashes in, the border areas.’

This House feels that it is imperative that avenues, other than negotiations, must be explored to secure early vacation of Chinese aggression.” (4)

Mr. Speaker: I will give opportunity to as many hon. Members as possible. The hon. Prime Minister has to go to the other House. Therefore, we will

conclude the debate at 5.00. May I point out that the point at issue is confined to the communiqué that has been laid on the Table of the House. This House has discussed other matters from time to time as they have arisen. Therefore, I propose allowing only ten minutes at the most, or one or two minutes more.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Ten minutes will be too insufficient.

Mr. Speaker: I shall allow one or two minutes more. There are a number of hon. Members who would like to speak.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee:¹⁴⁵ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I feel impelled to say in the beginning what we have said before in this House, that an occasion like this is a test of our statesmanship, our maturity of approach in difficult and delicate matters, and also of India's dedication to the cause of peace and friendship among the people which has won the applause of the world.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharya:¹⁴⁶ Not all, majority.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I do wish that our debate is conducted in a fashion which does not in any way stand in the way of the pursuit of the programme which has been laid down in the communiqué.

If what has been happening for the last year or so is recalled, it will be understood why no immediate resolution of the differences could take place this time. It is certainly to be regretted that a settlement has not yet taken place, but on the basis of the communiqué it would be wrong to think that no positive results have emerged.

As a matter of fact, the important thing is that, in the words of the communiqué itself, "long, frank and friendly talks" have been held by the two Prime Ministers.

"The respective stands of the two countries" in regard to the problems at issue have been "explained fully" to each other and in order to straighten out differences in the factual material in the possession of either side, there is going to be a further examination at the official level and then later on—the objective certainly is that there would be a straightening out of the facts—at Government level our two countries would then meet to settle the problem.

145. CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Calcutta-Central, West Bengal.

146. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from West Dinajpur, West Bengal.

It is a very good thing that the two Prime Ministers have discussed the matter for some 20 hours around a table, a vastly better proceedings than lengthy correspondence from a physical and also perhaps a certain mental distance which could hardly escape occasional hints or acrimony and annoyance.

What we wish to do is to put first things first and we notice that the two Prime Ministers have met—a thing which was thought very unlikely only the other day when we heard the President's address. We note also that there certainly has been no breakdown in the negotiations which would have delighted the hearts of certain people in our country and abroad. And we note that official evaluation of the factual material will be expeditiously pursued and meanwhile—which is very important—there is an agreement that friction and clashes in border areas should be avoided.

Surely these are very positive and rewarding developments in a situation that looked quite gloomy and deadlock from time to time; and to that extent the communiqué is a welcome document and should be followed by a happier process that will lead to understanding and a full restoration of India-China friendship.

There are difficulties no doubt—very serious difficulties—involved in the present problem and the most acute difficulty has been that our Government and China's reply on two different sets of facts. In such a situation, apart from recourse to arms, which nobody in his senses can countenance or even contemplate in the present day world, the only way out is a peaceful approach to have the facts examined jointly and sorted out and integrated. It may not be an easy job but in the not very long I am sure it can be done and it is bound to give results and our differences can be resolved.

Perhaps it is necessary for us to recollect that it was probably the experience of imperialist guile in the past and even in the present that has given a particularly difficult slant to Chinese thought in regard to the security of their borders. We have known imperialist rule at first hand ourselves: we called it in the 1930 pledge of Independence, a crime against God and man, something which stultified us politically and economically and culturally and spiritually. Not quite in the same way but badly enough China also has known what imperialism is. The whole of the middle east, areas like Iran and Afghanistan, and in undivided India, the North West Frontier Province, Chitral and Hunza areas, Tibet, what was known as Chinese Turkestan—the whole region, so to speak, has been the cockpit of imperialism and the venue of intrigues and the fight for power.

It was not only that politicians like Curzon and Ronaldshay but soldiers

and scholars like Younghusband, Aurel Stein and Sarat Chandra Das, went to the trans-Himalayan regions as emissaries of British imperialism. I imagine the fixation of fear about their border has seized China, fears enhanced today by the country being ringed round by the United States controlled military bases around the map, bases even according to published reports, in the Pakistan-held territory of Kashmir; may be, because of this, there is a big slant. It is a very undesirable state of things that our facts and their facts do not seem to be capable of reconciliation. But I feel that perhaps their facts have got a certain slant because of the history of these areas in the last 200 years or so.

An Hon. Member: Question.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: India, we know, has voluntarily discarded the vested interest that imperialism had in Trans-Himalaya and it should be very easy to resolve the differences over factual understanding. I am sure China knows very well and respects India's dedication to the cause of peace and friendship and, if therefore, there is friendly and principled discussion of the facts, before long we should all be helped to find a way out of what today appears to be a very difficult tangle.

I repeat again that it is a good thing that while the dispute remains, tension certainly has been lessened. I note with pleasure that when asked about the observations made by Mr. Chou En-lai on the eve of his departure, when asked about the Prime Minister's opinion as to whether Mr. Chou En-lai's statement did not limit the dispute to one sector, namely, the west, and therefore lightened the problem to a certain extent, our Prime Minister said that it could be viewed in that light. I am quoting from the *Hindu* report. Our Prime Minister said also that he did not think there would be fresh trouble on the border and that he was satisfied with Mr. Chou En-lai's declaration that he fully recognised India's position vis-a-vis Bhutan and Sikkim. These surely are straws in the wind that presage a settlement surely not in the very long run.

However, there are powerful forces in our country which do not want settlement, and the amendments before the House show (Interruptions) how certain vested interests in our country do not desire that there should be continuation of the talks; they do not desire that the team of officers should consider the details of the Chinese claims in regard to factual divergences. It is quite clear that they do not desire a settlement. They have been saying it right from the very beginning. They are strongly backed by the reactionary sections of the press. They spare no effort to prevent

any kind of talk between the two Prime Ministers taking place. They have been shouting and they still do shout, against negotiations. They have vehemently assailed and even now they assail the Prime Minister's entire policy of peace and friendship. They will again spare no effort to keep up this tension and intensify it, to oppose every constructive step forward. These reactionary designs which have been found even in the ranks of the Congress Party must not be allowed to succeed, and we must make up our minds that all men of goodwill stand forward (Interruptions) with the positive gains that have accrued from the talks of the two Prime Ministers. How angry the reactionaries are over the first signs of the restoration of India-China friendship can be seen in certain observations made in the editorial of the *Times of India*, Bombay, on the 27th April. It talks about the "futile discussions" as "an example of anaemic diplomacy" being pursued by the Prime Minister. It says "it is particularly astonishing that New Delhi intends to pursue this infructuous policy of negotiation." It says "the whole thing is a round of frustrating talks, a farce" and it goes on to conclude, "any reduction of tensions will be in Peking's interests." It is a good thing that this does not represent the good sense of our country, and I noticed on the same day, on the 27th April, the editorial of the *Madras Hindu* which is quite critical of the Chinese position but it concluded with words which I can echo. It said:

"Nothing should be done that will further embitter relations or postpone the solution of the border dispute, for not merely Asian but world peace depends on friendly relations between India and China."

Nothing should be done to embitter further the relations between the two countries or to postpone the solution of the problem. This, I submit, is the crux of the problem.

I appeal to hon. Members of this House, particularly those among them who have supported the idea of peace and non-alignment as basic pillars of our foreign policy, to see that we are not blinded by anti-communism to repudiate all that is to be most cherished in India's foreign policy. It is not a fact, written as with a sunbeam on the records of recent history, that India's role has been glorious only when braving ridicule and even hostility, she positively intervened for the relaxation of tensions in Korea, in Indo-China and in so many other far-off places in the world? Must India be deflected from that course to the detriment of her aims, the aims which our people have really at heart? Sometimes in this House, when I see the mood of some of my friends, I feel somewhat despondent. But deep down in my mind and heart, I have never a doubt that the clouds would break and that actually the process has begun. On occasions like

the present, I feel like recalling what was said by an Englishman in the period of revolution of the 17th century. He said:

"Have no fear, it is often worse before it is better."

Our Prime Minister is leaving tomorrow to inaugurate a new State, Maharashtra, and then he is going abroad. I know that the heaviest burden which he would be carrying in the next few months would be the burden of the restoration of friendship between India and China, the relaxation and complete elimination of the tension which has arisen between the two countries. I do wish he has the goodwill of the country, because the country has faith in his policy of peace and non-alignment. I say this though on occasion, in matters of stress and emphasis, we differ from him.

We know that it is a communiqué, which, if it means anything at all, embodies an effort to solve the problem, which has got to be solved in the interests not only of India and her reputation, but in the interest of the freedom of all people and the peace of humanity. That is why I welcome this communiqué as an important document, even though for the time being success has eluded our grasp. But I know efforts should be conducted in such a fashion which would bring success within the grasp of the Indian people and the people of the world.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Mr. Speaker, Sir, in this conflict between India and China, the crux of the problem, which Shri Mukerjee wanted to point out, according to me, is that an aggressor has forcibly occupied our territory and threatens to take more. We have the responsibility not only to repel the aggressor, but to maintain the territorial integrity of our country. The people of this country want that our Government must take concrete steps in this regard. They looked forward anxiously to these unnecessary confabulations to see whether anything concrete would come out of it, because despite the desire of the people, the Prime Minister invited the Chinese Prime Minister to a meeting in Delhi, saying that it would be helpful. Judging from this standpoint, we have the proverbial mountain in labour producing a mouse.

The Prime Minister himself admits that the basic tensions remain; only the high degree of tension has been lessened. There is a four-month cease-fire and talks would further continue. Is this achievement such as could not have been made by correspondence? If the Chinese Prime Minister was at all anxious to ease the tension, he could have quietly withdrawn from the territory he has occupied. What was the necessity of coming here and taking so many hours of the valuable time of our Prime Minister and meeting a number of people? What is the ultimate result? He was not

prepared to budge an inch from his original stand.

What is his intention? His intention seems to be very clear. The Chinese are trying to create a psychological atmosphere in this country in their favour. They have also tried to isolate us by seeming gestures of accommodation to Burma and Nepal. Their present tactics are they try to create an impression that they are in favour of a peaceful solution, that they are on the move, thus minimising the dangers of the present situation in this country.

I think by agreeing to continue the talks, we would again gain nothing, but rather miss a great opportunity to mobilise our nation to meet this challenge. Let us examine this communiqué. It is proposed to appoint some official teams whose business would be to examine certain questions. For long four months, they will be running from Peking to Delhi and from Delhi to Peking for verification of facts. Even about this meeting of officials the Prime Minister himself told us that day that he did not think that it would clarify the situation or make the dispute easier of solution. During the long high-level talks, no basic approach emerged. No basic facts were ascertained. So, no useful discussion took place.

The Prime Minister has rightly said, "if the basic facts are different, there is no meeting ground." Actually speaking, a meeting of officials should have preceded the present meeting of the Prime Ministers. What is this meeting for? The Chinese Prime Minister was so upset that he has already said in Kathmandu that, even when our Prime Minister wanted to give us a brief resume of the talks he has had with the Prime Minister of China, our Prime Minister is not friendly to China. What does it mean? Does it show any desire for friendship, accommodation and talk continuation? I think the prolongation of the talks is unnecessary. If this is suggested in order to get time to collect our thoughts to think about the next step, then that is a different matter altogether. Otherwise I think these talks are meaningless and purposeless.

I would like to know one thing from the Prime Minister. What are these officials going to examine? A clarification is very much needed, because the Prime Minister of China in his Press Conference has said:

"Our two sides expounded our respective stands and viewpoints on the boundary question as well as our respective propositions for a settlement of this question."

This is very important. I would like to know, and I hope the Prime Minister would take us into confidence and say, what are these respective propositions for a settlement of this question. Was there any discussion about it? Is it on the basis of this that the Chinese Prime Minister says that

"provisional agreements can be reached through negotiations?" Is it on account of this that we are still hesitant, when China has already occupied a part of our country and is consolidating it, to call a spade a spade? I am a bit surprised to see that in our country even today a controversy is often raised whether it is aggression or not. According to our Defence Minister, it is just an incursion. Incursion means temporary intrusion. One intrudes, but goes back. But is this Chinese aggression or incursion nothing more than the air incursion by Pakistan into our country sometimes back.

The Chinese Prime Minister also refuses to say that it is aggression. Perhaps what has upset him is because our Prime Minister that day was explaining that what he has told the Chinese Prime Minister was aggression, meaning thereby that the Chinese had come into India's territory and that is nothing but aggression. That perhaps has upset the Chinese Prime Minister. The communist friends here are still in doubt whether it is still aggression or not. I think the Prime Minister should have in a straightforward manner told the Chinese Prime Minister that it is a clear aggression. He was soft, because he wanted to be polite to the Chinese Prime Minister and told him, "You have come into our country." He has explained it and therefore the Chinese Prime Minister is upset. In this country, we function in a different fashion. We should take the people into our confidence and place our cards before them. Of course, in China it does not happen. The Chinese Prime Minister need not explain what has transpired between the two Prime Ministers in their talks. Therefore, let us leave no doubt in the minds of the people and the country at large, and the world at large that this is nothing but pure aggression. Let us call a spade a spade and let us not mince matters.

Then I come to the question of the avoidance of friction and clashes in the border areas. Firstly, Sir, and most crucially we have agreed not to despatch Indian patrols into the disputed area for a similar concession on the part of the Chinese not to send in patrols into territory which, even from the jurisdiction point of view, is our own. Thus, for instance, Aksai Chin road, which has now become disputed area, will not be free of Chinese patrols, but we will not be sending patrols to our forward area. We have not only allowed ourselves to be equated with the aggressor, but have committed ourselves to a course of action which, I am afraid, might enable the enemy to consolidate their position in occupied territory.

In this connection, I want to draw your attention to the significant sentence contained in points (2) of the Chinese Premier's six points. He mentions about "a line of actual control up to which each side exercises administrative jurisdiction." This is a very significant phrase. Almost the

same words were used by our Defence Minister some time back. What the Defence Minister says today, the Chinese Premier repeats tomorrow. Sir, great men think alike.

But what we are interested to know is where lies this actual line of control? Has it been clarified? Has it been decided that our patrols will go so far and no further? Since they are in a vantage position, they may push ahead a little and, in that case, we have to withdraw further into our territory. What is the extent of the area in respect of which we have surrendered our right of forward patrolling? Is it only in Ladakh or in NEFA also? This requires clarification, because we have before us the example of Bara Hoti in this connection. In September 1958,—it is contained in *White Paper* No. I—in the case of Bara Hoti, a certain assurance was given by the Chinese, and it is on record that “the Chinese carrying with them arms and ammunition entered the Bara Hoti area and camped there after the departure of the Indian party.”

What guarantee is there that similar encroachment would not take place?

Shri Tyagi: Vigilance.

Shri Jaipal Singh: ¹⁴⁷ Yes, Tyagi’s vigilance.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Yes, vigilance.

Along with this, there is the question of further fortification of the occupied area. What is the position? Have the Chinese agreed not to further consolidate or concentrate in these areas? Take, again, the new Aksai Chin road. There was an adjournment motion on this the other day. A new road has been built to the west of the earlier highway. We do not know whether our Government had any knowledge about it and whether they have lodged a protest about this. If the Chinese go on consolidating themselves in the occupied territory and when we have even no means of knowing it, we will one day be forced to concede by the sheer claim of physical occupation. It is a dangerous proposition which will put us definitely into disadvantage. We should never give up our right to protect our forward areas which have been receding in recent years. The only positive achievement, if one can say like that, is perhaps that we have some breathing time. We will spend the summer in negotiations and no patrolling till winter comes to our help again. But, at the same time, our enemy will be able to further fortify

147. Jharkhand Party, Lok Sabha MP from Ranchi West, Bihar.

itself and consolidate its position. Hence, as a result of this talk, the real danger is not lessened but is looming large over the horizon.

We want the Prime Minister to show the same firmness as he has shown in this negotiation. Sir, not only the Prime Minister but the entire policy of non-alignment has been put to a real test. It seems the Prime Minister is not prepared to take any concrete steps to get the aggression vacated, which, according to him, is nothing but declaration of war. It is generally true that this country also would not like war. We all would like to avoid war. But can we, therefore, sit silent and permit the invader to go on his way and be mere helpless spectators of this aggression? This is the main question which we have to face today. I know this is a very difficult and complicated problem. There is no doubt about it. But our policy of non-alignment must have in its armoury an effective means of maintaining the territorial integrity of our country. That is what we want to know.

Let us no more harp on the theory of co-existence between Communism and democracy. Let the Prime Minister create conditions in which, the entire country can be mobilised to face this colossal task. We have not only to be vigilant, as Shri Tyagi has pointed out, but we have to fight complacency as well. Let us be very clear in our mind.

There is no question of differences on this point. Excepting a few Communist fifth columnists in this country, the entire people are one. (Interruptions)

Shri Tangamani:¹⁴⁸ They are the fifth columnists of the Americans.

An hon. Member: He is an American agent. (Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. I would ask the hon. Member whether he refers to any of our Members here. (Interruptions) Hon. Members are well aware that only the other day, one hon. Member brought a motion of privilege against the leader of another party for having used abusive language which, in the ordinary circumstances, we would not put up with. I do not think this abuse is worse than that abuse. There may be people in a big party....

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: The word "fifth columnist" has a very clear connotation and it is known to everybody. Today, the Communist Members of this House.....(Interruptions) My hon. friend, has referred to Communists as fifth columnists. (Interruptions) Such a serious charge should not be

148. K.T.K. Tangamani, CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Madurai, Madras State.

allowed to be pronounced in this House and you must give protection to the Members of this House. It cannot be done in that way. You will remember, Sir that a friend here referred to a friendly country as enemy country but I did not get up and interrupt the proceedings. He has now called us fifth columnists. Since this kind of disgraceful insinuation is going on, I beg of you to give us protection and ask him to withdraw that word.

Mr. Speaker: Why should Shri Dwivedy persist in that language? He can withdraw it.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Do I take it that you do not give us protection?

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: If our Communist friends consider themselves to be fifth columnists, I am prepared to withdraw this. (Interruptions)

Shri Nagi Reddy:¹⁴⁹ Sir, can I now get up and say that PSP members are American agents? (Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker: If any hon. Member says that there may be a few Communists who may be fifth columnists, I do not know how you can prevent him from saying that. (Interruptions)

Shri Nagi Reddy: May I seek a clarification. I would like to know whether any hon. Member of any party can say that here is a group of people who are American agents. (Interruptions) Is it right or wrong, I would like to have your direction.

Mr. Speaker: I have heard all sorts of things. I shall see to it that no Member makes an observation adversely against any other hon. Member here, nor generally about any particular party. It is not at all right, because we have representatives of various parties here. That will include the hon. Members here also. Therefore general aspersions upon a whole party, which is a political party and which has been recognised, shall not be allowed. But if somebody should say that there are a few people here and there, I do not know if I can go to that length... (Interruption) Order, Order. Hon. Members must keep quiet. Hon. Members may go on.

149. T. Nagi Reddy, CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Anantapur, Andhra Pradesh.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I would say barring very few people... . (Interruption)

Shri Muhammed Elias:¹⁵⁰ Are you keeping that word in the record or are you expunging it? He will never withdraw it... . (Interruption) Are you expunging it? We shall not be here if you do not expunge it... . (Interruption)

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. I have .appealed to the hon. Member himself to do so. I am not going to do it... . (Interruption)

पंडित ब्रज नारायण "ब्रजेश" :¹⁵¹ अध्यक्ष महोदय... . (Interruption)

श्री अर्जुन सिंह भदौरिया :¹⁵² यह जो सदन में इतना शोर मचा रहे हैं तो मालूम पड़ता है कि चोर की दाढ़ी में तिनका है... . (Interruption)

[Translation begins:

Pandit Braj Narayan Brajesh:¹⁵³ Mr Speaker... . (Interruption)

Shri Arjun Singh Bhadoria:¹⁵⁴ It is clear that these loud mouth people have something to hide... . (Interruption)

Translation ends]

Mr. Speaker: I have allowed him sufficient opportunity.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:¹⁵⁵ He will not be allowed to continue... . (Interruption)

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I want to say that on this issue there is no difference in the country... . (Interruption)

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Why should this thing happen in this way?

150. CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Howrah, West Bengal.

151. Hindu Mahasabha, Lok Sabha MP from Shivpuri, Madhya Pradesh.

152. Socialist Party, Lok Sabha MP from Etawah, UP.

153. See fn 151 in this section.

154. See fn 152 in this section.

155. CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Basirhat, West Bengal.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: As the other day, our hon. Prime Minister... .
(Interruption)

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. I allowed the spokesman of the Communist Party to go on without any interruption.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I did not use this vulgar... . (Interruption)

Shri Nagi Reddy: American agents. (Interruption)

Mr. Speaker: This kind of interruption is improper... . (Interruption) I have given my ruling.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Those who happen to be vulgar people you give protection to them. You give protection to indecent people... . (Interruption)

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member will go on.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: What is the sense of parliamentary democracy... .
(Interruption)

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: He may use any word in his vocabulary. He may use any language... . (Interruption)

Shri Nagi Reddy: It is a very dangerous precedent. I would like... .
(Interruption)

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: It is the last day of the House...(Interruption)... we go away.

Shri Muhammed Elias: If you create this precedent, we shall also call the Congress Party fifth columnists. We shall also call the PSP fifth columnists... . (Interruption)

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Let hon. Members resume their seats. In view of the extraordinary emotions exhibited and because they have touched the feelings of hon. Members here, whatever might be... . (Interruption) I cannot do anything if hon. Members go on interrupting like this... . (Interruption) There is no harm if the hon. Member withdraws that portion, that is, the fifth columnists portion. Let him do so... . (Interruption)

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I have not made any personal reference to any hon. Member of the House. If anybody has to withdraw his words it is Shri H. N. Mukerjee who has to withdraw what he said, namely, that these are indecent people and indecent words. I have not passed personal remarks against anybody... . (Interruption)

Shri Tangamani: American money is paid to them... . (Interruption)

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: May I continue, Sir?

An Hon. Member: You have been paid a large amount.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Let him go on.... . (Interruption)

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: May I continue?

An Hon. Member: We are not going to allow him to continue.

Shri Muhammed Elias: We will not allow him to speak until he withdraws... . (Interruption)

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Nagi Reddy: He will not continue in the House like this. It is very bad language and it is going on... . (Interruption)

Shri Mahanty: On a point of order, Sir. I find that the minority is holding this House to blackmail... . (Interruption)

An Hon. Member: No. We are not... . (Interruption)

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Order please. Shri Nagi Reddy, I am sorry. Shri Dwivedy will continue... . (Interruption) Will hon. Members resume their seat or not? Shri Mahanty. Order please... . (Interruption) Order please. Do not lose temper. Enough has been said on both sides. Shri Dwivedy will conclude.

Shri Nagi Reddy: We shall not allow him to continue unless it is expunged from the records and unless you give a ruling... . (Interruption) It is a very bad precedent and you are allowing certain words to go on record here,

which from tomorrow will have a very bad precedent for the Parliament and its functioning... . (Interruption)

Shri P. K. Deo: You may give a ruling afterwards.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. It is rather strange for an hon. Member to say that unless I expunge particular portions, he has got a right... . (Interruption)

An Hon. Member: Yes, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: If this is “Yes, Sir” then what is “No, Sir”? He says that unless I expunge he will go on creating trouble. I know what to do with it. It is improper. He need not go unless if he continues to go on disturbing like this I am obliged to ask him to go... . (Interruption) Hon. Members will put up with it. They ought not to be too sensitive... . (Interruption)

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: What sensitive?

Mr. Speaker: Nothing has been said against them here. Shri Dwivedy will conclude now... . (Interruption)

Shri Nagi Reddy: He has not said about individual Members. He has talked of the Communist Party... . (Interruption) If he had talked of individual Members, that would not matter.

Mr. Speaker: I shall have to ask Shri Nagi Reddy to go out of the House.

Shri Nagi Reddy: Yes, Sir. I will go out of the House... . (Interruption)

Mr. Speaker: If he does not... . (Interruption)

Shri Nagi Reddy: People who do not want to use strong words have no place here. If that is your ruling I am prepared to go... (Interruption)

Mr. Speaker: He will use... . (Interruption)

Shri V. P. Nayar:¹⁵⁶ May I ask a question?

At this stage some hon. Members left the House.

156. CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Quilon, Kerala.

Shri Muhammed Elias: I want the hon. Prime Minister... . (Interruption)
You only are patriots and I am not a patriot. We will not allow Imperialists to sell our country. You are doing it... . (Interruption) World history will prove it.

At this stage some hon. Members left the House.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: The hon. Prime Minister must take the people into confidence and tell them as to what effective steps he is proposing to meet this challenge and get the aggression vacated in conformity with the nation's policy of non-alignment. So far as the hon. Prime Minister is concerned... . (Interruption) people have faith in him. But this cannot be said about all his colleagues... . (Interruption)

Shri Khushwaqt Rai: What is this?

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Now, regarding the manner in which the Defence Minister came into the entire affair of these negotiations, I do not want to go into the controversy as to at whose instance he met him. But is it true that when the hon. Defence Minister met Mr. Chou En-lai there was no Indian interpreter? Was it because the hon. Defence Minister had learnt Chinese or because Mr. Chou En-lai knows English? If the latter is true, then why so much time... . (Interruption)

Shri Raghunath Singh: This is an uncalled for insinuation... . (Interruption)

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: ...was wasted by introducing interpreters etc... . (Interruption) Therefore in conclusion... .

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I do not want to yield. The hon. Prime Minister will have his say in reply.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: May I say a word? We are meeting for two hours. We have spent half an hour in using strong and vulgar language in this House. Is it going to be a serious debate? Now it comes to attacking the hon. Defence Minister. I am not objecting to that, but I would beg to point out that there are

limits to one's patience.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I have come to the concluding part of my speech.

Mr. Speaker: Hon. Member knows very well that no hon. Minister could be attacked for his bona fide action. It is open to any hon. Member of this House to bring evidence to show that this has not been done. If they want to get rid of an hon. Minister, they can do so under the proper method. But this is not the way. I am seeing somehow insinuations and other things going on. The insinuation is there but by the time I catch hold of it, it slips away. It is wrong for one to make any insinuation against any hon. Minister. They are there with the confidence of the House. They may not have the confidence of one or two hon. Members of the Opposition who are in the minority. But so long as they are in office, no aspersion can be cast upon their individual character. So far as their public work is concerned, they could be criticised. I am really sorry. I am going to expunge the portion relating to the insinuation against the hon. Defence Minister.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I am not making any insinuation against any hon. Minister.

Mr. Speaker: No. He made an insinuation.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: In conclusion, I would like to say that we have to take the public into confidence... .

Shri Mahanty: On a point of order. It is very significant from the point of view of our future proceedings in this House. The hon. Leader of the House was pleased to say that there is a limit to one's patience. I would like to know from you whether our speeches will be guided by the limit or quantum of patience of the hon. Leader of the House. We would like to know this from you.

Some Hon. Members: Yes. (Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. All this is irrelevant. I am afraid the hon. Member is not using the power of raising a point of order properly. It is not at all right. What all has happened here would not be welcome to anyone in this House. He does not say whether it was from this side or that side, but only

that all that has happened is unfortunate. It is unfortunate that on the last day of this session, when a serious debate is going on, either cause should have been given for offence or the others should have taken offence, or what has happened should have happened. Let us proceed hereafter more calmly. Hon. Members can marshal their facts but not enter into abuses or cast aspersions on others.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: That was never my intention. That was never my purpose.

Shri Jaipal Singh: In fairness, I must submit one thing, if you will forgive me, because it is a very serious thing as far as the procedure and the conventions, and shall we say, the rights of hon. Members are concerned. It is an unwritten convention here that in respect of anyone who is here present to defend himself, things may be said about him. Today, you are telling us that we cannot say anything about him. Objection has been taken to somebody being called a fifth columnist day in and day out we have been having language from that side about the American lobbying here. No exception has been taken to that. I want you to reconcile these two things. I think so long as an hon. Member is here to defend himself, regardless of whether he is an hon. Minister or whatever he is, he is here to defend himself; and he can defend himself, and I have got the right, the freedom of speech so long as I do not transgress the rules. (Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker: Freedom of Speech, as I understand it, and I am going to stick to it, is not freedom of abuse.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I wanted only all clarification. Have you felt at any moment that I had abused the Defence Minister? I do not think you would have felt so. I only wanted a clarification as to how it was done. I did not want to raise any controversy.

In conclusion, I would like to say this. We have to reorient our entire defence priorities, keeping this permanent tension in the Himalayas in view. So, these talks are of no use. It will be mere waste of time.

The Chinese aggression is not merely a controversy or a temporary border dispute, but it is a struggle between expansionism, and freedom-lovers. Let us mobilise all freedom-lovers in this country against communist aggressors. Then only the nation can be saved.

Shri Kasliwal:¹⁵⁷ The Chinese Prime Minister has come and gone, and a Joint Communiqué has been issued that the talks have not resulted in resolving the differences that have arisen. But I would like to know whether the Joint Communiqué is going to be judged by this laconic sentence. I submit that it should not be so judged.

As some hon. Members who preceded me have analysed the Joint Communiqué, I also propose to do the same. But before I do so, I would like to mention that before the Joint Communiqué was issued, there was a scurrilous propaganda going on against Government that the Government was weakened, that the Government was speaking with divided voices and so on. Today, this Joint Communiqué has given the lie direct to that dirty propaganda which was being carried on in the press and by certain interested persons. It was a foul impression, and I maintain that it was a foul impression, that was being created that the Government of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru was going to give up its stand. I say that no Government worth its salt can give up its stand when the question of aggression arises least of all the Government of our Prime Minister. It has again been proved now that the Government have stood firm as a rock over this question.

This House will recall the ringing words of the Prime Minister when he said that there can be no basis for discussion unless what has been done is undone.

After saying this, I want to go through the Joint Communiqué and analyse it and point out that there are certain positive gains, because of this Joint Communiqué, and I maintain that nothing has been lost by this Joint Communiqué as Shri Surendranath Dwivedy had tried to prove.

Now, what are those positive gains which have been acquired because of this Joint Communiqué? The first is this. We find in the Joint Communiqué:

“The two Prime Ministers explained fully their respective stands on the problems affecting the border areas. This led to a greater understanding of the views of the two Governments....”

I want to know what objection Shri Surendranath Dwivedy could possibly have to this particular point.

The next point is this. The communiqué further says:

“The two Prime Ministers were of opinion that further examination should take place by officials of the two sides of the factual material in the possession of both the Governments.”

157. N.C. Kasliwal, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Kotah, Rajasthan.

What is the objection to this second point? Shri Surendranath Dwivedy said that the officials should have gone first and then the two Prime Ministers should have met. This is the first time that he has stated this thing in the House. He could have said this earlier "What was the point in the two Prime Ministers meeting? The officials could have met first." But he is saying it only today. After this Joint Communiqué has been issued, he is saying today that the officials should have met first.

My hon. friend will not forget what the Prime Minister was pleased to say here in this House, that so far as the factual material was concerned, the factual material was not brought by the Chinese party here. So, where was the point in a discussion over factual material? We had our own material here, but they did not bring their material.

Shri Khushwaqt Rai: It is just like a vakil going to court without his file.

Shri Kasliwal: It is not a question of any court here. It is a question of having a negotiated settlement. I would like to point out, and you may recall, that when the Warsaw talks were going on between the Chinese and the USA representatives, that is, the two Ambassadors, on the question of the release of a few American prisoners, the talks continued for a whole year; the two Ambassadors kept on talking, and it was only after certain Governments intervened that the talks were successful. I want to point out that when a negotiated settlement takes place, it is not so easy; it does not come up all of a sudden, but it takes some time

Now, let me come to the third point. The Communiqué then goes on to say:

"During the period of further examination of the factual material, every effort should be made by the parties to avoid friction and clashes in the border areas."

What is the harm in this? Is that not a positive gain if border clashes and frictions are to be avoided? Shri Surendranath Dwivedy mentioned about this, but he never said anything as to whether the border clashes should be avoided or not. I believe he agreed in his heart of hearts that the border clashes must be avoided.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I have said that it should be avoided.

Shri Kasliwal: Having illustrated my third point, I am now coming to my fourth point. And it is this. The Communiqué hopes that after the report has been made, this report should prove helpful towards further consideration

of the problems by the two Governments.

I want to know what has been lost by the Joint Communiqué. Nothing has been lost by this Joint Communiqué. (Interruptions) My hon. friend can go on interrupting without listening to me.

An amendment has been tabled by five hon. Members that the talks should be discontinued and that the officials should not be sent. When the hon. Prime Minister sent his letter of 5th February, 1960¹⁵⁸ inviting the Chinese Prime Minister here, they said the same thing; they said that the Prime Minister of China should not be invited. Now also, they are saying the same thing. They are saying that the talks that have gone on should not be continued. On the one hand, they say this thing. On the other hand, they were saying that the initiative was all along with the Chinese. I say that when the Prime Minister sent the invitation to the Prime Minister of China in that letter of 5th February, 1960, the initiative came to our hands. And the initiative today, because of the Joint Communiqué, continues to remain in our hands. I say that so long as these talks will continue, the initiative will continue to remain in our hands. I want to know from them, "Well, if the joint talks had not taken place, what were the steps they were going to suggest?" Let them open their mouth in the House and say, "We want such and such a thing, to be done." It is no use talking aimlessly. My hon. friend Shri Dwivedy has been talking uselessly that this thing should be done and that thing should be done, but not one single concrete step he has pointed out that it is the duty of the Government to take.

There is one thing more that I want to say about the Joint Communiqué. They expect that by one single conversation, by one single talk, the Joint Communiqué should have said, "Well, now every difference has been resolved." They are forgetting one thing. To our note of the 12th February, the Chinese Government had issued a note on the 3rd of April.¹⁵⁹ They had said practically the same thing. They have reiterated their stand and they have said that there was no formal delimitation of the boundary between India and China. Our Prime Minister has all along been maintaining the stand that we cannot reopen the question of the Sino-Indian boundary. How could we possibly expect all at once, that all these questions could have been resolved? With these remarks I welcome the Joint Communiqué.

Shri Ranga: Mr. Speaker, Sir, this Joint Communiqué itself makes it very clear that these talks were a failure. But my hon. friend who spoke for the

158. See SWJN/SS/57/item 156.

159. See *White Paper No. IV*, pp. 8-16.

Congress wanted us to believe that out of this failure we are getting something very big. One of those big things is that we are supposed to have initiative. Anyone who knows and who recognises the fact that the Chinese who are in occupation of thousands and thousands of square miles of our sacred motherland have got initiative and not ourselves. It is only to deceive ourselves to go about saying that we hold the initiative. I am sure the Prime Minister does not subscribe to this puerile plea.

Secondly, my hon. friend said, "What else could we do?" Certainly, our Prime Minister could have told the other Prime Minister that in his view—as he had told the Press correspondents later on and gave us also an understanding afterwards—the aggression had taken place on the soil of India and he looked upon China as an aggressor and he would like to help China through these conversations to get out of the wrong possession and vacate the aggression and become a peaceful neighbour of India.

That, Sir, I think, is one of the first failures of our Prime Minister in these talks. I am extremely sorry to have to take a line which is very different from that of the Prime Minister because for the last 12 or 15 years I have been taking the same line as he did in regard to foreign affairs except on one occasion and that was the time when the Prime Minister and his advisers were trying to conclude a treaty with Tibet. I was not then in the Congress. I differed from him. Then, some of our friends of the Praja Socialist Party had the courage to differ from him also and organised the Tibet Day over the whole of India. I wanted to take part in it. (Interruptions) I am only complimenting them. Why are you allergic unnecessarily? I wanted to take part in it but out of my deference to the wishes of the Prime Minister, because he felt embarrassed by that kind of a demonstration in India, I withdrew my support. That shows the degree and the extent of the respect I had for our Prime Minister in regard to his steering of the foreign affairs policy. But nevertheless I continue to differ from him in regard to that matter. If only he had taken a different line on that occasion, if he had not yielded, as we felt he had yielded to the Chinese, if he had not trusted them, as we feared he had trusted them so terribly all these years, surely the fate of India would have been different. The Chinese would not have had the courage or even the opportunity of making these incursions and these aggressions, soiling our motherland with their cancerous fingers.

As a result of this Communiqué, what is it that we have gained? I maintain that we have lost. The Chinese Prime Minister has administered, in the terminology of the lawyers, a restraint order on us. "Go, follow this policy of hush-hush, continue the bhai-bhaism, do not go anywhere near, do not try and peep and see what we are doing, lest there should be any

kind of clash; keep yourselves away within your own distance and your own territory, not Indian territory, but the territory we are good enough to concede to be your territory!"—this is the attitude of the Chinese. We agreed to that. The Chinese are already there. They have not agreed to go out of it.

Ordinarily, in the manner in which we have studied the relations between different countries when they are in dispute, the aggressor is expected, first of all, to vacate the disputed area before discussions take place. But our Prime Minister wants to make experiments. We have agreed to allow him to make these experiments in peace. Therefore, we have had all these discussions.

Even after these discussions when they came here with a huge posse of experts, without any details, without any plans, without any facts, and we presented them with our own facts, historical facts and all the rest of it, they were not good enough to say, "All right. Then we are going to vacate the area that we have occupied already." Yet my hon. friend here wants us to believe that we have gained something as a result of these discussions and this wonderful Communiqué! I make a free gift of this Communiqué to my hon. friend and those who agree with him.

Then there was Tibet. The Himalayan border runs over several thousands of miles. For ages and ages from all historical times, it has been a *cordon sanitaire*. But suddenly it has become a live, very live, border. Who was responsible for it? Those people who were responsible for handing over from our side, in a unilateral fashion, without any provocation on the part of Tibet, the moral rights and political rights over Tibet to the Chinese, the officers, Ministers, statesmen and national leaders—a charge very close to their hearts—now and also for the future.

From the Bolan Pass and several other passes, the invaders came. Over this long distance of 2500 years India had been safe—for ages and ages. But today India is not safe. Can anybody say that we are safe?

My hon. friend, Shri H. N. Mukerjee was saying that the Chinese are suffering from what he called fear complex. But the fear complex was supposed to have been put an end to by the Bandung spirit. But then what did we get out of the Bandung spirit? They got all, very much more than they needed, very much more than they deserved, and we are losing, as much as we have the patience to go on losing, because of our passion for this unrealistic conception of non-alignment.

I am clear in my mind that the time has come to change this policy. All this time, that policy was all right, when it was being offered by us to other countries, when it was being expounded by us in UNO and various other

places, when we were going about the whole world with our mission of peace in the world. But when it comes down here to our own country, when the Prime Minister can only taunt people on this side, "Do you want to go to war?", I am constrained to suggest to the hon. the Prime Minister that he should, first of all, free himself from this dogma, from this attachment to the dogma of non-alignment. We have not given any undertaking to anybody else that we are going to be non-aligned. We have ourselves taken that decision, in a unilateral fashion, with our own conception of the need of the world, of the country, our mission and all the rest of it.

Now that things have changed I think it should be possible for him to say: We are no longer non-aligned; we are free to take any line we like and find it convenient and necessary, wise and statesmanlike in the interests of India, faced as she is with this aggressor.

Having said that it is necessary that I should remind him that years ago so many of us used to suggest it to him that he should get into touch with as many South Eastern countries as possible and as many South East Asian countries as possible and bring about a concord between all these nations. We thought he was giving effect to such thoughts when he brought into existence the Bandung Conference and the Bandung spirit. But the Bandung spirit has been buried by the Chinese. The Bandung Conference cannot be revived.

But there are the Bandung signatories. My hon. friend the Prime Minister himself went round the world canvassing to get signatures from various countries. I was one of the people who congratulated him on that. Why not he try to reach all these people and tell them. Now, look here, you are all signatories to the Bandung Conference, to the Bandung spirit and the concordat. Do you not consider China to be an aggressor? Have we made any effort at all in that direction?

Has not the time come when we should be able to see the world-wide difference between some of our friends who thought that this border dispute is not very different from the border disputes between Mysore and Maharashtra or between Maharashtra and Gujarat and those other friends who came recently here and addressed us in the Central Hall, and those people who are the proven aggressors of our country? When there is so much of unity on their side, would it not be a sensible thing, a wise thing, a far-sighted thing for us, and certainly a realistic policy for us to say that we are no longer non-aligned, that we are prepared to come to friendly contacts and reach friendly agreements with all those countries which are devoted 100 per cent to democracy and democratic ideals, which are prepared to work through the United Nations and see to it that one country

does not aggress another, and when any country aggresses another country all these people will come to the rescue of the victim?

Having said this I would like to lay one charge at the doors of the Prime Minister. It is not an easy thing for me either to have said that or to proceed to say anything because for all these years I have accepted his policy. The time has now come for him to consider very seriously and not to go on repeating, as he did the other day, in such a passionate manner, "As long as I am alive, as long as I am the Prime Minister this non-alignment policy is going to be. there and it is as dead or as living as anything could possibly be." That sort of rigidity will not do for a Foreign Minister. It may be all right for any national leader but not for a Prime Minister and not certainly for a Foreign Minister. We have got to be prepared to be flexible and the Prime Minister must be prepared really to give up this fetish, this kind of dogma and he must be prepared to be realistic not to go on living in glass houses as a result of which this aggression has taken place.

My last sentence is only this. Is there nothing for our Prime Minister to learn from his friend Gen. Nasser? What happened in those days when France and England went over to aggress Egypt? Did Nasser say: "Do you want me to go to war?" He did not say that. Why is it that China did not aggress against Pakistan or even Thailand which was her own, which she claims to be her own and which our Prime Minister and our Government have also admitted to be her own? Even with regard to small Cambodia and other small countries why is it that China has been restrained? I once again want the Prime Minister to consider these things a little more calmly and carefully, with consideration not only for the friends who are still with him but also for those several friends who were with him till the other day.

श्री वाजपेयी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह कहना कि भारत और चीन के बीच जो वार्ता हुई थी वह विफल हो गयी, तस्वीर के एक ही पहलू को सामने रखना है। जहाँ तक भारत का सम्बन्ध है, निःसन्देह वार्ता विफल हो गयी, क्योंकि हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी शांतिपूर्ण समझौता वार्ता द्वारा भारत की भूमि पर चीन के आक्रमण को समाप्त कराने में सफल नहीं हुए, लेकिन जहाँ तक चीन का प्रश्न है, इस बात से इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता कि इस वार्ता द्वारा उसने अपने तीन उद्देश्यों को पूरा किया है। पहली बात, इस वार्ता के परिणामस्वरूप विश्व का और भारत का ध्यान चीनी आक्रमण की ओर से हटकर किसी सीमा सम्बन्धी कल्पित विवाद की ओर मोड़ा गया है, जिसको हल करने के लिए कठोर कार्रवाई की आवश्यकता नहीं है, मगर सदियों पुराने नक्शे और रिकॉर्ड और दस्तावेजों की गहरी और बारीक छानबीन ज़रूरी है।

दूसरी बात, भारत की भूमि पर अपने आक्रमण को मजबूत करने के लिए चीन को समय मिल गया और इस समय का वह लाभ भी उठा रहा है, जिससे कभी यह वार्ता का

नाटक समाप्त हो जाये और भारत अपनी भूमि को वापस लेने के लिए कोई कार्रवाई करे तो चीन उसको विफल बना सके। और तीसरी बात, एक बार फिर से हमने चीन को इस बात का मौक़ा दे दिया है कि वह अपनी शांतिवादिता और पंचशीलप्रियता का ढिंढोरा पीटे, जिसके विरुद्ध उसका आज तक सारा आचरण रहा है।

मैं समझता हूँ इन दृष्टियों से अगर हम विचार करें तो दिल्ली की वार्ता भारत के लिए बड़े घाटे का सौदा रही है। जो संयुक्त वक्तव्य प्रकाशित किया गया है उसमें चीनी आक्रमण का उल्लेख नहीं है। जो आक्रमण था वह “डिफरेंसेज़” रह गये हैं और सीमा सम्बन्धी कागज़पत्रों की जाँच पड़ताल के लिए अफ़सरों की बैठक का आयोजन किया जा रहा है और भारत ने अपनी भूमि में अपने आदमी भेजने के अधिकार का परित्याग कर दिया है। मैं समझता हूँ यह भारत के हितों के अनुकूल नहीं माना जा सकता। यह ठीक है कि हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी ने इस वार्ता में बड़ी दृढ़ता से जो भारत की भूमि है उस पर अपने दावे को क़ायम रखा और उन्होंने चीन के बारहा सौदेबाज़ी करने के प्रयत्न का डटकर सामना किया। वह यहाँ समझौता करने नहीं आये थे, वह सौदेबाज़ी करने आये थे। वह समझते थे कि किसी देश की भूमि और देश का सम्मान सौदे का विषय हो सकता है। यह बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी इस सौदेबाज़ी के खिलाफ़ डटकर खड़े रहे, लेकिन मुझे यह कहना पड़ेगा कि अफ़सरों के मिलने-जुलने का फ़ैसला स्वीकार करके उन्होंने वार्ता को लम्बे चलाने की चीन की चाल में अनजाने ही भारत को फंस जाने दिया।

अब कहा जा सकता है कि दोनों देशों के अफ़सर मिलेंगे, मिलकर क्या करेंगे? वह तथ्यों की जाँच पड़ताल करेंगे। कहा जाता है कि चीनी नेता यहाँ तथ्य नहीं लाये थे, तो फिर वह वार्ता के लिए आये ही क्यों थे? मैं समझता हूँ वह अपने आक्रमण को क़ायम रखने के लिए समय चाहते हैं और अगर दोनों प्रधानमंत्री समझौता नहीं कर सके तो क्या हम यह मानकर चलें कि अफ़सर समझौता कर सकते हैं? और अफ़सरों को समझौते का अधिकार भी नहीं है। वे तो केवल तथ्यों का निरूपण करेंगे, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि यह तथ्यों का निरूपण चीन के लिए लाभ देगा, भारत के हितों के प्रतिकूल जायेगा।

मुझे यह देखकर बड़ा ताज़्जुब हुआ कि भारत और चीन की सीमा सम्बन्धी बातचीत तो विफल हो गयी, मगर दोनों प्रधानमंत्रियों को इस बात का मौक़ा मिल गया कि दुनिया की समस्याओं पर विचार करें और चीन के प्रधानमंत्री डिसआर्ममेंट के बारे में अपनी राय प्रकट करें। जो देश प्रतिवर्ष अपनी सुरक्षा पर एक हज़ार करोड़ रुपया खर्च कर रहा है, वह डिसआर्ममेंट की बात करे इससे बड़ा पाखंड और कोई नहीं हो सकता। जिस देश ने अपनी धर्मप्रिय और शांतिवादी पड़ोसी तिब्बत का विनाश कर दिया, जिसने मानव अधिकारों का खुला उल्लंघन किया, जो तिब्बत में नरसंहार का दोषी है, उस देश के प्रधानमंत्री को हम मौक़ा दें कि वह लैसनिंग ऑफ़ टेंशन्स की बात करे! चीन ऐसा मौक़ा चाहता था, पाखंड का मौक़ा, मिथ्यावादिता का मौक़ा और हमें दुख है कि हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी ने उसे यह मौक़ा दिया। अब वह पंचशीलप्रियता की धाक जमायेगा। मैं समझता हूँ चीन का सारा आचरण शांति का आचरण नहीं है, पंचशील के सिद्धांत में विश्वास का आचरण नहीं है और हमारे साथ चीन ने जो व्यवहार किया है उससे हमें यह तो पाठ लेना चाहिए था कि हम उन्हें

बड़ी-बड़ी बातें करने का मौका न देते।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी तक दोनों देशों के प्रधानमंत्रियों की जो बातचीत हुई है उसका पूरा ब्यौरा सदन के सामने आना बाक़ी है। चीन के प्रधानमंत्री ने तो अपना वरशन रख दिया प्रेस कांफ्रेंस में, मगर हिन्दुस्तान का वरशन क्या है यह अभी तक हमें पता नहीं है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : आज आ रहा है।

श्री वाजपेयी : दोनों देशों के वरशन्स में अन्तर है, यह तो प्रधानमंत्री जी ने लोक सभा में जो भाषण दिया उससे स्पष्ट हो गया और चीन के प्रधानमंत्री ने कल काठमांडू में हमारे प्रधानमंत्री पर जो आरोप लगाया उससे भी हम यह चाहेंगे कि बीस घंटे क्या बातचीत हुई उसको ज़रा स्पष्ट किया जाये। हम यह भी जानना चाहेंगे कि न केवल प्रधानमंत्री से बल्कि अन्य मंत्रियों से चीन के नेताओं ने क्या बातचीत की, खासतौर से चीन के प्रधानमंत्री की हमारे सुरक्षा मंत्री से क्या बातचीत हुई। अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इसलिए इसका उल्लेख कर रहा हूँ कि उस दिन जब मिस्टर तारिक ने कश्मीर के सम्बन्ध में एक प्रस्ताव रखा तो हमारे सुरक्षा मंत्री बड़े आवेश से बोले, उन्होंने कहा कि वह पैशन से बोल रहे हैं क्योंकि यह आक्रमण का मसला है। हम उनके इस आवेश का स्वागत करते हैं, लेकिन क्या चीन का आक्रमण आक्रमण नहीं है, क्या चीन के आक्रमण के बारे में भी आवेश से बात नहीं करनी चाहिए? मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या हमारे सुरक्षा मंत्री ने सचमुच में उसी आवेश से चीन के नेताओं से बात की होगी। इसीलिए मैं चीन के नेताओं के साथ हुई उनकी वार्ता का विवरण जानना चाहता हूँ। मैं समझता हूँ इससे सन्देह दूर हो जायेगा।

अभी हमारे कम्युनिस्ट नेता कह रहे थे कि भारत में कुछ ऐसे लोग हैं जो चीन से समझौता नहीं चाहते। मैं तो ऐसे लोगों में अपनी गणना नहीं करता। हम चीन से ज़रूर समझौता चाहते हैं, पर आक्रमण के सामने झुकना नहीं चाहते और अगर विदेशी आक्रमण का विरोध करना, विदेशी आक्रमण को समाप्त करने की माँग करना प्रतिक्रियावादिता है, रिएक्शनरीपन है तो मैं सबसे बड़ा रिएक्शनरी बनना चाहता हूँ और मैं अपने कम्युनिस्ट मित्रों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि रिएक्शनरी होना अच्छा है मगर गद्दार होना अच्छा नहीं है, विदेशी आक्रमण के सामने सिर झुकाना अच्छा नहीं है। मुझे विश्वास है कि जब बातचीत के लिए कोई आधार नहीं है और हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी भी समझते हैं कि अफ़सरों की बातचीत से कुछ बड़ी चीज़ नहीं निकलेगी, तो चीन के सम्बन्ध में तो हमको अपनी नीति पर पुनर्विचार करना चाहिए। जैसा कि प्रधानमंत्री जी ने कहा है, यह झगड़ा अभी वर्षों चलेगा। उसके लिए सारे राष्ट्र की शक्ति का आह्वान किया जाना चाहिए। इस प्रश्न पर कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को छोड़कर सारा देश प्रधानमंत्री जी के पीछे है और हम चाहते हैं कि देश को सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से सबल, सीमावर्ती प्रदेशों में सेना के साधनों का विकास किया जाये, राष्ट्र की अस्मिता को जगाया जाये, एक एक व्यक्ति को देश के हितों की रक्षा करने के लिए कटिबद्ध किया जाये और अगर वार्ता द्वारा यह मामला हल नहीं हो सकता तो फिर दूसरे रास्तों के द्वारा अपनी भूमि को विदेशी आक्रमण से मुक्त करने का प्रयत्न होना चाहिए।

मैं युद्ध नहीं चाहता, लेकिन अगर देश के स्वाभिमान और देश के हितों की रक्षा के लिए युद्ध करना पड़े तो मैं उसे बुरा नहीं समझता, छोटी बुराई के रूप में उसे मानकर काम करने में कोई बुराई नहीं है।

[Translation begins:

Shri Vajpayee: To say that the talks between India and China have failed is to give a one-sided picture. As far as India is concerned undoubtedly the talks have failed because our Prime Minister has not succeeded in putting an end to Chinese aggression by peaceful accord. But as far as China is concerned, it cannot be denied that China has been able to achieve three of its goals through these talks. First of all, as a result of these talks, the attention of the world and India has been diverted from the Chinese aggression and drawn towards some imaginary border dispute, implying that to solve the problem there is no need for some major action but merely to re-examine old maps, records and documents minutely and deeply.

Two, China has now got the time to consolidate its aggression on Indian soil and it is taking advantage of that at the moment. China is building roads on Indian soil, airports, so that whenever the pretence at talks is at an end and India starts to take steps to retrieve its territory, China can nullify it. Thirdly, we have once again given China an opportunity to parade its slogans of its love for peaceful coexistence and Panchsheel, whereas all its actions till date have been a negation of that.

I feel that if we look at it from these angles, the Delhi talks have been for India a losing proposition. The Joint Statement which was issued makes no mention of the Chinese inroads. They have been described as "differences" and an official level meeting to examine the documents relating to the border is being proposed. India has given up its right to send in our troops to the border to vacate the aggression. I do not think that this is in India's national interest. It is right that our Prime Minister has, during the talks, maintained our claim to Indian territory and has also strongly opposed China's attempts at bargaining on the issue. The Chinese had not come here to make an accord but to bargain. They seem to feel that a nation's territorial integrity and self-respect are open to a bargain. It is laudable that our Prime Minister has stood firm against such attempts at bargaining. But I must maintain that by accepting the proposal for official level talks he has unwittingly let India fall into China's trap to prolong the talks.

It has been stated that officials of the two countries will meet. What are they supposed to do? They are going to examine facts. They are saying said that the Chinese leaders did not come here armed with the facts, so

why did they come here for the talks at all? I feel that they are looking to buy time to consolidate their position on the ground on the occupied territory. And if the two Prime Ministers could not arrive at an agreement, are we to take it that officials would be able to do so? In fact officials are not authorized to arrive at any agreement. They can merely examine the facts. But I feel that even this examination of facts will strengthen China's claims and will be inimical to India's interest.

I was rather surprised to see that though the border talks between India and China failed, it certainly gave an opportunity to the two Prime Ministers to discuss other international issues. And the Chinese Prime Minister could express his opinion on Disarmament. There can be no greater hypocrisy than that a country which spends a thousand crores on Defence and security should talk about Disarmament. Here we are giving the Prime Minister of a country to talk about lessening of tensions when it has destroyed its peace-loving, spiritual-minded neighbour Tibet, has openly abrogated all human rights, and is guilty of genocide in Tibet. China wanted this opportunity for propagating its hypocrisy and its blatant untruths and we regret that our Prime Minister has given them this opportunity. Now they will talk about Panchsheel. I feel that China's entire policy is not one of peace or belief in the principles of Panchsheel. And after the way China has behaved with us, we should have learnt a lesson that we should not have given them the opportunity to talk grandiloquently.

Mr Chairman, the entire proceedings of the talks are yet to be placed before the House. The Chinese Prime Minister has given his version in a Press Conference but we still do not know what India's version is.

An Hon Member: It is coming today.

Shri Vajpayee: It is quite clear from the Prime Minister's speech in the Lok Sabha that there is a difference in the versions of the two countries. Taking into account the accusation leveled by the Chinese Prime Minister against our Prime Minister yesterday in Kathmandu, we would like to be told explicitly what was discussed during the twenty hours of talks. We would also like to know what the Chinese leaders talked about not only with the Prime Minister but with our other Ministers too, especially what was discussed by the Chinese Prime Minister with our Defence Minister. Mr Chairman, I am mentioning this because the other day when Mr Tariq made a proposal on Kashmir, our Defence Minister said in great anger that the member was speaking with passion because it is a matter of aggression. We welcome his outrage. But is not China guilty of aggression? Should

that not be discussed with passion? I want to know if the Defence Minister spoke with equal passion and outrage with the Chinese leaders? This is why I want to know in detail what transpired in the talks with the Chinese leaders. I feel that that will clear all our doubts.

Just now our Communist brethren were saying that there are some people in India who are not in favour of an agreement with China. I do not count myself as being one of them. We do want an agreement with China but do not want that we should bow down to aggression. And if it is reactionary to oppose external aggression or to demand that it should be put an end to, then I would like to be regarded as the biggest reactionary. I would like to tell my Communist friends that it is good to be a reactionary but not to be a traitor. It is not a good thing to bow down to external aggression. It is my belief that when there is no basis for talks, and the Prime Minister also understands that nothing is going to come out of the official level talks, we should rethink our policy. As our Prime Minister has said, this dispute will go on for years. We have to invoke the entire nation's strength for this. On this matter the entire nation is behind the Prime Minister barring the Communist Party. We want that the defence of the country should be strengthened; the military on the borders should be fully equipped, the nation should be made aware that every single citizen should be ready to defend the country. And if the matter cannot be resolved through talks, attempts should be made to vacate the aggression on our soil by an external power. I do not want war but if we have to fight a war to defend our national interest and self-respect, I do not think that is a bad think. There is no harm in doing so considering it is a lesser evil.

Translation ends]

Shri P. K. Deo: Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the outset, I congratulate the Prime Minister for his two outspoken speeches at the airport¹⁶⁰ and at the State banquet¹⁶¹ while welcoming the Chinese Prime Minister, because those two speeches have most appropriately reflected the true sentiments and feelings of the countrymen. Though the Prime Minister subsequently conducted these protracted negotiations with tenacity, determination and the politeness that they demanded, the result has ended in a failure, and it was much anticipated. In spite of the failure of these talks, the two Prime Ministers in a Joint Communiqué had claimed to have achieved one thing,

160. See item 5.

161. See item 8.

that is, a greater understanding of the views of the two Governments.

Even though the Chinese are unable to provide sufficient evidence to substantiate their position, during these laborious parleys, in the face of well-documented data put forward by the Indian side, these talks have clearly unfolded the mind of the Chinese Premier who showed little inclination of being influenced by these or any other document or any valuable evidence. It is so because the Chinese enjoy the advantage of possession which they have been busy consolidating.

The recent, reported construction of feeder roads to the main Sinkiang-Tibet highway is going to prove that the Chinese are really using the time-factor by developing communication for better mobilisation of their armed forces. The Chinese inflexibility in their stand further proves that they want to transfer the illegal possession into a legal occupation by persistent emphasis of the status quo. That is why so much stress is laid on "present actualities."

In the negotiations, we find the same old repetitions and those arguments which have appeared time and again in those three *White Papers*, and no originality or no newness has been found in any of the arguments advanced by the Chinese except perhaps a fantastic reference to Chinese sentiments about the Karakoram mountains.

Mr. Speaker: Hon. Members ought to read from a written speech. Hon. Members are expected to speak.

Shri P. K. Deo: I am referring to points.

Mr. Speaker: It does not appear so. He goes on reading, which ought not to be done. There must be something *ex tempore*.

Shri P. K. Deo: This reference to the Karakoram mountains is a counterblast to our spiritual association with the Himalayas. Sometime back, we heard their claim for Mount Everest. Today, they claim a large chunk from the Karakoram range to the Kongka Pass, and it may be that in September next we may hear a fantastic claim on their part to the Vindhya Range. I hope it would not be so.

Coming to the different sectors, I find that the Chinese are not serious about Bara Hoti which is in the middle sector. Regarding their claim on NEFA, they want to use it as a bargaining counter for their claim on the western sector, that is, Ladakh. So far as Ladakh is concerned, we have got voluminous material in our store to prove that Ladakh for all purposes

is part of the Indian territory. The agreement of 1842 signed by the Maharaja of Kashmir and the Dalai Lama of Tibet and the representative of the Chinese emperor goes to prove that for all practical purposes Ladakh is a part of India and that uninterruptedly we exercised full administrative control over that area.

The Chinese cannot go on tracing back history prior to 1842. They cannot say that because once upon a time Chengiz Khan or Kublai Khan conquered the whole of Europe, so that the whole of Europe must now belong to them! It would be a most fantastic claim from the various arguments that have been advanced by the Chinese. This reminds me of a couplet from Goldsmith in his poem *Deserted Village*, in regard to the village schoolmaster. What Goldsmith said was:

"In arguing too the person owned his skill.

For even though vanquished he could argue still."

Similarly, even though they do not have enough material to prove their case, still, they go on arguing, and ask for time. We would like to see how long we are to persist in these negotiations and for what purpose. We find that by accepting this protracted negotiation, by giving them time till September, we are conceding to a situation that in the coming summer, they will fully utilise these few months in their favour, because this is the only time when one can move about in high altitudes to construct roads, air fields, etc. and to consolidate his position. By September, the next winter would be approaching and we would not be able to do anything in that regard.

Lastly, I beg to submit that instead of wasting time in search of these documents—because we know it for certain that if we discover any new map or produce an odd page from some historic or any administrative record, it is not going to convince the Chinese—we should have a definite policy and a definite approach to the Chinese situation. Do not subscribe to the view of those people who think that besides war and these talks, there is no third alternative. I feel that to preserve the integrity of one's motherland, we should take every step to drive away the intruders from our area.

This morning the Chinese Prime Minister in his statement in the Dum Dum airport has stated to the surprise of everybody that our Prime Minister never mentioned the question of "aggression" to the Chinese Prime Minister in all these days of protracted negotiation. If the Chinese Prime Minister could not understand the meaning of aggression, it is no fault of ours. We personally feel that China can only understand the language of strength. India should be militarily strong and only a militarily strong India can ensure

India's integrity and no amount of this wild goose chase of futile talks.

श्री ब्रजराज सिंह : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं माननीय प्रधानमंत्री से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वह यह उचित नहीं समझते हैं कि अब समय आ गया है, जबकि बातचीत में और जहाँ तक बातचीत का सवाल है, उससे इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता है, वह हर वक्त की जानी चाहिए— अपनी उत्तरी सीमाओं के सम्बन्ध में चीन से साफ़तौर पर कहना चाहिए कि मैकमाहन रेखा वाली सीमा रेखा नहीं है, वरन् वो सीमा रेखा होगी, जिसमें मानसरोवर, कैलाश और पूर्व-वाहिनी, ब्रह्मपुत्र, आते हों। दूसरी बात यह है कि क्या वह समय नहीं आ गया है जब कि चीन को छोड़कर अफ्रीका और एशिया के दूसरे मुल्कों की कोई बांडुंग जैसी कांफ्रेंस हो, जिससे हम को इस समस्या को हल करने में सहायता मिल सके?

[Translation begins:

Shri Braj Raj Singh : Mr Chairman, I want to ask the Prime Minister whether he does not feel that the time has come that it should be clearly said in our talks as far as talks are concerned it cannot be denied that talks should always go on regarding our northern borders that we do not take the McMahon Line as the border but that the territories including Manasarovar, Kailash, Poorvavahini, Brahmaputra should fall within India's side. Secondly, has not the time come that we hold a conference like the Bandung Conference with other nations of Asia and Africa, barring China, in order to get help to resolve this dispute

Translation ends]

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Speaker, Sir, and some few days ago here in Delhi city, talks were being held between the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China and the Prime Minister of India and of these talks, the world was a witness. There was no country in the wide world which was not only not interested, but anxiously interested in these talks, not because of the participants, but because a tremendous historical drama was being enacted in Delhi city, a drama of which only the beginnings have been seen and no man knows what the end of it will be and how long it will take.

Here we have met in this Parliament this afternoon to discuss this drama, this event of tremendous historical importance; and, I must confess to a feeling of sorrow and regret at the manner in which we have considered this event of tremendous historical importance, which has shaken or, at any rate, interested all the Chancelleries of the world and two to three hundred million people, not only in India and not only in China but elsewhere.

Here, unfortunately, in the early part of this debate, which was mostly noisy and tumultuous, and in the other parts of the debate, I have tried with all the intelligence that I can command, to understand the stands, the various viewpoints, the various criticisms. I confess, I have failed; I have failed to find any appreciation of even what has happened and what is happening, something which has shaken the world's mind. Petty disputes, petty references, insinuations, shame, some brave words, kinds of words like "why do you allow strong language?" "Why do you go on talking", "talk is no good" and so on were used. No, talk is no good, and I would venture to repeat to the hon. Members opposite that talk is not good. The talk they indulge in does not lead anywhere. So, here we discuss this thing. We may be small people as individuals, but somehow we are conditioned and placed at a moment of tremendous historical significance for our country, for Asia and for the world. It is not a small matter what we are discussing, not a little Joint Communiqué that has been before this House. That is only a small step in this long journey.

Is there any realisation of this? The hon. Member who spoke last read out briefly from some poem which he might have read in some school long ago. Is this the way of dealing with this tremendous event today, in this pettifogging way, without any realisation of what we are dealing with, what the subject is, what the present is and what the future is going to be?

The hon. Member who speaks so eloquently, Shri Vajpayee, he also told us how bravely we should all join together in driving out the aggressor. All this is very interesting. But is that an intelligent approach to a tremendously difficult question which faces us today? I take it that we are all interested; we are not only interested but passionately interested, in preserving the integrity and sovereignty of our country and meeting any aggressor. But I object to learn that an aggressor has to be met by this type of language that we have heard from some members of the Opposition here today. People talk that they are going to impinge themselves? Well, perhaps, yes, what then?—A voice comes from Shri Dwivedy and Shri Ranga: give up the policy of non-alignment.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I never said that.

Shri Ranga: Not Shri Dwivedy, only myself.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Then, I withdraw it. Shri Dwivedy's words were: the entire policy of non-alignment is being put to the test. So, I beg your pardon.

But behind all this, his wordy challenges and bravery and attack on this policy of non-alignment, what do all these things mean? It means: take shelter under somebody else's umbrella, seek help of others to defend yourself, to

protect you because you are weak, you cannot do so. That is what all this means.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: We do not want that.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry, the hon. Members opposite—I do not say so in any spirit of criticism—almost everyone read out from long sheets. That is a new thing. I want to speak without manuscripts. (Interruptions) Will you kindly allow me to go on as I want? May I, Sir, draw your attention to this new practice which is going on in this connection, the manuscript eloquence? And what is amassing, Sir, is that the manuscript eloquence, even though it is manuscript, is wholly unrestrained. I thought one may lose one's temper. But why lose one's temper in a manuscript? I do not understand...(Interruption)

Shri Hem Barua : May I say that the hon. Prime Minister is putting emphasis on a very petty thing... (Interruption)

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: What exactly are we discussing? What are we discussing? I am here to explain. Maybe, I am wrong or my Government is wrong. Let us face those issues. But merely shouting loudly about.... (Interruption)

An Hon. Member: Not louder than you.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:... about courage, about throwing out the aggressor does not show, if I may say so with all respect, any realisation of the situation or what it means and how it is to be done. It has no meaning at all. That kind of thing may well be said at the Ramlila Grounds and Gandhi Grounds in Delhi. It has no place in this House of Parliament which has to decide the future destiny of India and I say... (Interruption) hon. Members of the Opposition who have spoken today have shown themselves amazingly incompetent to even understand the situation far less to face it....(Interruption)

An Hon. Members: He is incompetent.... (Interruption)

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: You make a protest when strong language is used.... (Interruption)

एक माननीय सदस्य : प्रधानमंत्री इस तरह की बात कह कर सदन का अपमान कर रहे हैं।

[Translation begins:

An Hon. Member: Prime Minister is insulting the House by saying this.

Translation ends]

An Hon. Member: It is Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the hon. Prime Minister, who is incompetent, not the Opposition Members... (Interruption)

Another Hon. Member: The hon. Prime Minister is going to save this country, not you.... (Interruption)

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: What I have said is perfectly parliamentary. Hon. Members of the Opposition have shown themselves completely incompetent to understand the situation, much less to face it.... (Interruption)

Shri Hem Barua: What is this Parliamentary language... (Interruption)

Mr. Speaker: There is nothing unparliamentary in this.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry... (Interruption)

श्री अर्जुन सिंह भदौरिया : हम यहाँ प्रधानमंत्री से... (Interruption)

[Translation begins:

Shri Arjun Singh Bhadoria: We want the Prime Minister... (Interruption)

Translation ends]

Shri Ram Sewak Yadava: We are not schoolboys. We are not children.... (Interruption)

Shri Hem Barua: This language ought not to be used in this manner, much less by the hon. Leader of the House... (Interruption)

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: May I say with all respect, that this is not a question of moving an adjournment motion. It is far more serious than that. Hon. Members are very fond of moving adjournment motions every morning. This is a serious matter... . (Interruption)

Shri Hem Barua: The hon. Prime Minister is only creating trouble in the House... (Interruption)

Shri Vajpayee: It may be true that we have failed to understand the situation, but it is equally true, that the hon. Prime Minister has failed to meet the situation... (Interruption)

Some Hon. Members: Yes, yes.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Hon. Member may be right or may be wrong. But what I am venturing to say is that the manner in which they tried to meet the situation—they say I have not met it—but one thing is dead certain that if the fate of this country was by some mischance in the hands of hon. Members opposite, then I do not quite know what would happen in this world or in this country... (Interruption)

श्री राम सेवक यादव : इंडिया सेफ़ रहेगा, अगर हम लोगों के हाथ में आ जायेगा ।

[Translation begins:

Shri Ram Sewak Yadava: India will remain safe if it comes in our hands.

Translation ends]

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There is a famous saying..... (Interruption)

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Why talk of an imaginary case? Why should he not deal with actualities? (Interruption)

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It surprises me, Mr. Speaker, to see how much noise a very small, handful of persons can make... (Interruption) It is most surprising. Here is this House sitting here, representing a very vast part of India. Do they pretend to say that half a dozen of them or ten or twelve of them represent India? Or, is it these people sitting here all over the House.... (Interruption) who represent India here? Therefore I must have my say... (Interruption)

An Hon. Member: It is quite absurd... (Interruption)

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I must have my say... (Interruption)...Mr. Speaker, I must have my say... (Interruption)

Mr. Speaker: Order, please.

Shri Hem Barua: We have not said... (Interruption)

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Is the hon. Prime Minister of our country going to speak like this? He is making a speech which is entirely wrong... (Interruption)

Mr. Speaker: He never used a single unparliamentarily expression. His language may be strong, but he has not used a single unparliamentarily expression. Hon. Members ought not to be so touchy. The hon. Prime Minister heard everything in patience. He is trying to meet the arguments.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: If a number of hon. Members have chosen to go out, that was their pleasure. I hope that the other Members who remain would either listen to me or go out. (Interruptions)

An Hon. Member: He has no right to say this. He has no right to ask us to go out.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: We are not Tyagis or Dr. Ram Subhag Singh's.

Shri Ram Sewak Yadava: We are not Congress party people.

An Hon. Member: What right has the Prime Minister to ask us to go out?

Shri Braj Raj Singh: We are not going to go out. Why should we go out?

Shri Yadav Narain Jadhav:¹⁶² Why should we go out?

श्री अर्जुन सिंह भदौरिया : मैं आपके द्वारा अपने प्रधानमंत्री से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वे अपने मस्तिष्क का संतुलन... (Interruption)

श्री राम सेवक यादव : शब्द जाल से काम नहीं चलेगा ।

162. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Malegaon, Bombay State.

[Translation begins:

Shri Arjun Singh Bhadoria: Through you I want to request the Prime Minister that his balance of mind....(Interruption)

Shri Ram Sewak Yadav: This word play is not going to help.

Translation ends]

An Hon. Member: Let us know whether the Prime Minister has any points to make. (Interruptions)

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: How few and how much noise! It really is a remarkable sight! (Interruptions)

Shri Anthony Pillai:¹⁶³ The Prime Minister is trying to waste time. He may not have anything to say.

Mr. Speaker: If hon. Members keep perfect silence, they will hear the points. Let there be no interruptions.

An. Hon. Member: He is inviting interruptions.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not inviting interruptions. I am merely telling you what I think of it.

Shri Hem Barua: It is very provocative.

Mr. Speaker: Let us hear the other points now.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I think I may claim to an unusual degree of patience. Every morning, I put up with the adjournment motions of the hon. Members; every morning, I put up with half a dozen of them standing at the same time and trying to speak; even now, we have seen several of them standing up and speaking at the same time. They seem to like choruses...

Shri Hem Barua: That is a compliment to us. (Interruptions)

163. S.C.C. Anthony Pillai, Socialist Party, Lok Sabha MP from Madras North, Madras State.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: ... all speaking together. (Interruptions) Here is a situation which has arisen, and we have discussed this on many occasions in this House for the last year or so. Now, I am not going into this question. We have discussed it. It may be our slackness, our laxness or whatever it was, in the past, that is, the Government's. A situation has arisen, and because of that situation, it was decided to invite the Chinese Premier to come here to discuss it. At that time too, some hon. Members in this House were opposed to this, opposed to any talks, anything, and merely wanted brave words. It was not clear to me then how these brave gestures then or at any time would help; I say, any time, even in the middle of a war, I think I will talk; at no time shall I refuse to talk. And I may explain that our policy is—last year I stated this, and I want to repeat it now,—to protect with all our strength the integrity and sovereignty of India, and our policy is and will be, and I repeat, our policy is going to be to try to be friendly to China.

श्री यादव नारायण जाधव : हमारा देश चला गया तो भी?

[Translation begins:

Shri Yadav Narain Jadhav: Even if we lose our country?

Translation ends]

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We are going to try to be friendly to every country; we are going to try to be friendly, more particularly to our neighbours, whether it is Pakistan or whether it is any other; and, therefore, we are going to try, because it is a basic policy; now, following that policy does not mean our tolerating aggression; that is a different matter. But that is the basic policy, not this policy of constant hatred and violence and hitting which has no meaning in the modern world. If I may say so, people who talk about war probably have no conception of even old war, much less new war. Shri Ranga probably knows as much about a war... (Laughter)

Shri Ranga: I can tell the hon. Prime Minister that I know as much as he does.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: If he knows as much as I do, he knows a great deal. Anyhow, here is a situation that has arisen. It does not mean not resisting aggression with the best of your ability and strength. But even so, the door has always to be kept open and every effort has to be made—even though the

effort may not prove helpful; there may be little optimism about the effort—to solve a problem in other ways. And the mere delay itself sometimes helps in this business.

I do not think that my meeting Premier Chou En-lai and my talks with him have worked wonders. But I do think that it was not only the right thing to do but that it has justified itself, not in a big way; it has justified itself because we have done the right thing. That itself is something.

Secondly, it has, I think, given him and his colleagues, and given us, a clearer appreciation of the situation that is, of each other's mind, which is an important factor. It may be that the two appreciations are in direct conflict with each other. It may certainly be. Nevertheless, they are clearer.

References were made to my colleagues meeting them and having talks with them. I just do not understand how hon. Members on the other side imagine parliamentary work is done or Government functions. Because some newspapers, which are notoriously hostile to this Government and to the Defence Minister and which have become completely irresponsible in their attitude towards certain matters, put out something, put out stories, which are wholly untrue, about the Defence Minister pushing himself in this or that, I cannot understand how hon. Members make these references.

Shri Ranga: We have agreed to drop it now. Why should any reference be now made to the Defence Minister?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Here was a situation. It was not as if there was a team to meet him. There was no team to meet him. I wanted Premier Chou En-lai to meet as many of our Ministers as possible. In fact, to some extent, he met every one of our Ministers in larger groups. More particularly, one of the persons I wanted him to meet was the Defence Minister. I wanted him to meet the Defence Minister because the Defence Minister had been associated with him for many many weeks on the Geneva Conference which led to the Indo-China peace. He was the one person, apart from me, who had met Premier Chou En-lai previously, and met him at length. So that they knew each other. And when we discuss such matters, it helps.

People imagine that these discussions are carried on by sitting, throwing challenges at each other, telling him, "You are an aggressor. Get out". This is not a normal way of talks. If hon. Members opposite have in the remote or distant future ever any chance of carrying on such talks...

Shri Tyagi: God forbid.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: ... They will themselves realise that that is not the way to do it.

Therefore, one talks informally—the formal talking is only something for the public—one talks in a friendly way, one probes the mind, one tries to understand what is behind the mind, one tries to see how many avenues there are to be explored and all that—not throwing challenges at each other. Two big countries challenging each other—the moment you do that, you shut the door, and when you shut the door, what remains? Either sitting sullenly and doing nothing, just cursing like an old woman or going out sword in hand or whatever weapon you have, and fighting. There is nothing else left.

I do not like either of these alternatives. One has always to explore and to find out, meanwhile naturally preparing for any contingencies that might arise. That is the obvious course every country follows. Hon. Members of the Opposition have not quite understood this primary fact. And they have denounced what Government has done.

The hon. Member who spoke last quoted Goldsmith. I would say something has happened since Goldsmith lived and wrote all that; and it is quite amazing, the fabulousness with which this matter is approached by some hon. Members here.

There are one or two factors which I should like to put. There was the reference to a new road being built. Hon. Members for once have not been quite wide awake, enough. There is reference to this in the *Third White Paper*. There is reference to this in the Second or the Third *White Paper*—I forget—but there is reference in the *White Paper* anyway.

It is our information that a road has been built west of the original Aksai Chin caravan route. And, this matter was brought up by me before Premier Chou En-lai. I told him about it. I must confess that I was a bit surprised to find that he did not know much about it.

An Hon. Member: Pretended not to know.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: He said, "I do not know; I can say nothing about it." But the point is that we did refer to it. This was done in the middle of last year, not now. It is very difficult for us to find dates and to give dates as to what happened and when. But, broadly speaking, the picture we have is that some years back, that is, I mean in the fifties, not longer than that, the old Aksai Chin route which was an old caravan route frequently used or not often used, that and another route nearby, north of that, were being used by people coming from Sinkiang. It was always used. It was used more lately by Chinese forces and troops coming through in the early fifties as a caravan route.

Later, about 1957-58, they built that road along the caravan route and brought their supplies etc. from Sinkiang to Tibet. But they have been using it as a caravan route. That was one incursion.

Later, it was last year when larger areas of Tibet were occupied and, probably, about the middle of last year this other road was built. It was, indeed, on this other route, a bit of it, that Karam Singh was taken back. There is something about it in Karam Singh's evidence. It is there.¹⁶⁴

In such a state of affairs, thinking on the subject not as Government or as Opposition but as people interested in the safety and integrity of India, we should see what steps should now be taken. That is the problem before us. And, in doing that, a wrong step may have far-reaching consequences, far-reaching consequences not on the moral plane—although I am not prepared to omit the moral plane—but on the strictly practical plane of achieving what we set out to achieve. After all, if we want to do something, if we want to achieve something, not shout about it, how do we achieve it? There, a debate does not help. If it is strength versus strength, strength has to be matched by strength, by determination, by all the things that go behind that strength.

The hon. Member, Shri Dwivedy, I think, talked about total mobilisation of the people or a mobilisation of the people. I do not think he gave much evidence of any kind of mobilisation of the people. His speech was a disruptive speech, not a constructive speech, not one to mobilise but merely to criticise, to condemn and to bring in this person and that person. Is this the way to mobilise people?

It is much too serious a business that we are faced with in this country. And certainly, I who have the honour to lead this Government and this House would not presume to say on behalf of my Government that we can do anything very big without the widespread help of the country and of all kinds of various groups in the country. Some people may not; every individual may not help but basically in a crisis of this type the country tries to pull together and that is why at the beginning of my remarks, I expressed my sorrow because the evidence we have given today in this debate is not of a people trying to pull together, not of a people who realise even the dangers of this crisis that we face but of groups hurling abuse at each other. This is not a sign of strength and the world is a witness of what we are doing; they may not be impressed by this debate.

It is a very serious question and therefore, I beg of this House to consider this question in all its various aspects and then decide jointly because it is not a party matter; it cannot be a party matter. One thing, I do not know whether it is a party matter. I suppose it is and it is this question of alignment and non-

164. See SWJN/SS/54/item 2, p. 28, fn 28.

alignment. That is the basic thing, very basic thing and I would venture to tell this House why I call it basic. Apart from the usual reasons, in this context, the moment a person thinks of giving up non-alignment, it means exhibiting a sense of weakness, a sense of non-reliance on ourselves and a hope that other would come to our help.

Shri Ranga: Question. We do not agree.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I think that what I say is the correct analysis of that approach. In fact I say there could be no other analysis of that approach. I say there could be nothing more dangerous for this country, nothing more fatal for our future than to spread this feeling of despondency or lack of self-reliance and asking others to help. There is nothing more fatal. What will happen in future—I do not know. I hope that whatever happens we shall never have that feeling of despondency and want others to pull us out of our difficulties in a matter of this kind.

I find also—what is troubling me—I hope this part of the House is broadly free from this—that among our Opposition we find very definitely the cold war among themselves.... (Interruptions) I said there was cold war among the various groups in the Opposition—not all—which resulted in one group walking out.

An Hon: Member: It is your own Party also.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am merely referring to the mental approach in a completely different and mild way. This talk about non-alignment and alignment is also a reflection of the cold war, not in that fierce way which was exhibited earlier in the debate. Immediately they started throwing rather offensive terms at each other which was completely a reflection of the cold war mentality in any country, not only in this country. I would beg of the House not to get tied up with this cold war attitude. It is admitted that we have to face this tremendous problem and tremendous menace that has come to us, an event of the most vital importance to our country and to our future.

We can only do so, first of all, by remaining calm about it and not shouting too much about it and imagining that by shouting we can solve major problems—we do not do so—secondly, understanding the situation in its context here, in its world context, because no subject can be divided up like this from the world position today; and, thirdly, in terms, anyhow, of building up our strength and meanwhile trying our utmost to explore every avenue for peaceful settlements, however difficult they might seem. We have to explore them. That

is the right way and that is the practical way apart from theory.

That is the policy we propose to follow in this matter, and at every step, whenever anything occurs we shall naturally come to this House, come to this Parliament to explain it to gain its support, to gain its confidence. If that policy is not approved of or agreed to then, of course, it is the right of this House to choose another Government to carry it out. But we must realise that when we decide on a policy we must show, as every country shows when faced with these difficulties, a measure of homogeneity of working together, facing the difficulties together forgetting our many internal problems, difficulties and quarrels. That is how a country behaves when a crisis comes.

Hon. Members on the other side, no doubt, feel, if their words are to be taken for what they mean, that terrible things have happened, terrible crises have come. That is what they say. May I respectfully suggest, if that is so their behaviour should be somewhat different.

[Interventions by others]

Mr. Speaker: Am I required to put any amendment to the vote of the House?

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Amendment No. 2 may be put.

Shri Ram Sewak Yadava: Amendment No. 3 may also be put.

Mr. Speaker: Is Shri P. K. Deo pressing his amendment?

Shri P. K. Deo: No, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: Has he then leave of the House to withdraw his amendment?
The amendment was, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Speaker: I shall put the other amendments to the vote of the House.
The question is: -

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:-
"This House having taken into consideration the Joint Communiqué on the talks that have taken place between China and India in regard to the Chinese aggression and her claims on the Indian territory, and further having noted the intransigent attitude adopted by China is of the opinion that no useful purpose would be served by continuing the talks or by appointing a team of officers to consider the details of the Chinese claims." (2)

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

“The House, having considered the Joint Communiqué issued on the conclusion of the talks between Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China and Prime Minister of India, laid on the Table on Tuesday, April 26, 1960, is of opinion that the foreign policy has been a complete failure.” (3)

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:-

“This House, having considered the Joint Communiqué issued on the conclusion of the talks between Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China and Prime Minister of India, laid on the Table of the House on Tuesday, April 26, 1960, regrets the intransigence of the Chinese Government in respect of its aggression in Ladakh, its persistence in fantastic claims over huge chunks of Indian territory and its deliberate attempt to prolong negotiations in order to gain time for the consolidation of its illegal accretion.

Further, this House is of opinion that the latest talks between the Prime Ministers of India and China have only confirmed that there is no meeting ground between the two countries, about the various points at issue. As such, this House disapproves of—

(a) the Government's decision to continue these talks at official level; and
(b) the Government's abdication of rights over its own territory, implicit in the proposal to undertake measures to avoid 'friction and clashes in the border areas.'

This House feels that it is imperative that avenues, other than negotiations, must be explored to secure early vacation of Chinese aggression.” (4)

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The original motion need not be put to the vote of the House. The House now stands adjourned *sine die*.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned sine die.

44. In the Rajya Sabha: Nehru-Chou Talks¹⁶⁵

Motion Re: Joint Communiqué on Talks Between the Prime Ministers of China and India

Mr. Chairman:¹⁶⁶ I hope nothing will be said in this House which will worsen the situation than it happens to be. Mr. Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):
Mr. Chairman, I beg to move:

“That the Joint Communiqué issued on the conclusion of the talks between the Premier of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China and the Prime Minister of India, laid on the Table of the Rajya Sabha on the 26th April, 1960, be taken into consideration.”

This Joint Communiqué is not a very long document. It is only about a page and a half and it is the outcome of about twenty or twenty-two hours of talk and discussion. Behind that lies not merely the talk, but a certain significant historical situation that has arisen which affects not only India and China but in a sense the world. If I may say so, the significant sentence in the communiqué is that in spite of all these efforts no solution was found. That is the real thing. All the rest shows that, however difficult the task may be, the attempt to find solutions is not being given up and will be kept up to the end in so far as there is any hope. That is the main result of these talks and this Communiqué. I have no doubt that it was not only worthwhile but right for us to have invited Premier Chou En-lai here and to have had these talks. It has right, anyhow. Not to have done so would have been wrong. Although these talks have not helped in the least in the solution of the problems, they have certainly given a greater understanding to us of the mind of the Chinese Government and to the Chinese Premier of the mind of the Indian Government. And that was why I was anxious that Premier Chou En-lai and his colleagues should meet as many members of our Government as possible to see that it was not just one spokesman who was putting across the mind of the Indian Government, and I hope the Indian people, but from variety of points of view he should gather that. It was important that he should and I believe he must have done that.

Now, Sir, I do not propose, at this stage, to take up more time of the House and it will be more convenient if at the end I may answer some of the questions raised.

165. Motion, 29 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, cols 2672-2673, 2692-2702.

166. S. Radhakrishnan.

The question was proposed.

श्री गंगा शरण सिंह :¹⁶⁷ आदरणीय सभापति जी, क़ब्ल इसके कि मैं मुख्य विषय पर आऊँ, इस दृष्टि से कि जो कुछ मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह सही तरह से समझा जा सके और इस विषय पर सही तरह से विचार हो सके, दो तीन बातें मैं शुरु में निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ।

पहली चीज़ तो यह है कि जहाँ तक इस प्रश्न का सवाल है हम इस प्रश्न को राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न समझते हैं, हम इसे किसी दल का, किसी ग्रुप का या किसी छोटे से तबक़े का प्रश्न नहीं समझते, हम इसे राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न समझते हैं और उसी दृष्टि से इस प्रश्न पर विचार करना चाहते हैं।

दूसरी चीज़ हम यह भी कहना चाहते हैं कि जहाँ तक नॉन-एलाइन्मेंट का प्रश्न है, जहाँ तक निरपेक्षता का प्रश्न है, उस पर हमारी सरकार और हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर के साथ हमारा कोई मतभेद नहीं है। यह दूसरी चीज़ है कि जहाँ तक पॉलिसी का सवाल है, नीति का सवाल है, हम एक हैं लेकिन उस नीति को काम में लाने के लिए जो क़दम उठाया जाता है उस पर हमारा मतभेद होता है और उस मतभेद को कहना—हम समझते हैं—हमारा हक़ है और हम कहते रहेंगे। बहुत से मतभेद ऐसे होते हैं जिनके बारे में हम पब्लिकली कहते हैं, पार्लियामेंट में कहते हैं, जनता के सामने कहते हैं और बहुत से ऐसे मतभेद भी होते हैं जिनके बारे में जब कभी मौक़ा मिला है तब हमने गवर्नमेंट का ध्यान आकर्षित किया है उसकी तरफ़। जो ख़बरें, जो सूचनाएँ हमको ऐसी मिलती रही हैं उनको हम गवर्नमेंट के पास भेजते रहे हैं और अपनी राय भी उस बारे में कहते रहे हैं।

तीसरी चीज़ जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि इस प्रश्न पर विचार करते समय मैं यह विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टर को आघात नहीं पहुँचाना चाहता। उनकी मानसिक स्थिति का कुछ अंदाज़ा कुछ अर्से तक उन्हें देखते रहने के कारण मैं थोड़ा लगा सकता हूँ और मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसी अवस्था में आज उन्हें सबकी सहायता की, सहानुभूति की आवश्यकता है, आघात का प्रश्न ही नहीं है लेकिन एक चीज़ मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रश्न पर काफ़ी संजीदगी के साथ, बिना आवेश में आये, विचार करना चाहिए और ख़ासकर के हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर के लिए यह निहायत ज़रूरी है और मैं उनसे यह बहुत अदब से कहना चाहूँगा। हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर बहुत से गुणों के लिए मशहूर रहे हैं, बहुत से मामलों में बहुत धीरज भी दिखलाते रहे हैं लेकिन हम—जो कि पुराने हैं, कांग्रेस में रह चुके हैं, ए.आई.सी.सी. में भी—बहुत अदब से यह कहना चाहेंगे कि वे अपने आवेश के लिए भी मशहूर रहे हैं। ख़ैरियत यही है कि वह आवेश क्षणिक हुआ करता है, वह आवेश अगर बहुत दिनों तक चलने वाला हो तो उससे मुल्क को, देश को नुकसान होता है, लेकिन मेरा तजुर्बा यही है कि ऐसे आवेश क्षणिक होते हैं। मैं यही निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वे हम लोगों से उम्र में बड़े हैं, उनकी ज़िम्मेदारी ज़्यादा है, उन पर बोझ ज़्यादा है इसलिए उनको आवेश में नहीं आना चाहिए, उनको संजीदगी के साथ और ज़्यादा गहराई

167. Ganga Sharan Sinha, PSP, Rajya Sabha MP from Bihar.

के साथ इस प्रश्न पर विचार करके हमें उत्तर देना चाहिये। मैं अपनी तरफ से कह सकता हूँ कि हमारे शब्द क़ाबू में नहीं हों, इसलिए कोई ग़लती की बात भले हो जाये लेकिन मैं तो इस प्रश्न को उसी दृष्टि से देखना चाहता हूँ जिस दृष्टि से कोई भी एक सच्चा भारतवासी देखना चाहता है।

सभापति महोदय, मेरा ख़याल है कि इस प्रश्न के सम्बन्ध में अतीत में, पास्ट में, लापरवाही बरती गई है, निश्चिंतता बरती गई है, हम लोगों को जितना इस पर ज़ोर लगाना चाहिए था, जितना इसके बारे में एलर्ट रहना चाहिए था उतना एलर्ट हम नहीं रह सके हैं। यह हमारा तजुर्बा है सिर्फ़ अंदाज़ पर नहीं, घटनाओं और चीज़ों के आधार पर। तो मैं आपसे यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज तक जो इस तरह की निश्चिंतता रही है उस लापरवाही और निश्चिंतता को दूर करना चाहिए, उसको अलग करना चाहिए, आगे की बात हमको ज़्यादा सोचनी चाहिए।

दूसरी चीज़, मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि अब तक इस प्रश्न को हमने उसी तरह से राष्ट्रीय दृष्टि से नहीं सोचा है जिस तरह से दूसरे राष्ट्रीय प्रश्नों को हम सोचते रहे हैं। हमारे देश के एक हिस्से पर पुर्तगाल का कब्ज़ा था— गोआ पर कब्ज़ा है पुर्तगाल का और उसके सम्बन्ध में जो दृष्टिकोण हमने रखा है क्या वही चीन के बारे में रखा है जिसने गत कई वर्षों से हमारे प्रदेश पर कब्ज़ा कर लिया है? गिलगिट पर पाकिस्तान का कब्ज़ा है, इस पर हमने जो दृष्टिकोण रखा है वह क्या वही है जो चीन के प्रति हमने रखा है? मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश के किसी भी हिस्से पर किसी भी राष्ट्र के, किसी भी देश के आदमी ने जो भी कब्ज़ा किया हो उसके बारे में हमें मुस्तैदी के साथ एक दृष्टिकोण रखना चाहिए और अपने देश के इलाक़े को अपने हाथ में करने के लिए जितने सम्भव उपाय हमारी बुद्धि और पद्धति में हों उन उपायों को काम में लाना चाहिए लेकिन मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि हम इस सम्बन्ध में एक दूसरी नीति अपना रहे हैं— जैसी नीति हम अपना रहे हैं गिलगिट के बारे में या गोआ के बारे में उससे अलग। मैं निवेदन करना चाहूँगा कि इस बारे में कड़ाई की नीति बरती जानी चाहिए।

तीसरी चीज़, मुझे लगता है कि इस प्रश्न का जो महत्व होना चाहिए, इस प्रश्न का जो महत्व देश के सामने है, इस प्रश्न का जो महत्व आज भारत के लोगों के सामने है, उस महत्व को कम करके दिखाया जा रहा है। मैं जानता हूँ कि हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर देश की भावना को समझते हैं, शायद बड़े पैमाने पर समझते हैं, लेकिन हम भी छोटे-मोटे कार्यकर्ता होने के नाते देश की भावना को समझने का दावा करते हैं। इसलिए जो आज देश की भावना है, जो इस प्रश्न का महत्व है, मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि उनकी कार्यवाही से इस प्रश्न का महत्व कम हो जाता है, इसकी अहमियत कम हो जाती है। देश में एक तरह से पस्ती तो मैं नहीं कहूँगा बल्कि उससे मिलती जुलती बात या एक ऐसा वातावरण पैदा किया जाता है जिससे उसकी अहमियत कम हो जाती है। इस देश के भू-भाग पर दूसरे का कब्ज़ा हो और धीरे-धीरे बहस करने में हम उसकी अहमियत को कम कर दें। अब आगे जो आफ्रिशियल्स की बातचीत होने जा रही है उससे हम ऐसा कर रहे हैं जैसे इधर या उधर का बाउंड्री का प्रश्न है, कुछ थोड़ी सी सीमा का प्रश्न है और कुछ छोटी-मोटी बातें हैं उनको

लेकर हम विषय को टाल जैसा रहे हैं। मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टर से कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस बारे में जो प्रश्न की अहमियत है, उसका जो दृष्टिकोण होना चाहिए वही दृष्टिकोण हमें रखना चाहिए। यह ठीक है परिस्थितियाँ कभी-कभी लाचार करती हैं, यह ठीक है, बहुत सी बातें ऐसी होती हैं जो हमारे वश की नहीं होती हैं, लेकिन हमें यह भी सोचना चाहिए कि यह जो निष्पक्षता की नीति है, यह जो नॉन-एलाइन्मेंट की नीति है, यह क्या पस्ती की सिर्फ नम्रता की नीति है। इस नीति में कितनी कार्यशीलता है, एक्टिविटी है, इसमें भी कोई तेज़ी होनी चाहिए। इसलिए इस समय जो प्रश्न है वह है हमारे अधिकार का और कार्यशीलता का।

अभी अखबारों में खबर निकली है कि चीन वालों ने दूसरी सड़क बना ली है। मैं इतना निवेदन कर सकता हूँ, बहुत अदब से कि जो कुछ थोड़ी बहुत ख़बर मुझे है उसके मुताबिक भी जो नक्शे हमको व्हाइट पेपर के साथ दिये गये, जहाँ चाइना रोड का डिसक्रिप्शन दिया गया है, जहाँ चीन की बनवाई हुई सड़क बतलाई गई है वहाँ से वह सड़क बहुत नीचे बनी है, रुडोक—Rudok—बनी है। अगस्त-सितम्बर में शायद यह नक्शा बना। अगर अगस्त के बाद यह नयी सड़क बनायी गयी है तो हम क्या कर रहे थे, हमारी सरकार क्या कर रही थी, हमारे आदमी क्या कर रहे थे? अगर उन्होंने पहले एक सड़क बनायी और फिर दूसरी सड़क बना दी तो हम क्या करने वाले हैं और अगर यह सड़क पहले से बनी हुई है तो फिर यह उस नक्शे में क्यों नहीं दिखलाई गई?

इसलिए, जितनी विजिलेन्स दिखायी जानी चाहिए थी उतनी नहीं दिखायी जा रही है। यह जो हमारे सामने डाक्युमेंट है, कम्युनिके है, इससे मैं बहुत कुछ निकाल नहीं सकता, उतनी बुद्धि नहीं है शायद, लेकिन मुझे ऐसा लगता है जैसे उपनिषद में एक कहानी आई है कि प्रजापति ने “द” कहा तो उसका अर्थ दानवों ने समझा “दमन”, मानव ने समझा “दान” और देवता ने समझा “दया”। यह जो कम्यूनिके है प्रजापति के उसी “द” के समान मालूम होता है। उसका चाऊ एन-लाई एक मानी लगाते हैं, हम दूसरा मानी लगाते हैं। मैं बहुत अदब से प्राइम मिनिस्टर से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमको अपनी-अपनी शिष्टता बनाये रखनी चाहिए, अपनी कर्टसी बनाये रखनी चाहिए, हमें अपने शिष्टाचार का त्याग नहीं करना चाहिए, लेकिन शिष्टाचार के साथ फ़र्मनेस भी होनी चाहिए, मुस्तेदी भी होनी चाहिए और जो बात है सफ़ाई के साथ कहनी चाहिए। शिष्टाचार के मानी यह नहीं हैं कि हम जो कहना चाहते हैं या हमें जो कहना चाहिए उसको नहीं कहें। मेरे ख़याल से अंग्रेज़ी भाषा में काफी शब्द हैं और जहाँ तक प्राइम मिनिस्टर का सम्बन्ध है वे शब्दों के धनी हैं और काफी शिष्टाचार के साथ वे बातों को कह सकते हैं। आज हम क्या देख रहे हैं? चाऊ एन-लाई ने जो बयान दिया उसमें कहा है कि उससे एग्रेसन की बात नहीं कही गई। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने अपने शिष्टाचार के वश में आकर [युमा] फ़िरा कर एग्रेसन की बात कही होगी और उसको वे मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं। मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि शिष्टता को छोड़ने की बात मैं नहीं कहता हूँ, शिष्टता छोड़नी भी नहीं चाहिए, शिष्टता मनुष्य की अन्तिम पराकाष्ठा है, उसको सभ्यता और संस्कृति की अन्तिम सीढ़ी मानता हूँ लेकिन सत्य का भी पालन होना चाहिए, मुस्तेदी के साथ अपने अधिकारों की

रक्षा भी होनी चाहिए।

इसलिए अब आगे क्या होना चाहिए, यह प्रश्न उठता है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्रश्न की अहमियत को ज्यों का त्यों बनाये रहने देना चाहिए। भारतवर्ष की जनता के बीच एक ऐसी परिस्थिति इस वक्त पैदा हो गई है कि उसकी जो मनोभावना है उस मनोभावना को कायम रखने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए जिससे देश इस प्रश्न की अहमियत को समझ सके। हम नहीं कहते कि सिर्फ़ आर्म्स के बल पर, हथियारों की वजह से इस प्रश्न को देखा जाये। मैं समझता हूँ लोक शक्ति, लोक भावना, वह भी बहुत बड़ी शक्ति होती है। मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टर से कहना चाहूँगा कि आवेश में आने का प्रश्न नहीं है, तैश में आने का प्रश्न नहीं है, आज लोक भावना को जाग्रत रखकर अपने अधिकारों की रक्षा करने का प्रश्न है। बातचीत के सिलसिले में जो उन्होंने किया, जो मुस्तैदी उन्होंने दिखायी, उसके लिए मैं समझता हूँ देश उनका ऋणी रहेगा, हालांकि उन्होंने अपने कर्तव्यों का पालन किया है। मैं उनको आश्वासन दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि देश की रक्षा के लिए जो भी क़दम वे उठायेंगे, जब भी वे अड़ेंगे तो सिवाय मुठ्ठीभर ऐसे लोगों के जिनका स्वार्थ, जिनका दृष्टिकोण देश के प्रतिकूल है, उनको छोड़कर सारा देश उनके साथ होगा, लेकिन उनके अपने क़दम नहीं थरथराने चाहियें, उनके क़दम अपनी जगह पर रहने चाहियें। बस इतना ही मुझे निवेदन करना है।

[Translation begins:

Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha:¹⁶⁸ Respected Chairman, before I come to the main issue so that whatever I wish to say may be understood properly and there may be a proper discussion of this subject, I would like to present two or three things.

First of all that we consider this question as a national issue not of any particular party or group or small region, and hence this issue should be discussed as a national issue alone.

Secondly, I would also like to say that as far as non-alignment is concerned, there is no difference of opinion between us and the Government and our Prime Minister. It is a different matter that though we have no differences with principles of policy, there may be some difference of opinion about the manner of implementation and the steps taken. I would say rather than a difference of opinion, it is our right and we shall continue to point this out. There are many differences which we talk about publicly, in Parliament, before the people etc. Then there are other matters over which we draw the attention of the Government to our difference of opinion,

168. See fn 167 in this section.

we send whatever news and information we get to the Government, expressing our own views on those matters.

The third thing that I wish to say is that when we discuss this issue I want to assure the Prime Minister that I do not wish to hurt him in any way. After observing him for some time, we can gauge his mental turmoil and I feel that in this situation he is in need of our help and sympathy. So there is no question of upsetting him. But I would also like to point out that this issue has to be discussed seriously, without flying into a passion, especially necessary our Prime Minister to do so and I wish to point this out respectfully. Our Prime Minister is famous for his many qualities, he acts with great courage too in most issues. But I who have been in the Congress for a long time and in the AICC too would like to say with respect that he is also famous for his short temper too. Thankfully his anger is short lived. But if it were to continue for a long time it can harm the nation, this country. But my experience has been that his anger is short lived. All I wish to request is that since he is older in age and the responsibility on his shoulders is very heavy, he should keep a control over his anger and not fly into a rage. He should consider these issues seriously and then give a reply. From my side I can say that sometimes our words may be out of control and something erroneous may be said. But I want this issue to be considered from the angle that any true Indian would want to.

Mr Chairman, in my opinion, in the past, there has been some carelessness and complacency in dealing with this issue. We have not paid the kind of attention that should have been paid, nor have we been as alert as we should have been. I am saying this from our experience, not hypothetically but on the basis of facts. So what I am saying is that we have to rid ourselves of this kind of carelessness and complacency that have so far been observed. We have to think seriously about the future.

The second thing that I would also like to say is that we have not considered this matter so far from a national perspective, or as we have been dealing with other national issues. There has been Portuguese occupation on a part of Indian soil. Goa has been under Portuguese occupation. But have we considered the Chinese occupation of our territory for the last so many years from the perspective that we have been considering the Goan occupation? Pakistan has occupied Gilgit, have we considered the Chinese occupation in the same light as we have done on this issue? I want to say that we should have a uniform policy to deal with occupation of any part of our territory by any country or individual, and must take all possible steps to regain control over those territories by any possible methods that we can think of and are possible through accepted

norms. But it seems to me that we are following a different policy from what we have done towards Goa or Gilgit, as I mentioned, I would like to suggest that we should follow a very strict policy in this matter.

Thirdly, I feel that the seriousness of this issue before the nation, before the people of this country, is being minimised and downplayed. I know that the Prime Minister understands the feeling prevalent in the country, perhaps from the larger perspective. But we too can claim as minor workers to understand the country's sentiments. Therefore I feel that his actions are tending to downplay the seriousness of this issue and the sentiments of the Indian people. I will not say that the country is being ignored but it is somewhere close to that and an atmosphere is being created by which the importance of this issue is being sidelined. A part of our territory is under foreign occupation and we are eroding the importance of the issue by arguing about it in low tones. By permitting the official level talks which are going to take place soon, we are giving it an appearance of being a minor border issue and by taking up some of the unimportant matters, we seem to be sidelining the main issue. I want to tell the Prime Minister that we should accord this issue the importance it deserves. It is true that sometimes circumstances force us, things are not in our control. But we must ask ourselves whether this policy of non-alignment is merely one of weakness and softness? How much implementarity, activity is possible in this policy? We should implement it with force. Therefore at this time, the question is of our rights and our ability to take action.

Recently there have been newspaper reports that China has constructed a second road. All I can plead is, very humbly, that as far as what information I have, and also according to the maps and descriptions given in the White Paper this Chinese road has been constructed far below—Rudok—. I think the map was drawn in August-September, and if this road was constructed after that, what were we doing, what was our Government doing? What action are we going to take when China had constructed one road earlier and then another? And if this road had been constructed before the map was drawn then why is it not shown in the map?

Therefore we are not showing the kind of vigilance that should in this matter. Perhaps I am not very smart but I am unable to get anything much out of this document, this communiqué before us. But I am reminded of a story from the Upanishads, where Prajapati said "Da", the demons contrued it to mean "daman" (destruction), humans thought it meant "daan" (charity) and the gods thought it meant "daya" (compassion). This communiqué seems very much like Prajapati's "da". Chou En-lai interprets it one way, we understand it to mean something else. I would like to say very humbly

to our Prime Minister that we must maintain courtesy and behave in a civilised manner. But with that there should be firmness, will to act and seriousness of intent. Being courteous does not mean that we should refrain from saying what we want to or what we ought to be saying. I think there are plenty of words in English and as far as our Prime Minister is concerned, he has a rich vocabulary and he can say what we want very courteously. What do we see today? In his statement Chou En-lai has said that there has been no mention of aggression to him. I feel that the Prime Minister in trying to put it courteously has obfuscated the matter of aggression and the Chinese Prime Minister is not willing to concede that. I would also like to say that I am not saying we should not be courteous, that is the ultimate test of being human, and I think that is the hallmark and pinnacle of civilisation and culture, but truth must also be told, and our rights must be protected forcefully.

Therefore the question before us, what should be done now. I would like to say that we should maintain the significance of this issue. The climate which has been created and what the public opinion believes in India must be maintained so that the people can understand the seriousness of the situation. I am not saying that we should look at this question from the point of view of military might and weapons etc. I feel that public opinion and morale of the people are also very powerful. I would like to ask the Prime Minister that it is not a question of flying into a passion, the issue is to keep up the public morale and protecting our rights. I think the country is indebted to him for the forceful manner in which he spoke during the talks, though he was only doing his duty. I wish to assure him that whatever steps he takes to defend the country, and whenever he stands firm in the national cause, the entire country, barring a handful of people whose selfish point of view is anti national, will be behind him. But he should not allow his steps to falter, he should stand firm. That is all that I wish to say.

Translation ends]

Shri Jaswant Singh:¹⁶⁹ Mr. Chairman, the Joint Communiqué issued on the conclusion of the talks between the Chinese Premier and the Prime Minister of India is the culmination of the events which have taken place between us and China ever since the present regime in China came to power. Sir, for us to have reached this stage our Government has some responsibility.

169. Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from Rajasthan.

We did not take into account the reality that in this wide world there are good people and bad people and that relations have to be developed in consonance with the national traits of the different people. Only then the foreign policy of a Government can be said to be successful.

Our great neighbour, China, from the very beginning gave adequate indication of its ideology, and it was therefore not that we were taken by surprise at this stage. Sir, I need not go into the different events that have since taken place. The country has very good reason to resent the harm that this great neighbour of ours has done to us, to our national interest and to our self-respect. The Prime Minister by his unique personality sometimes tried to convert the national feelings on this issue and sometimes even flouted the national feelings—if the word “flouted” is too strong, I would say that he by his force of personality went contrary to the feelings of the country as a whole, and in any case he disregarded those feelings. But it was our good fortune that by the grace of God Almighty the Government eventually woke up to the danger that lay ahead of the country, and ever since then the Government demanded the Chinese withdrawal from the territory in its illegal occupation as a prelude to negotiations. Therefore, Sir, the invitation to Mr. Chou En-lai, though a climb-down from the original position, has pointed out that “for the moment I do not see any common ground between our respective viewpoints.”

When our honoured guest arrived on our soil, the Prime Minister in a wonderful way set the scene at the Palam aerodrome in his welcome speech. And what do we see in contrast? We see the Chinese Premier's talks of peace and friendship as though nothing has happened between us since he last set his foot on our soil. Now I come to the Communiqué itself. The Prime Minister in his short speech also said that the laborious and long talks lasting for a week had led to a greater understanding of the viewpoints of the two Governments. Was there not an understanding of the viewpoints of the two Governments before these talks? Sir, Mr. Chou En-lai till recently was in another country, a neighbouring country of us, in Nepal. Now, what has been the understanding as a result of the talks that had taken place here? Mr. Chou En-lai tells the Indian correspondents in Nepal that India will not be able to drive a wedge between China and Nepal. It is a very great insult to our country. Here we have been charged that we are out to drive a wedge between Nepal and China, and if this is the understanding that we have arrived at during the talks lasting over a week, I say it is a sad commentary on the understanding that has taken place between the two countries. Further, Mr. Chou En-lai stated in Nepal that the Chinese maps showed the Everest in China whereas the Nepalese maps

drawn by India and produced by the Nepalese Prime Minister during the talks showed it on the border. Here again, aspersion has been cast on our *bona fides* by a friend to whom all along, from the time his party came to power in China, we have done nothing but friendly acts. Again, after enjoying our hospitality for over a week, the Chinese Premier is pleased to state that the statement by the Prime Minister of India made in Parliament after he left was not friendly. I am afraid that we have not understood the correct views of the Chinese Government. We received him at the Palam Airport and expressed certain views. At the State Banquet also, in an indirect manner, we again made a reference to the harm that had been done to our country by China. But, Sir, if we speak in a language which the negotiating party cannot understand, our efforts will go in vain. Here is China's own part of the country, Formosa, but the United States speaks to them in a language that the Chinese understand and they dare not venture. Here is our neighbour Pakistan which speaks to them in a language which they understand. They tell the Chinese openly—

“You can give slap after slap to India...”

—I am quoting from the statement of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan—

“and with every slap that you give to India, India says it is not hard enough.”

It is an insult to us. They also warn China that if they are so bold, they can come to Pakistan's territory which is also very close to Ladakh which they have occupied, I mean Gilgit. But why is China not going there? They know that there is a bigger brother there with a bigger stick in hand and they dare not touch them. Here is a poor country India where anybody can come and whose land anybody can occupy. Here are the Portuguese, they do not vacate their aggression. Here is Pakistan which has occupied thousands and thousands of square miles of our territory. They just care two hoots for us. Therefore, seeing to our policy, we cannot blame China if they act in the manner in which they have done. In roundabout terms we tell them that this is what has happened. Naturally, what will a practical man do? A practical man that he is, a shrewd man that he is, he says openly that our Prime Minister Nehru never spoke to him while he was in India for a week about aggression having been committed in India by China.

Sir, now about the officials who will go into the question further, what will they do? If they just postpone this thing, it will be showing to the world that India has given up her charge of aggression against China, and if this policy of keeping the door open is continued, their line of propaganda will continue to harm our country.

Lastly, I will submit that we had been lulled into complacency in the past and as a result, we are suffering. My intuition tells me that clever people as they are, they have got a subtle objective which under no circumstances they will give up and they will further creep surreptitiously as they have done in the past. If we are not alert and careful, my fear is that we are likely to lose much of our territory, and as it is, if I can understand the policy of the Prime Minister right, we can never hope to recover those thousands of square miles which are under the illegal occupation of China, as we will never be able to recover our territory which is in the possession of Pakistan. I only hope that at least in future our national honour and self-respect will not be allowed to be hurt by the inalertness and the unpreparedness which have been the characteristics of the Government so far.

Dr. H.N. Kunzru:¹⁷⁰ Mr Chairman, nobody could have been so simple-minded as to suppose that the conversations that were to take place between the Prime Ministers of India and China would solve the problem of Chinese aggression on Indian territory. The latest Note received by the Government of India from the Chinese Government can leave no doubt in anybody's mind that China is determined to hold what it possesses at the present time. That part of the Note which deals with the MacMahon Line shows broadly how far the Chinese Government is prepared to go to deny facts that are not favourable to it and to make unfounded assertions in support of its claims. The failure of the Nehru-Chou talks has therefore not come as a surprise or as a disappointment to anybody. I am glad to say that the Prime Minister firmly maintained his ground but we have to recognise that notwithstanding his tenacity and his courtesy, nothing has been achieved. The Prime Minister made a short statement in the other House on his talks with the Prime Minister of China. There is one sentence in it which seems to me to be very disturbing. He said that notwithstanding his best efforts, he could not find out from the Chinese Prime Minister what the true boundary in the opinion of the Chinese Government should be. Now, what does this mean? It means that China; does not want to commit itself to any boundary at the present time and that it wants to hold itself free to claim in future any other territory that it may consider to be desirable; I mean, this makes it clear that China, though prepared to negotiate and argue with India, is really playing the game of power politics, and it is this that has to

170. Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from UP.

be recognised in our future dealings with China. We recognise, Sir, the immensity of the problem that has arisen because of Chinese aggression on Indian territory. But the magnitude of the problem does not require that our powers of action should be paralysed and that we should merely think of the magnitude of the problem wondering what the future will bring forth. The statement made by the Prime Minister of China yesterday in Nepal, that he regarded the Prime Minister's statement in the Lok Sabha as distressing, seems surprising. He has virtually charged the Prime Minister of India with not having dared to say to his face what he said to Parliament behind his back. But it is rather surprising to me that the Chinese Prime Minister should not idealise that the whole country thinks that China has been guilty of aggression, that it is following a policy of expansionism, and that every country that has the power to do it must resist this policy to the best of its ability. The sooner China understands this fact, the better. India has not put forward its powers of resistance, but when it does so, I am sure it will make China realise that the game of power politics cannot be played as easily as it does. Sir, I agree with my hon. friend, Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha, that this is the time when we must all put forth our best efforts in order to preserve the integrity of India. But even on this occasion I find it difficult to pass over two important questions that arise in our mind whenever we consider this problem. These questions are, how has the present situation arisen, and who is responsible for it. The Prime Minister has never answered these questions; in fact he has tried to evade them. But he must answer them; it is his duty to the country to answer these questions satisfactorily. I do not want to be unfair to him. In all my dealings with him I have treated him with the highest respect, and I realise the great part that he played in the struggle of our country for its freedom, but I regard it as a duty to truth to say that the present situation has arisen because of the determined refusal of the Government of India to take note of the realities of the situation, and it is still more painful for me to say that the person responsible for this failure is the very person who played a glorious part in the struggle for Indian freedom. He was so keen on promoting the cause of peace—every other thing seemed to him to be of so little consequence in comparison with it—that he forgot that he could have a foreign policy only in proportion to his strength. We are really, Sir, paying the penalty of having treated the rights of Tibet rather lightly both in 1950 and in 1954 when we entered into the Panchsheel treaty with China. Now, Sir, we all have to think—whatever the reasons that might have led to the present situation—what is to be done in order to strengthen the country. In the first place, Sir, I feel that we must take all possible measures to strengthen

the capacity of the country for its defence. We have come face to face with a situation where we can no longer neglect, our responsibility for the maintenance of the integrity of Indian territory. We should grudge no expenditure that may be required to meet the present situation. Sir, I should be the last person to counsel the country to plunge lightheartedly or blindly into war, but surely the policy of the Prime Minister, by whatever name he may call it, *Panchsheel*, or a policy of non-alignment or any other name, does not prevent the country from making itself powerful enough to prevent any encroachment on its territory. Surely, Sir, to make adequate arrangements for our own defence is not to adopt a policy of aggression. We owe it to ourselves that we should not be dependent, for the maintenance of our integrity, on the kindness of any other power, but we have, I am sorry to say, so far relied on the goodwill of our great neighbour to maintain the integrity of the country. In this respect again I feel that I have a very painful duty to discharge. If the Prime Minister wants to assure the country that he is taking adequate measures to strengthen its power to defend its interests, he will have to change his Defence Minister. I have nothing personal, not a word to urge, on personal grounds, against Shri Krishna Menon. I know his capacity for hard work and his ability. But we all know that the country, generally speaking, has no confidence in him. I doubt whether the Congress Party has much confidence in him.

Shri Satyacharan:¹⁷¹ No, no, that is not a fact.

Dr. H.N. Kunzru: During the First World War Mr. Asquith asked Lord Haldane who had made a very successful Minister of Defence to leave the Cabinet, notwithstanding his friendship with Lord Haldane, simply because England had no confidence in Lord Haldane. Surely we are not doing the Prime Minister any injustice, or Shri Krishna Menon any injustice, if we ask the Prime Minister to follow the same policy.

Just one word more and I have done.

Sir, another aspect of the policy that I have urged on this House and on the Prime Minister is that we should strengthen the ties of friendship between ourselves and other countries, and we should particularly think of our neighbours. One of the most important of our neighbours is Pakistan. There are differences. There have been rather serious differences between us and Pakistan for some time, but it seems that many of them are going to

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be resolved. Some of them have been resolved and it seems that some other differences are going to be resolved in the near future. Now, is it not possible for us, Sir, to try and see whether Indo-Pakistan relations cannot be so improved that we may not be compelled to waste our strength in, what I may call, internecine quarrels? The Chinese policy of expansion affects both India and Pakistan and it is to the interest of both the countries that they should come to some agreement among themselves so that they may use their power not to fight one another but to protect their own countries and thus help one another.

श्री गोपीकृष्ण विजयवर्गीय :¹⁷² सभापति महोदय डॉ. कुंजुरु या गंगा शरण सिंह जी जैसे योग्य आदमियों का मुनासिब मुकाबला तो मैं नहीं कर सकता, वे बहुत योग्य हैं किन्तु मेरा ख्याल यह है कि जो आशंकायें उन्होंने बतलाई हैं और देश की गम्भीर स्थिति को बतलाया है उस विषय में कांग्रेस वाले या हमारे प्रधानमंत्री उसको कोई कम गम्भीर नहीं समझते हैं। देश में हालत गम्भीर है। उनके जो भाषण चीन के विवाद के सम्बन्ध में उस सभा में या इस सभा में पहले हुए थे, उनको जिन्होंने सुना होगा वे इस बात को कह सकते हैं कि देश की इस स्थिति को अधिक से अधिक गम्भीर उन्होंने समझा है। उन्होंने कहा है कि आज चाहे हमारे सम्बन्ध चीन से सुधर भी जायें फिर भी पच्चीस साल तक, पचास साल तक हमको सजग रहना पड़ेगा क्योंकि हमारी जो यह बॉर्डर है वह अभी तक एक मुर्दा बॉर्डर थी लेकिन अब एक जीती जागती बॉर्डर हो गई है और उस विषय में हमें बहुत जागरूक होना चाहिए, चाहे हमारे और चीन के सम्बन्ध सुधर भी जायें। तो इस गम्भीरता को इससे अधिक व्यक्त करने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है और मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे प्रधानमंत्री के हाथ में हमारा देश सुरक्षित है।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि पिछली ग़लतियों को बतलाया जाता है लेकिन तिब्बत की मदद के लिए हम कहाँ तक जा सकते हैं? जिस तिब्बत ने हमारे 1954 के समझौता होने से पहले ही हथियार डाल दिया था, जैसा कि कहते हैं “drawing chestnuts out of the fire” तो दूसरे की लड़ाई को हम अपनी लड़ाई करके कैसे मोल ले सकते हैं, दलाई लामा ने 1951 में दस्तख़त करके अपने को सरेंडर कर दिया, तो मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब दलाई लामा में ही हिम्मत नहीं है और अपने को बेचने का चीन के साथ दस्तख़त कर दिया और फिर भागकर भारत आते हैं और कहते हैं कि हमारी मदद करो तो हम यह कैसे कर सकते हैं। तो मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि यह कहना कि हमारे लीडरों ने ग़लती की ठीक नहीं है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि अभी जो भाषण हुए हैं उन सबमें यह बतलाया गया है कि सब लोग प्राइम मिनिस्टर के साथ हैं। किसी ने यह आलोचना नहीं की कि नॉन-एलाइन्मेंट की पॉलिसी ग़लत है। यह बहुत अच्छी बात है कि हमारा देश एक होकर खड़ा रहेगा। यह बड़ा भारी संकट है। इसलिए कोई यह न

172. Gopikrishna Vijaivargiya, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Madhya Pradesh.

समझे कि देश पर संकट नहीं है और कांग्रेस वाले उसको संकट नहीं मानते हैं।

तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम इस गम्भीर स्थिति को समझते हैं और उसके अनुकूल ही हमको देश को तैयार करना चाहिए। प्रधानमंत्री ने कहा है कि हमको अपने देश को इंडस्ट्रियली बढ़ाना चाहिए, देश को औद्योगिक ढंग से मज़बूत करना चाहिए ताकि हम आगे आने वाले संकटों में मज़बूत रहें और मज़बूती से चीन का मुकाबला कर सकें। जो कम्युनिके अभी टेबिल पर रखा गया है उससे चीन को कुछ समय मिल गया है लेकिन उससे हमको भी समय मिल गया है। आप सब अखबारों की आलोचनाओं को देख लीजिये, उन सब अखबारों में यही लिखा है कि चीन यह चाहता था कि लद्दाख़ पर उनका हक़ मान लिया जाये, लेकिन हमारे प्रधानमंत्री ने यह नहीं माना। वे चाहते थे कि नेफ़ा के बारे में वे हमें मान लें और लद्दाख़ के बारे में हम उन्हें मान लें, लेकिन हमारे प्रधानमंत्री दृढ़ रहे और उन्होंने यह कहा कि हम ऐसा नहीं मानेंगे। उन्होंने बहुत चाहा कि कुछ ऐसा हो जिससे कि मामला सुलझ जाये, लेकिन हम उनकी बात मान ही नहीं सकते थे और उनकी कोई बात नहीं मानी गई। तो यह बात साफ़ ज़ाहिर है कि दृढ़ता के साथ चीन के दावों को नामंजूर कर दिया गया है और अभी कठमांडू में जो कुछ चाऊ एन-लाई ने कहा उससे आप समझ सकते हैं कि वह संतुष्ट होकर यहाँ से नहीं गये हैं और न यह हमारे प्रधानमंत्री की कोई कमज़ोरी बताता है।

तो मुझे यह कहना है कि हमारे देश में दो तरह के ख़तरे हैं। एक ख़तरा तो शायद लाल पार्टी की तरफ़ से हो सकता है जो कि हमारे देश को एक कैम्प में ले जाना चाहते हैं, लेकिन इसके साथ ही एक नीले झंडे वाली पार्टी भी खड़ी हो गई है और वह देश को दूसरे कैम्प में ले जाना चाहते हैं। इसलिए लाल झंडे और नीले झंडे दोनों से बचकर के हमें अपने देश के झंडे के साथ चलना चाहिए और मैं समझता हूँ कि यह जो थोड़ा वक़्त मिला है इसमें आप भी अपने मुल्क को मज़बूत कीजिये, सड़कें बनाइये, हेलीकॉप्टर मुहैया कीजिये, यह कीजिये, वह कीजिये। हमें बहुत तरह के काम करने हैं जो कि हमें अपनी मज़बूती के लिए करना चाहिए और मैं समझता हूँ कि इस वक़्त हमें वह काम नहीं करना चाहिए कि एक दुश्मन से पिंड छुड़ाने के लिए दूसरे दुश्मन को बुला लें। जयचन्द ने ग़लती की, मीर क़ासिम ने ग़लती की। तो बाहरी सेना को हिन्दुस्तान में बुलाने की, बाहरी ताक़तों को निमंत्रित करने की हमको कोई ज़रूरत नहीं है। इसलिए लाल झंडे और नीले झंडे दोनों से बचकर के हमें अपने देश के प्रधानमंत्री का समर्थन करना चाहिए, यही मैं कहना चाहता हूँ।

[Translation begins:

Shri Gopikrishna Vijayvargiya:¹⁷³ Mr Chairman, I cannot effectively counter such able people like Dr Kunzru or Ganga Sharan Sinha. But I do not

173. See fn 172 in this section.

think that the matter that they have expressed fears about and described the situation in the country as being very serious is taken any less seriously by the Congress or our Prime Minister. The situation in the country is indeed serious. Those who have heard his speeches in various assemblies and gatherings can state that he does consider the situation in the country as being extremely serious. He has said that even if our relations with China do improve, we will have to remain vigilant for the next quarter of a century because what had been a border issue so far has changed. The border has become a live issue. And we have to be extremely vigilant even if relations between India and China improve. So I do not think we need to express doubts about this matter and I feel that the nation is safe in our Prime Minister's hands.

The second thing that I wish to say is that when past mistakes are being pointed out, whom could we have turned to for help in the matter of Tibet? It would have been like pulling chestnuts out of the fire to take on someone else's battle when Tibet had thrown down their arms even before we had the 1954 Agreement. The Dalai Lama had signed a document in 1951 and surrendered. So, let me point out to you that when the Dalai Lama did not have the courage to stand up for Tibet and he was ready to sign an agreement with China after which he ran away to India asking for our help. What could we do in these circumstances? Therefore I wish to point out that to say that our leaders made a mistake would not be right. There is no doubt about it that in all the speeches made here by Members on this issue it has been clearly said that everyone is with the Prime Minister. Nobody has said that the policy of non-alignment is wrong. It is a good thing that the nation is prepared to stand up as one in this grave hour. Therefore let no one think that the country is in danger or that the Congress does not regard it as such.

I would like to say that we understand the seriousness of the situation and we have to prepare ourselves in accordance with the demands of the time. As the Prime Minister has said, we should develop the country industrially so that we can face any danger that may arise in the future from a position of strength, and confront China firmly. The Communique which has been tabled just now has certainly given China some time. But so have we got the time. If you look at all the analyses in the newspapers you will find that all of them point out that China had wanted to make us accept their control over Ladakh, but our Prime Minister has not conceded that. They wanted us to accede control over NEFA which also our Prime Minister has not accepted. He has stood firm against China's demands. China was very keen to bargain with us so that if we accepted their demand

the matter would be resolved. But we could not have accepted this and we did not. So it is clear that China's demands have been rejected very firmly. And from what Chou En-lai has said in Kathmandu, you can gauge that he has not gone away satisfied about this issue, and nor does this show any weakness on the part of our Prime Minister.

I would like to point out that at the moment the country faces two kinds of danger. One could arise from the Red party which wants to drag us into one camp. But at the same time another Party with a blue flag has arisen which wants to drag us into yet another camp. Therefore we need to ignore both the red and the blue flags and go with the national flag. We must build a strong nation in the time that we have got now, build roads, get helicopters, and do this and that. I also feel that we should certainly not take any steps to rid ourselves of an enemy by which we get into the clutches of yet another enemy. Jaichand made a mistake, so did Mir Qasim. Therefore we have no necessity to invite the armies of external powers. Therefore I would like to say that we should avoid both the red and the blue flags and support the Prime Minister of our country.

Translation ends]

Shri P. Ramamurti:¹⁷⁴ Mr. Chairman, this House has already discussed a number of times this whole question. Just now I believe our discussion is confined to the limited question of the talks between the two Prime Ministers which took place recently and the Joint Communiqué that has been issued as a result of that. We have been one of those people who have been asking for a meeting of the two Prime Ministers because we felt that some good would come out of that although we also did not think that immediately as a result of the meeting a final solution to this problem could have been found. But we felt, Sir, that the very meeting would be good in itself, it would lead to a greater understanding of the view-points of both the peoples.

It is also necessary to have that understanding because you cannot find a solution of the problem by not trying to understand the viewpoint of the other party. That is why we have been urging this, and I am glad, Sir, that the Prime Minister who, despite the tremendous opposition of a number of people inside this House as well as in the country, did feel that it would be a good thing to meet, extended the invitation, and as a result of the forty-one hours of talk that has taken place between the two Prime Ministers,

174. CPI, Rajya Sabha MP from Madras State.

we are glad—he also feels so—that the meeting has been good in itself.

But apart from other things, as the Communiqué itself says, it is certainly regrettable that it has not led to a solution of the problem; the basic problem remains, as the Prime Minister has stated. But nonetheless, what is the result of the talk, quite apart from our understanding each other? What did the understanding of each other lead to? That is summed up in the Communiqué itself. It says:-

“The two Prime Ministers, therefore, agreed that officials of the two sides should meet and examine, check and study the factual material relevant to the boundary question and submit a report to the governments of the two countries.”

Why did this become necessary? This has become necessary, as the Prime Minister had stated some time back in the other House, I believe because despite their efforts to find a solution of this problem, they came across a mountain of different sets of facts, and out of this different sets of facts two different conclusions could be drawn. That is why they could not very easily find a solution to the problem. Therefore, when they were faced with that situation, it is very right that our Prime Minister should have agreed to examine these problems jointly, these set of facts jointly, and tried to see if a common understanding with regard to these two sets of facts could be arrived at. After all, what is wrong in making that attempt? After all, when somebody puts forward one set of facts and says that these are the correct facts, certainly it is up to us, as a very reasonable people, it is very necessary for our Government also to offer to examine those facts jointly and say that their facts are wrong and try to disprove those facts. If we are convinced that some of our facts are not absolutely correct, we say that we are willing to stand corrected. That is the position. It is a recognition of that spirit. Therefore it is 6 p.m. that the officials of the two Governments are going to meet and just because of this, that is also a recognition and we have to see that this problem is discussed without passion because of the great issues that are involved in it. The great issues are fundamentally the facts. The most important issue is the fundamental fact that China and India are two great neighbours which are going to live as neighbours for a millennium. Therefore it is absolutely essential that some method must be found, whatever might be the differences that might arise, and efforts must always be made to see that those differences are resolved so that we can live as great neighbours. That fundamental issue is not only facing our two countries but it is the fundamental issue of the entire humanity. Therefore in order to settle these problems, pending the examination of these two sets of facts, as the Joint Communiqué has rightly

stated, the two Governments should avoid any border clashes. Why? Because if any border clash or some such thing happens, from whatever source it might be, immediately it will vitiate the atmosphere and prevent a dispassionate view of the question or examination of the whole question. Therefore it is stated that pending that, this should also be done. Therefore I should think that the entire spirit of that Communiqué should be supported by the House not only here but as you yourself said in the House a few minutes ago, we should look at this whole problem without further worsening the situation. On that basis everyone of us should try to see that not only in this House but in the entire country we do not rouse passions but on the other hand try to see that the entire spirit of this Communiqué is carried out throughout the country by all the people who have the good interests of our country at heart.

Shri P.L. Kureel Talib:¹⁷⁵ Sir, I am representing the Socialist Party in this House and I am withdrawing for not having been given the time to speak. I represent a recognised political party and wanted only five minutes and I have not been given. So, as a protest, I am withdrawing.

(The hon. Member then left the Chamber)

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Chairman, the brief discussion we have had here has ranged over a wide field, not going deeply into any particular aspect of it. The motion that I made was about this joint communiqué. Some reference was no doubt made to it but generally the subject has been dealt with from the point of view of the past. Whose fault it was that this has arisen and what steps should be taken to remedy it? That is right and I am not complaining.

Now there are two or three factual matters that I would refer to. Reference has been made to a new road. This new road, according to our information, had been built there, probably sometime last year, early last year, as about the middle of last year. Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha asked: "How was it built there? How did we allow it to be built?" The road was built in the area which had at some time previously been occupied by the Chinese. It was ever since last year, in the beginning of last year and maybe, even earlier. That area was occupied by the Chinese forces and they have built that road there. There is a reference to this road which is west of the Aksai Chin road, in some of the papers and in our *White Paper*. There is reference to it in Mr. Karam Singh's

175. Socialist Party, Rajya Sabha MP from UP.

evidence in the *White Paper*. I referred to this and I drew the attention of Premier Chou En-lai also to the building of this new road. He did not seem to be fully aware of what had been done there. So he could not enlighten me about it.

Then there has been the question of what Premier Chou En-lai has said at Kathmandu. He has made a complaint that some things that I said were unfriendly. Also, he said, I think in his press conference in Delhi, that I had not used the word "aggression" or described the Chinese action as one of aggression. I am not quite sure in my mind whether I used that word or not and it is quite possible that I did not use the word because the whole discussion was about the Chinese forces having entered the Indian Territory. We were discussing it in great detail. At least we were putting each other's cases to each other and the whole case was that they had entered our territory and therefore committed an aggression, according to us. Whether I used the word "aggression" or not I have no recollection but the whole purport of the argument was that aggression had been committed and that it should be vacated. Perhaps Premier Chou En-lai has placed his case before the public in the course of a long press conference held here but briefly if I may recapitulate it, it was this, that in both the western and the eastern sectors, both these areas have long been under the Chinese or Tibetan jurisdiction the eastern sector under Tibetan or a part of it, a relatively small part under Tibetan and a large part under Sinkiang's jurisdiction. This had occurred in regard to the western sector for about 200 years. Now, according to us, as the House knows, our case was that both these areas have long been under Indian jurisdiction so that there was a basic and fundamental difference in the actual approach and either both our facts were wrong—both could not be right—or one of them was wrong and inevitably, therefore, we were led to this, that the facts should be more thoroughly examined. There was no other way except breaking off and not having any further contact which would have been undesirable. We did not and we do not expect some wonderful solution to emerge out of this examination of the facts. Nevertheless, we thought that this process must be gone through it should be gone through and that it might help to some slight extent. I do think that premier Chou En-lai's coming here did help in bringing a part of his mind before us, as perhaps it helped him to understand what our Government and our people were thinking, so that the whole discussion turned rather on facts. It was no good my going on telling him to vacate the aggression, which I did in a different language, when he was telling me: "Vacate the aggression; you are in our territory." It is an extraordinary or rather a comic situation, factually I mean. You cannot carry on an argument this way, his telling me this and my telling him the exact reverse of it all the time. So we had to necessarily discuss facts so far as this was concerned. He gave me some facts, according to him, and I gave him a

good many of our facts. I tried to have a fuller examination from the official basis but he said that he had not brought many of their records. How was one to prove factually the jurisdiction of a country or the administration of a country? It is an extraordinarily difficult thing where you are dealing with a country where people do not live or hardly live or are very few. Maps, rival maps are produced. Historical records, rival historical records are produced. I am not at the moment balancing them, because I am convinced that with regard to these matters the evidence that we have in our possession is very good and our case is a very strong one. I have no doubt about it. I am merely placing before the House how difficult it is to deal with this question when exactly contrary sets of facts are produced. That was the difficulty. It appeared that so far as the original Aksai Chin road was concerned, it was an old caravan route, hundreds and hundreds of years old. This has always been used as a caravan route by people going from Sinkiang to Tibet. This and the nearby route were used by the Chinese forces, probably in 1951, or may be 1952. That is to say, soon after the Chinese Government came to Tibet, soon after that they used that road, the caravan road; it was not a road proper but they used it for bringing materials, supplies, forces etc. Later, three or four years later, they built some kind of a road there, probably in 1957 or 1958. Now, in the last eighteen months more or less, less perhaps according to our information and our belief, they occupied a number of other places in the Ladakh area, apart from the Aksai Chin area. And later, about the middle of last year, they built the other road in the area controlled by them. It was not obviously possible for us to stop the building of that road, because they controlled that area. Either we control it by pushing them out or we cannot prevent their building that road. That is the position.

Now, the broad approach to this question can be one of attempts at finding some way to settle it, or war. Even if ultimately one is driven to conflict, one makes these attempts and at the same time one has to prepare on self and one's country to face any emergency that might arise. These are the broad principles which anyone would agree to. One may differ about the detailed implementation of those principles. We are trying to follow those lines and even from that point of view, this examination by officials is helpful, from our point of view.

The hon. Member, Dr. Kunzru, referred to various things. He referred to what I stated, I think, and to the failure to find out what China claims to be her boundary. That has been our attempt. Even in the correspondence published in the *White Paper*, we asked them repeatedly what was the precise boundary. Of course, they showed the boundary. They showed it in their maps. They showed it in some descriptions. But we wanted to know the precise boundary, just as we gave them our precise boundary in terms of latitudes and longitudes and

exact points. They had not done it. They did not do so when the officials met here either. In fact they made that a reason for determining the boundary precisely. They said it had not been determined precisely. It has not been demarcated and therefore we should sit down and demarcate it. Our reply has always been that while it is true that is not demarcated on the ground, it has been delimited precisely enough in maps, records etc. and it is not possible to demarcate it over certain areas at all, physically. Anyhow, their present position was: Let us demarcate it. And they defined their boundary in the western sector as going from the Karakoram Range down south to the Kongka Pass. But that is not the major watershed. There are two watersheds there, the major one which we claim to be the real boundary and the minor one on the west of it, or from the Karakoram Range down south to the Kongka Pass. Therefore, partly they indicated their boundary, not precisely and the one they indicated was, according to us, the wrong place, going much to the west of the real boundary.

Then Dr. Kunzru referred to and asked how the present situation had arisen and who was responsible. That is rather a difficult question for me to answer. Maybe he is right, not so much, I think, as to how the situation has arisen because it has arisen due to numerous factors with which we have nothing to do, but we might say that we might have been wise enough to foresee and to predict what had happened and prepared for it. Possibly he is right. It is rather difficult for me to say. Maybe I am not a very good judge of my own actions. It is difficult to judge one's own actions and one's own mind. But I would like him to appreciate that the things that have happened have been on a rather major world scale. Whether they happened near our border or elsewhere the changes that were taking place during the last ten years or more have been tremendous changes, and anything that we might have done really would have been on a relatively small scale even, if I may say so, if we had greater provision than we had. It is always easy to be wise after the event. But let us consider it in the larger context, because something has been happening in these years which is of tremendous historic significance, and which we have to face, not now but in the future. However, if the hon. Member thinks that we have been lax or careless, well, I have no answer to that. He may have adequate reasons for thinking so. He spoke of the determined refusal of the Government of India to take note of realities. I don't quite know what he refers to by that.

Dr. H.N. Kunzru: What I referred to was this. It is my impression and my belief that the Government of India or rather—let me be frank and say—the Prime Minister, because no other person is concerned with foreign policy, almost resented when a statement was made here saying that China was increasing its military strength and this might prove unfavourable to

India. This is what I meant.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I think there Dr. Kunzru is not at all right. What I said at that time and in what context, I have no recollection. But ever since the Chinese Revolution, every person at all acquainted with the position knew of China's growing strength and repeatedly we had discussed this matter amongst ourselves, not now but ten years ago. We might have misjudged something, but the major fact was not at all hidden from us, and it was repeatedly discussed as to what steps should be taken and what should not be taken.

Then the hon. Member said something about the foreign policy being proportional to our strength. That, of course, is a statement with which nobody can disagree. It should be. But what exactly is the foreign policy we have followed which is outside our strength is not clear to me.

In any policy that you follow, in so far as it depends on the strength of other countries, naturally the question arises against what country, how many countries. No country today is strong enough to follow a foreign policy of its liking, not even the great countries, the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Even they cannot follow it completely because of the amazing forces at work in the world today.

Then he referred to something, to non-alignment and Panchsheel perhaps indicating that that was where our foreign policy went ahead of our strength. Well, I think that Panchsheel and non-alignment are principles which fit in with every country's strength I would not say every country; perhaps there may be some which it does not—but certainly and oddly enough, all or most of the opponents of this policy, the foreign countries which criticise it, almost all admit the rightness of the policy for us in the past and the rightness for the present. These are critics. I am not talking about those who approve of it.

Dr. H.N. Kunzru: Will the Prime Minister allow me to say one thing? Have a policy of Panchsheel but must also see that peace reigns on your borders and that depends on your strength. That is what I meant by saying what I had said.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is perfectly true. Panchsheel has nothing to do, if I may say so, with countries misbehaving or invading or committing aggression. If you have a law and if a man commits murder, well it is murder. It does not mean that the law is bad. I do not see this mixing up. Panchsheel does not mean that we should leave our borders weak. That is not the meaning. Our borders should be strong and a country should be strong. Panchsheel is a code of conduct, a code of behaviour between countries. It is a right code. If a country does not follow it, well it misbehaves and should suffer for its

misbehaviour. That is a different thing. The charge is that we did not have our borders adequately strengthened or defended. That is rather difficult to go into but it is not particularly an easy matter to defend them in the sense that it should have been defended to prevent this. In fact, it is an amazingly difficult matter. In fact, it was an impossible matter in these areas. It might be possible that something might have been done, a little here and there but if you just analyses the position, the factual position of where our borders are how one reaches those borders how one sends supplies to those borders, you will understand. It is an impossible position in many ways. Of course, "impossible" may be a strong word. We may have diverted all the energies of the nation in those days to building those roads but even then it would have taken several years, sending supplies there and all that, I cannot say. A little more might have been done but even that would have been inadequate purely from the military point of view, I think, to defend against any person if he wants to push in. That is to say, it required time to do so. I do not think it is an impossible thing to be done but it required time and behind that time was required something which any country requires and must have industrial development. It is not a question of a resolution passed at a public meeting or feelings. A country is strong only in the measure of its industrial development; nothing else can make it stronger. We tried to concentrate on industrial development, as we are still trying, because that was our very basis; otherwise, with all the will in the world, we cannot defend. Why is China supposed to be strong? It is because she has tried to develop herself industrially in the last ten years by ways which we cannot and do not wish to adopt but this raising of our strength does not mean our sending platoons, battalions and companies to far corners of the border region with which people can defend that area. However, it is probable and I am prepared to admit Dr. Kunzru's statement that we might have done more if we had concentrated on that particular thing.

Lastly, Sir, Dr. Kunzru referred to his opinion that the Defence Minister should be changed because the country generally speaking has no confidence in him. Well, if the country has no confidence in him, presumably it has no confidence in me and the Prime Minister should change because in the kind of Government that we have, it is the Prime Minister's responsibility to choose his colleague and nobody else's. If the Prime Minister's policy is not approved, it is right.

Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha: I think one thing has not been put on proper lines. People may have confidence in the Prime Minister but they may not have confidence in his choice of some person. That does not involve any question of confidence in the Prime Minister.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry I do not agree with the hon. Member's idea of Parliamentary Government. In the Parliamentary Government of the kind we have, it is the Prime Minister who is responsible for his colleagues and nobody else, and if his policy is disapproved, then the Prime Minister should go.

Shri Rajendra Pratap Sinha:¹⁷⁶ We also know that there are Parliamentary conventions which we usually follow in this country.

Mr. Chairman: Sit down.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member may perhaps know that better than I do but I know of no such convention. In fact, I do know of conventions which are exactly contrary to this.

Shri Jaswant Singh: What about the case of Lord Haldane quoted by Dr. Kunzru?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member quoted the example of Lord Haldane in the First World War. It is an unfortunate example that he quoted because apart from the various factors it was felt that that was a wrong step that the Government took. It was recognised subsequently that that was a most unfortunate step that the British Government took. However, these examples do not help this way or that way. I do not accept the Statement that the country desires a change, because a newspaper says so, because some people say so. How is one to judge, I should like to know. After all, the responsibility is mine and I am the judge, and when I feel that way, I go.

That is all, Sir, I have to say in the limited time you have been pleased to give me.

Mr. Chairman: The discussion is over.

176. PSP, Rajya Sabha MP from Bihar.

45. W. Averell Harriman to Nehru¹⁷⁷

May 18, 1960

Many thanks for your letter of April 26.¹⁷⁸ It was good of you with all your preoccupations to mention my problem to the Chinese Ambassador.¹⁷⁹ I am sure it will carry weight, but what the Chinese Government's policy towards Americans is just now is anybody's guess.

I am deeply distressed that an agreement could not be reached on the boundary question. Unhappily, it indicates an aggressive attitude on the part of Peking.

As I write this, news comes over the air of Khrushchev's violent press conference in Paris.¹⁸⁰ The further threats about a separate peace with East Germany are disquieting. I am torn between deep indignation and resentment against him, and unhappiness that President Eisenhower took upon himself responsibility for the U-2, particularly when Khrushchev first stated that he was sure the President was not involved. In addition, I would have wished that the President had stated publicly at once, rather than awaiting the opening of the Conference, that he had given instructions that no further similar flights should be undertaken. It seems to me that this gave the Neo-Stalinists still lurking in the Kremlin—plus pressure from Peking—an opportunity to carry the day for a return to tough policies.

Nothing excuses Khrushchev's behavior in torpedoing the Conference in the way he did. Democrats as well as Republicans are standing firmly behind the President in this crisis, and it is gratifying that our friends around the world are coming to our support.

I only wish I could exchange views with you on what is going on in the Kremlin, and how the future should be dealt with.

A. Harriman

177. Copy of letter; salutation not available. William A. Harriman Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

178. See item 41.

179. Pan Tzu-li.

180. See item 126 fn 10.

II. POLITICS

(a) Indian National Congress

46. To H.C. Heda: CPP Meetings¹

April 19, 1960

My dear Heda,²

Your letter of April 19³ with the papers attached.⁴

I think it would be right for us to have the Annual General meeting on the 28th April, which has already been fixed for a Party meeting, at 5-30 p.m. As for a meeting of the Executive, I do not know what time to suggest as I am pretty heavily occupied on all these days in the morning as well as in the late afternoon. You may, if you like, have an Executive meeting at 3-30 p.m. on the 27th April or at 3 p.m. on the 28th.

I have very rapidly looked through some of your papers. I am not quite sure about your proposals, but that is not a reason why you should not put them forward.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

47. To Abha Maiti: Women's Convention⁵

April 19, 1960

Dear Abha Maiti,⁶

I have your letter of April 16. It is a good idea to have an All India Congress Women's Convention,⁷ but I do not think it is desirable to invite women from foreign countries. I am opposed to these invitations to any of our gatherings.

1. Letter.
2. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Nizamabad, Andhra Pradesh, and Secretary, CPP.
3. See Appendix 8 (a).
4. See Appendix 8 (b).
5. Letter.
6. General Secretary, AICC.
7. For Nehru's message of 2 August 1960 for the convention, see SWJN/SS/62/item 6.

As for my attending it or inaugurating it, it is not possible for me to accept any engagements so far ahead. It depends on the problems before us and Parliament and many other factors. Also, I am inclined to think that the Women's Convention should consist of women only and no men should be asked to perform any important function in it.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

48. To Subhadra Joshi: Internal Disputes⁸

23rd April, 1960

My dear Subhadra,⁹

I have received your letter of the 22nd April and have gone through the enclosures attached to it.

As you perhaps know, I have rather kept apart from Congress organisational matters and internal disputes. In fact, I know nothing about this particular matter about which you have written to me. I have a vague recollection that I only saw some reference to it in a newspaper sometime ago.

Normally, if I receive such letters, I forward them to the AICC office. But since you have asked me to keep your letter confidential, I am not doing so. You have already written to Suchetaji.¹⁰

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

8. Letter.

9. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Ambala, Punjab.

10. Sucheta Kripalani, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from New Delhi; and General Secretary, AICC.

49. To CPP: Need for Ideological Kinship¹¹

Partymen's Criticism of Govt. Policy
Nehru Expresses Concern: Trend Harmful

New Delhi, April 27.- Prime Minister Nehru is understood to have expressed at a meeting here today of the Congress Parliamentary Party his grave concern over the open criticism by some members of the party of the public sector, the Congress ideology of a socialistic pattern of society and the foreign policy.

He is believed to have said that this trend was harmful to the party and to the country, as it gave an impression to the outside world that there was some confusion over the policies among Congressmen themselves.

Expressing his sense of annoyance at the conduct of members who did not conform to policies, once accepted by them, Pandit Nehru is understood to have said that their action was disturbing him quite a lot. He had come to the conclusion that partymen, who did not believe in the public sector or other policies of the Congress, should leave the organisation for the good of the party, as well as for their own good.

Pandit Nehru said that an "ideological kinship" and unity among the members of the party were essential, if it was to function effectively.

50. To H.C. Heda: Report on British General Elections¹²

April 28, 1960

My dear Heda,

You sent me two days ago the typescript of your report on the British Elections.¹³ I am glad you have written on this subject and I would like to read what you have written. But it has been quite impossible for me to find any time and in another day I am leaving Delhi.¹⁴

The subject dealt with is such that, if I write a foreword, I should read your report fully. There may be political implications etc. which have to be

11. PTI report from *National Herald*, 28 April 1960, on the Party Executive meeting; held at 3. 30 p.m., according to Nehru's engagement diary, 27 April 1960.

12. Letter.

13. Deputed by AICC as Congress observer to the British General Election of 1959.

14. Nehru left for Bombay on 30 May on his way to London to attend the Commonwealth Conference; see items 65 and 134-151.

considered carefully if I am associated with its publication.¹⁵

I have read a few pages here and there. They are interesting. But I think that the report requires revision from the point of view of English. I suggest that you do this. I am returning the typescript.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

51. At the Annual General Meeting¹⁶

ये हमारी सालाना जनरल मीटिंग है। पहली बात तो ये आपको सूचना दूँ कि श्री गोविन्द बल्लभ पंत¹⁷ Deputy Leader चुने गये हैं। दूसरे, Chief Whip को नामज़द करना और Deputy Chief Whip को लीडर के मशवरे से, ये आप जानते हैं। तीसरे, सेक्रेटरी की मंत्रियों को रिपोर्ट्स, ये शायद आपके पास बंट गई है, उसकी निस्वत आप कुछ कहा चाहते हैं। जी, हाँ, आप कुछ कहा चाहते हैं तो फ़रमाइये।

[Translation begins:

This is our Annual General Body meeting. The first thing that I should tell you is that Shri Govind Ballabh Pant¹⁸ has been elected Deputy Leader. Secondly, names have to be proposed for the Chief Whip and Deputy Chief Whip, in consultation with the leader. Thirdly, you have got the reports of the Secretaries to the Ministers. Do you wish to say anything about that? What? Yes, I see, you wish to say something, please proceed.

Translation ends]

It is true that it was not discussed in the Executive Committee, it was there but Executive as often happened meeting in a hurry did not discuss it, and it was circulated and the members were, I believe, asked, executive members were

15. It was published as *Elections in Britain* (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1961).

16. Speech at the Annual General Meeting of the Congress Party in Parliament, at 5.05 p.m., according to Nehru's engagement diary entry, 28 April 1960. Tape No. M-50/c (i), NMML.

17. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from UP; Minister of Home Affairs.

18. See fn 17 in this section.

asked to send their comments. That is what happened, I do not think anyone sent his comments. Oh! Mr Kasliwal,¹⁹ I understand

Someone: Mr. Tyagi²⁰...

Jawaharlal Nehru: You might suppress your voice.

Someone : But why...

Jawaharlal Nehru: you might suppress your voice a little.

Someone: You want to dominate in voice.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Nobody is dominating. Right at the beginning, Mr Kasliwal criticised the report and raised an objection, partly in regard to the contents, partly in regard to the language, the English language. Now let us dispose of this matter before we discuss the wider and most important point that Mr Tyagi has raised. So, what are we to do with this report. We shall discuss the other matters soon, because do you wish to say something about the report or about the other matters. Yes. ख़ाली रिपोर्ट के बारे में और कोई सवाल नहीं है। आइये सोनावाने

[Translation begins:

There is no other question about the report. Come Sonavane.

Translation ends]

Come back after with this. No, no, we are discussing the language and the production of the report. You are discussing a basic point about how to spend money. We will come back afterwards. Let us finish with one thing. इसी मसले पर। ख़ैर, तो मैं,

[Translation begins:

On this point only. Anyhow, I would rather...

Translation ends]

19. N.C. Kasliwal, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Kotah, Rajasthan, and a member of the Congress Socialist Forum.

20. Mahavir Tyagi, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Dehra Dun, UP.

I would suggest that I think it is true that the English draft of the report is capable of great improvement. I am talking about the language. Secondly, I agree with Mr. Bhattacharya²¹ that it would have been more appropriate if this particular suggestion about the Secretaries continuing should have been put up either before the Executive Committee. As a matter of fact of course you must remember that Secretaries who are going out, it cannot apply to them. So, it is not a personal thing, it is for the future that the suggestion was made, not for themselves. But it would have been better, because it involves a change in the Constitution.

There is another matter in this first page or second of this which says, we must have, it refers to the Standing Committee for External Affairs, we must have various sub-committees of this committee to deal with particular regions or a group of countries. We have to find ways and means to maintain individual contacts between members of this committee and their counterparts in various countries of the world.

Now that is a very big proposition and I do not know who the counterpart is to begin with before one develops the contacts, with some sub-committee of the British Parliament or French Parliament or whatever it may be, that is a proposition which is not quite clear to me and I think it is too nebulous to be understood. My suggestion to you would be, it is partly in conformity as I think with what Mr Feroze Gandhi²² said, that obviously we cannot sit down here to the general meeting revising the language, we can object to a particular sentiment if you like. My suggestion would be that you may adopt this report, subject to two matters. First is, we adopt the report proper, not the first two pages, which are suggestions, etc., and which some members have objected to. Secondly, the report is adopted subject to a revision of it. Who should revise it is another matter. I mean to say we can, I would gladly have done so, but I am sorry I am going away, in another day and a half.²³ No, no, that is true but even so you adopt the Hindi one, the Hindi one should also be adopted minus the first page or two. The controversial matter has come into that. I am not discussing that matter. Certain controversial matter has come in, we may discuss but we should not adopt it, because adopting it means that you agree with it. You may adopt this but in issuing this, what I mean is for our own and public record the English should also be there, it should be revised from that, minus the first two pages.

21. C.K. Bhattacharya, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from West Dinajpur, West Bengal.

22. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Rae Bareilly, UP.

23. To Bombay, and thereafter to London.

Who is to revise it is another matter. Not that there is required very much time to revise it, but ... poor Pantji, why put a burden on him. I think that the best thing would be for you to ask the new Executive Committee to do it. Whatever it may be, I do not know. What is it, alright. Pantji says, and I think it is a good suggestion, that this may be referred to the Secretaries themselves who may, in consultation with others, revise it. I think it is a good thing. No, no, so we agree to that. I am coming to accounts later. We agree to that, that without the first page and a half the report proper should be referred back to the present Secretaries. It must be the present, because future Secretaries are not responsible, who in consultation with others may revise the language.

Now we come to the accounts. We can discuss the accounts. A criticism was made about the collection of arrears. As a matter of fact, the collection of arrears has been remarkably good during this past year. I do not say they are perfect, but they have been much better than in previous years.

[Someone]: Now comments on the accounts; आइए, डॉ. शेखवानी।²⁴

[Translation begins:

Please come Dr Shervani.²⁵

Translation ends]

Jawaharlal Nehru: These sums shown as arrears consist of Rs. 175/-, which is the annual subscription of the party and whatever the rest is for the Central AICC. Therefore, they cannot be shown. We are only a post office, collecting them. The Rs 175/- come to us and can be disposed of by us. Will you say something about this, Treasurer?....much more has been realised, is not that so?

[Treasurer] : Yes.

[Jawaharlal Nehru]: Now, would you like to say anything more about the accounts or adopt them. All right. Is that agreed to? Now, Mr Feroze Gandhi, we shall go on to the other subject. That is right. Just... मैं चाहता हूँ, मुझे आप माफ़ करें, लेकिन मुझे एक सवा सात बजे ज़रूरी जगह जाना है, एक एम्बेसडर साहब से मिलना है,²⁶ क्योंकि

24. M.R. Shervani, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from UP.

25. See fn 24 in this section.

26. Ambassador of Saudi Arabia, according to the diary entry.

मैं परसों सुबह जा रहा हूँ दिल्ली से। बहुत सारे काम जमा हो गये हैं, मुश्किल है इस अरसे में करना। कल डिबेट भी है पार्लियामेंट में, चुनाँचे में ज्यादा ठहर नहीं सकता यहाँ। एक पाँच-सात मिनट, दस मिनट कुछ आपसे अर्ज कर दूँ लेकिन उसके बाद मैं नहीं जानता पंत जी ठहर सकते हैं, लेकिन उनके यहाँ भी कुछ लोग बैठे हैं। अच्छा तो मैं पहली बात तो यह अंग्रेज़ी में बोलूँ?

[Translation begins:

You must forgive me. I have an important appointment at 7-15. An Ambassador is coming to see me.²⁷ I am leaving Delhi the day after tomorrow. A lot of work has piled up. It is very difficult for me to go at this time. There is a debate in Parliament also. So, I cannot stay here very long. I will speak for five-ten minutes. After that, Pantji can continue. But he also has some people waiting in his house. Alright, should I speak in English or Hindi?

Translation ends]

Yesterday, reference was made to a meeting of our Executive yesterday, a report of which has appeared to some, a partial report, in the papers.²⁸ Now, that itself is a good indication and some proof of the state of our party, as was just said that if even fifteen men or twenty men cannot keep anything confidential in spite of the most repeated exhortations to them, well, we are in a poor state. As a matter of fact, normally speaking, large parties like this are expected to keep things from the press, even large parties; they function like that in some countries if not all. What I said yesterday was—it has been repeated in different ways by some members here in a different context—was that our party functioning here, elsewhere, has lost all cohesion. Cohesion comes to a party from certain objectives and ideals which they hold. They may differ about other matters, but certain basic objectives and ideals which they consider important, for which they are prepared to fight or suffer. Cohesion also comes from a certain bond which ties those people together, a certain consideration for each other, and a certain something which almost you might say grows up, a certain almost family feeling of groups of workers.

Now, what I said again to the Executive was that in both these patterns, I find cohesion lacking from top to bottom. What are our objectives, what are our principles for which we stand. It is easy enough to repeat our Congress resolutions, here they are, but it is not easy for me and probably not for you to say precisely what the Congress stands for in spite of all its resolutions today.

27. See fn 26 in this section.

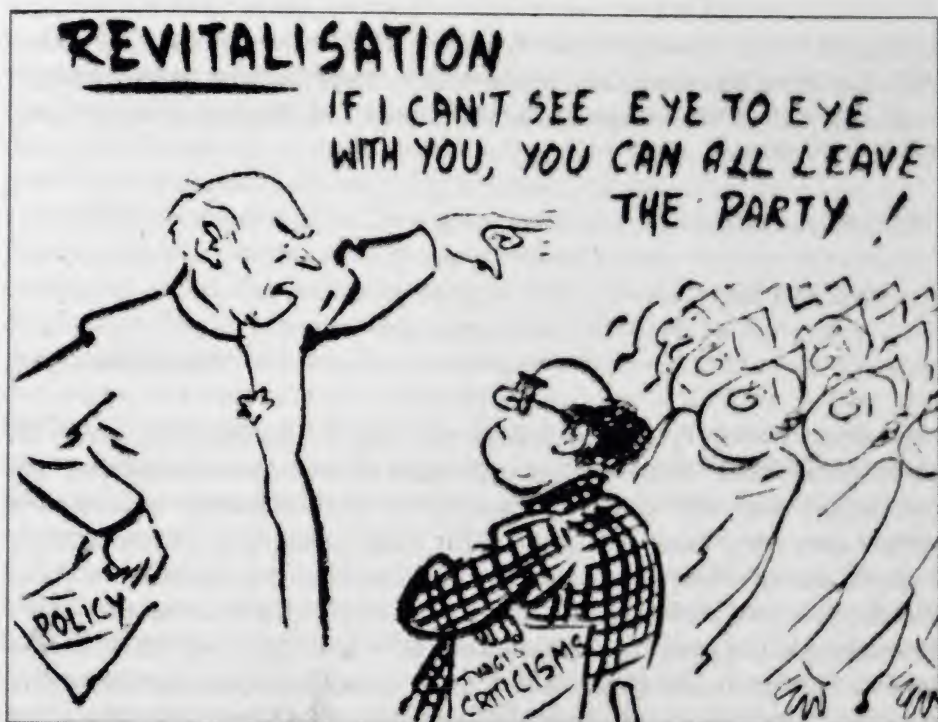
28. See item 49.

Why, because Congressmen speak in a thousand voices today, absolutely opposed to each other. It is not a question of a minor matter, on the most basic issues. Basic issues, our basic issues may be divided into many departments, but primarily they are domestic issues which are the most important. There are issues in regard to foreign policy. We have had firm ideas about this matter in the past and before we became a Government we had these ideas. They were developed with practice. Now, some of us talk vaguely of a socialistic pattern and the rest, and yet attack everything that has any relation to it—our members, I say—everything that has any relation to it is attacked. That is easy enough. What is much more difficult to catch is, it is seldom done as a direct attack, but an indirect undermining movement which supports those who attack, those who are openly opposed to it. It is really an extraordinary state of affairs. I am, for my part prepared to take a very large part of the responsibility of the blame for it because the leader must. I entirely agree with Tyagiji. I may be to blame or Tyagiji or you or somebody; but the fact is, I agree that we have ceased to be a cohesive party. Feroze Gandhi said something about majority and minority, we are in a bigger majority in this House today in this Parliament than ever before, in the last ten years, we have got a bigger majority today. Remember that is not a question of majority. I wish we had not so big a majority so that we could hold together and fight together. We are a loose organisation, getting looser every day. All of us may be guilty of it, Tyagiji is certainly one of those who are guilty of it. I say so because frankness is required. I say so not because of his views, I say not because of his views, but because of his temperament, absolutely, and I say because all of our temperament,

[Tyagi says something]

I know that, that is your trouble. You could not improve that is; that is your difficulty, you do not learn from experience; that is the difficulty. Let us be frank about it, I have had about enough of this. I do not want to be a leader of this party or any party because I am slack, advantage is taken of that. Because I am slack, everybody attacks the Government, my colleagues are attacked, Congressmen are attacked, Defence Minister. Is this how a party should behave I want to know. I have never heard such a thing, the way this party is behaving. Ask yourself, ask your hearts, what do you feel about it. Do you believe in Congress policies, is this discipline—standing up, attacking the Government, not on any policy matter, individual matters, personal matters? Where is the cohesion about it? And hobnobbing with the enemies of the Congress, hobnobbing with this press, which is all opposed to us and you talk about? You may meet, not three times a week, but every day in the week, and meet by all

[You will have to Obey the Chairman]



(From *The Times of India*, 1 May 1960, p. 9)

means. I do not object to that, it is not by meeting together that you get rid of these tendencies inside you, inside all of us, the disruptive tendencies that we are having, it is a most amazing thing. You might almost think that the Lok Sabha is dominated by half a dozen members of the Opposition. Every day seven, eight, ten motions for adjournment, and every day five persons getting up shouting, shouting. It is an amazing sight for a civilised assembly, that is what we see almost every day. What is the Congress's attitude to it? They do not approve a bit of course. But sometimes by the attitude they do approve of it I say, many of our members, and it is about time we know where we are.

[Tyagi says something].

Jawaharlal Nehru: Please let me speak, please let me speak, please let me speak. I am speaking and I am your leader. If you do not like it, you can leave the Congress and get out. My dear Sir, you can get out of the Congress. Yes, yes, I am the leader and I am the Chairman of this meeting.

Tyagi: I am also a member of the ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: You may be, Mr Tyagi, you will have to obey the Chairman... Well, get out of this room then, if you want to. Impertinence, impertinence; it is all very well, I had enough of this impertinence all this time. I do not care. ठहरिये, ठहरिये साहब,

[Translation begins:

Wait, wait Sir,

Translation ends]

I can deal with Mr Tyagi, I have dealt with him for the last forty years. Sit down Mehr Chand.²⁹ Having this loose tongue all the time and imagining that you can get away with it, are we behaving in a civilised manner towards each other, I have never heard such a thing. Mr Tyagi comes here, oh! the leader's fault, the leader's lapse, you do not, I have never heard such damn nonsense in my life. It may be the leader's fault, is that the way to put it? Is that the way to have cohesion in a party? Or Mr Ram Subhag³⁰ whom I like very much, but the way he behaves in the Parliament, I mean to say his ideas and attacks on persons are amazing to me, individual ministers and others, is that the way? Never, let us have it out, any one of you. What.....

(Someone speaks)

Jawaharlal Nehru: You may be a good, yes, but you are a member of a party which is supposed to observe some discipline.

Someone: No, but no minister is supposed toentire party.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No minister! Of course not, of course not, of course not, does that mean that you should break the discipline of the party and go about in open...

Someone: I have never broken any discipline of this party...

29. Mehr Chand Khanna, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal; and Minister of State for Rehabilitation and Minority Affairs.

30. Ram Subhag Singh, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Sasaram, Bihar.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Ram Subhag, Ram Subhag, if you know, you have delivered speeches which are much stronger than poor Bal Krishna Sharma's,³¹ against Government decisions. I have had enough of this business. I am telling you I have had enough of this business and you can, it is for the party to decide how it is going to function. I am perfectly prepared, I shall accept the party's decision or I shall not accept it and leave the party, that is, leave my job. I am perfectly content, but I am not going to put up with impertinence all the time, and insolence and indiscipline. There the matter ends, let this be quite understood. Here is a job that one has to carry, a tremendous weight, a tremendous weight most of us. Pantji, the amount of work he has to do night and day, night and day, look at him, all of us breaking down under the weight of these things; and people calmly come and speak in a most irresponsible way as if we are enjoying the luxury of being ministers. Nobody wants to be a minister in this way. Really, it is important, it is highly important that this party should function. Of course, whether, when you talk about the larger Congress, it is not this party that governs, that creates the reactions outside, but the whole Congress organisation, of which we are parts. If the Congress is, you might say, weaker than it was, it is because of many factors, not because we do not meet once a week or twice a week, there are many other factors, but one of the major factors, we meet by all means, meet by all means as often as you like, but meet with courtesy, meet with decency, meet with discipline, that is what is lacking and I do say that the way Ram Subhagji said he must not exploit the party and all that, not the Defence Minister. I say scandalous [is] the way some of our members have treated the Defence Minister, perfectly scandalous, from any point of view, party or truth. I stand by that statement, without knowing anything, effects, just joining the opposition, is that the way a party behaves?

Now, do all that by all means, have meetings frequently, you should, I have tried perhaps frequent meetings, at meetings here people have not come, a dozen persons spread out when we have a meeting, they only come when special subjects interests them. I had, as somebody said, I invited them every Saturday to my House, gradually they faded out, to discuss matters gradually, hardly anybody came. It is extraordinary. When I fix another Saturday, have as many meetings as you like, and discuss everything, but try to understand the essence of parliamentary government. A parliamentary government is not carried on on the model that we are, by a party discussing every day the details of administration. It is an unknown thing in parliamentary government, and no party and no government can be carried on in this way. It is broad policies that

31. Bal Krishna Sharma, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Kanpur, UP, 1952-56; and Rajya Sabha MP from UP, 1956-60.

are discussed. Go and see any parliament, any party, how it discusses. I say discuss by all means, but you cannot carry on a government like this discussing the details of administrative policies certainly. I am all for your meeting twice a week, three times a week, once a week, as often as you like; and my difficulty has been—not I want—that I have been told we won't hold the meeting unless you come. I am told by my members—no, you must come. If I am not in Delhi, I cannot come, if I am somewhere else, but hold them by all means and I shall try to come. But it is not that these are minor issues, the real things are much deeper. The real things are, which somebody said, they are cracks and fissures in our minds, in our policies, in our beliefs. If you think that, let us say that I am unfaithful, I am a scoundrel. [...] If you think I am an evil person, well you cannot rely upon me; if that bond of faith that should remain there is absent, it does not matter what discipline you may put, you may not disobey the discipline openly but there are a thousand ways of going against the discipline, when openly committing a breach. And that is what is happening, creating an atmosphere of indiscipline, creating an atmosphere of disbelief, of lack of faith in the policies pursued—whatever it is, that is what is happening.

Therefore I said there is a lack of cohesion, complete lack of cohesion, in this party and it is for you to determine how to because this lack of cohesion is not put right by a speech, by disciplinary action, it is much deeper than that. Do we believe, what do we believe in? We are living in very strange and dangerous times and surely I hope that any of our members will not behave in the secondary school manner of the opposition. We have to understand this position, the great responsibilities upon us in the world, in India, everywhere, and it surprises me how people may differ like the opposition differs, how some of the opposition members behave. I am not—having only about fifty years of experience of these things in this country and other countries—I have not seen anything, the way this is developing in our House, and everywhere, and our fault is not so much an active fault, but a passive fault. I do not mean to say you shout them out, not at all; but we encourage them, we clap them sometimes, we sometimes even say something which supports them. That is the position, because in our heart of hearts we agree with what they are saying in their attack on Government. These are the difficulties we have to face. It is not a question of meeting, let us meet I am entirely agreeable. When the new session comes, let us meet three times a week every day after Parliament rises or if you like at 9 o'clock in the morning. Every morning we can do that, that is not a very difficult matter. But there are much deeper issues involved in this which may result in a complete upheaval in the party, because people must, if people do not believe in certain policies, it becomes difficult to yoke them together, well, constantly pull in different directions. These are not small

matters, small matters on which we may differ about some clause in a bill. Let us discuss it by all means, but it is not that, it is no difficulty, there are more basic issues involved. I am sorry, I am sorry I have spoken with some warmth. No doubt, one of our members will give a full account of it to the press tomorrow or tonight, that is a test of the discipline of our party.

Now, I am afraid I have got to go. So has Pantji, we shall meet next time, I am prepared to meet tomorrow if you like, after the debate is over.

Wait a minute, there are one or two formal matters. Confirmation of the appointment of the Auditors, M/s Vaidyanath Aiyar and Co. Do you agree to these auditors? Also the Executive has decided that the members against whom arrears are more than Rs. 960/- would be suspended unless they bring down the arrears before the 30th May, 2nd May.

I am sorry. [Someone asks something].

Jawaharlal Nehru: Those members whose arrears are Rs. 960/- or more, their names will be struck out unless they pay at least part of this by the 2nd May.

Mahavir Tyagi: Who has taken this decision?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The Executive Committee. Yes.

Mahavir Tyagi: I would therefore suggest that if there is any such decision taken, let it be approved here

Jawaharlal Nehru: First of all, ज़रा ठहरो ।

[Translation begins:

Wait a minute.

Translation ends]

First of all their names are not removed, they are suspended. The decision of the Executive is to suspend them and it is being placed before you.

Mahavir Tyagi: I am suggesting you that we may approve the decision now....

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is it, of course that will be reported to you necessarily.

Someone: वे कह रहे हैं या तो मुझे निकाल दो...

[Translation begins:

They are saying either I should be expelled...

[Translation ends]

[recording interrupted]

Someone: Mr Hiralal is a veteran Congress leader of our party and he has devoted most of his time for the welfare of the downtrodden and the displaced peoples, well I congratulate him for his

52. At the Annual General Meeting³²

संसदीय काँग्रेस दल
Congress Party in Parliament

Annual General Meeting of Party = 28.4.1960

Kasliwal =

Heda =

Tyagi = Basic policy - Party does not function =

Lapse on the part of the Leader - It is not a party now but a crowd =

Last year 15 meetings of the party - What resolutions passed?

many subjects discussed but no decisions taken & voted on and recorded.

Today we do not command any confidence of the public - an atmosphere of opposition.

Feroze Gandhi = 6.14 p.m.

32. Jottings by Nehru at the Annual General Meeting of the Congress Party in Parliament, 28 April 1960.

For his speech at the meeting, see item 51.

Restore to Chief Whip the dignity & power of his office,
He should fix party meetings –
Yesterday you (Leader) said something in the Executive,
Majority in Parl.

Cracks and fissures in the party =
Differences to be thrashed out in party and not in Lok Sabha,
Party must function as a unit

=
Food Minister – old & new – ‘Pragmatic’!
What is our food policy?

=
If you want unity at bottom you must have unity at top –
Unity in leadership =
Try experiment from next session—Minister concerned attending-
all important matters to be put before Party.
3 days in the week – Party to meet.

Sinhasan Singh³³ – 6.32

What P.M said to Ex. C.
Socialist pattern a proper policy -
Purge party of corruption -
Who are the blacklegs amongst us?

Rameshwar Rao³⁴ –

Functioning of Party formless =
Party should function in constructive manner -
Specialisation by Party Members
What has happened to our proposals made last year?
Party Standing Committee – intimate contacts with Leader & Minister

Dr. Melkote³⁵

=
Mishraji³⁶

33. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Gorakhpur, UP.

34. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Mahbubnagar, Andhra Pradesh.

35. G.S. Melkote, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Raichur, Mysore.

36. It is not clear which Mishra is meant here. It could be any one of the following: Lok Sabha—Bibhuti Mishra, Lalit Narayan Mishra, Mathura Prasad Mishra, Shyam Nandan Mishra, Bhagwandin Misra, Raghubar Dayal Misra, Raja Ram Misra. Rajya Sabha—Bibudhendra Mishra, Lokanath Misra, Shyam Dhar Misra.

Facsimile of Nehru's Jottings

संसदीय दल
CONGRESS PARTY IN PARLIAMENT

10-11 PARLIAMENT HOUSE,
NEW DELHI-1

Ref. No. _____

Annual Meeting of Party - 28.4.1960

Kasturba -

Heda -

Tyagi - Basic policy. Party does not function. - It is not a party and no
hope on the part of the leaders -

Last year 15 meetings after party. What resolutions were
passed?

Many subjects discussed but no decision taken &
voted on and recorded.

Today we do not command any confidence of the public - An
atmosphere of opposition.



Jawahar Gandhi - 6/14 pm

Return to chief whip the party speaker of his office.

He should fix party meetings -

Yesterday you (leader) said something in the Executive. - In Parl.
Majority in ...

Cracks and fissures in the party.
Difficulties to be tackled not in party and insist in Lok Sabha.

Party must function as a unit
Left Minister - old & new - 'Pragmatic'!

What is our policy?

For you maturity at bottom you must have unity at top.
Unity in leadership.

FORM: 5101

संसदीय काँग्रेस दल

CONGRESS PARTY IN PARLIAMENT

27

Ref. No. _____

24-25, PARLIAMENT HOUSE,
NEW DELHI-1.

Try captured from next session - ...
 All important issues to be put
 3 days in the week to Party to meet

Singh - 6.32.

Mr. P. M. speech said to Ex. C.

Socialist pattern a better policy -

Pure party of corruption -

Who are the blacklegs among us?

Rameshwar Rao -

Function of Party Formless.

Party should function in constructive manner.

Specialisation by Party members -

What has happened to our intellectuals will be seen?

Party Planning Committee - Interview conducted with Minister

Dr. Mukherjee

Mishra

(b) States

(i) General

53. To Rajendra Prasad: Shifting Governors³⁷

April 25, 1960

Dear Mr President,

Our Home Minister has, after consulting the people concerned, proposed that the Governor of Uttar Pradesh, Shri V.V. Giri, and the Governor of Kerala, Dr. B. Ramakrishna Rao, should resign from their present offices. It is further proposed that, immediately thereafter, Shri V.V. Giri should be appointed Governor of Kerala, and Dr. B. Ramakrishna Rao be appointed Governor of Uttar Pradesh. In effect thus, this is a changeover of Governors between two States. But it can only be given effect to by their previous resignations.

Both the Governors are agreeable to this proposal and, indeed, would welcome it. The Chief Ministers concerned have also been consulted, and they are agreeable. The actual date of the changeover may be decided later in consultation with the two Governors concerned. Thereafter, if you are pleased to agree and on a suitable date, the Warrants of appointment etc. may issue.

I am at present making this recommendation to you for your approval. Should you be pleased to agree to this, the Home Minister will inform you of the dates etc. and what further steps should be taken. It is proposed that the appointment in each case will be for the remainder of the present term of office.³⁸ As you are perhaps aware, I shall be leaving Delhi for London on the 30th April.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

37. Letter. File No. 1(4)/60, President's Secretariat. Also available in JN Collection.

38. Rajendra Prasad replied on 26 April that he approved.

54. To Vishnu Sahay: States demanding too much³⁹

I am returning the paper you gave me. As I told you, I had a brief talk with the Finance Minister⁴⁰ on this subject. He said that the States were getting into a bad habit of demanding everything from the Centre and, as far as possible, he did not wish to encourage this. Of course, if ultimately necessity arises, we have to deal with it.

2. Please deal with this matter as you think best. The main thing is that this work should go ahead. The matters in controversy can be dealt with later.⁴¹

(ii) Andhra Pradesh

55. To D. Sanjivayya: M. V. Sastry versus V. B. Raju⁴²

Tezpur,
April 15, 1960

My dear Sanjivayya,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from M.V. Sastry of Kakinada.⁴³ In this letter he has made serious charges against V.B. Raju⁴⁴ and has quoted at some length from the judgement of the Election Tribunal. Prima facie, this matter deserves enquiry. In fact, you are reported to have said in the Assembly that there would be such an enquiry. Was an enquiry held? What are the facts? I shall be grateful if you will let me know.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

39. Note to the Cabinet Secretary, 28 April 1960. File No. 20/1/CF/60, Cabinet Secretariat. Also available in JN Collection.

40. Morarji Desai.

41. Nehru's note was in response to a letter of 19 April 1960 from Shankar Prasada, Secretary, Kashmir Affairs, MHA, to Vishnu Sahay. Vishnu Sahay then replied to Shankar Prasada on 3 May 1960. In this letter he first quoted Nehru's note of 28 April, reproduced above, and added as follows: "The Home Minister spoke to me about this. He desires that the States concerned should be asked to go ahead and that we should settle the proportion of the Central aid later. When you have done this, would you be good enough to take the case again to the Home Minister, who, I think, would wish to discuss it with the Finance Minister."

42. Letter to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.

43. See Appendix 2 for M.V. Sastry's letter of 11 April.

44. Former Minister, Andhra Pradesh.

56. To N. Sanjiva Reddy: V.B. Raju accused of Corruption⁴⁵

Tezpur
April 15, 1960

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from M.V. Sastry from Kakinada.⁴⁶ This letter relates to alleged corrupt practices by V.B. Raju and quotes at some length from the judgment of the Election Tribunal. Prima facie, what is stated deserves enquiry. I do not know if any enquiry was made. Could you kindly enlighten me?

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

57. To G.B. Pant: Corruption in Andhra Pradesh⁴⁷

April 22, 1960

My dear Pantji,

You will remember my writing to you about a complaint I received in regard to Andhra Pradesh, or rather the previous Hyderabad Government.⁴⁸ I enclose a letter from Sanjivayya. He is agreeable to the Central Intelligence taking up this matter. I think this should be done.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

45. Letter to the Congress President.

46. See Appendix 2.

47. Letter.

48. This seems to be about Sirpur shares; see SWJN/SS/59/item 19.

58. To V. T. Krishnamachari: Pochampad and Deonoor⁴⁹

April 29, 1960

My dear VT,

A large number of MPs—I think they were 24—from Andhra Pradesh came to see me today and gave me a memorandum.⁵⁰ This was about the development of the Telangana area. They wanted the Pochampad Project to be sanctioned even if this involved giving up the Deonoor Project. One of the MPs present was a representative from the Deonoor area. Even he agreed with this. The point thus was that no additional burden was cast on the finances and that anyhow Pochampad should be included in the Second Plan as an alternative to the Deonoor Project.

Since the Andhra MPs concerned themselves are strongly in favour of this proposal, I think this deserves favourable consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(iii) Bihar

59. To Sri Krishna Sinha: Draw in the Jharkhand Party⁵¹

April 18, 1960

My dear Sri Babu,

I wanted to mention a matter I had in mind when I went to Patna.⁵² But somehow I had no chance to do so.

I think that in view of the general developing situation in India and in Bihar, it would be desirable for you to endeavour to solve some of the old internal disputes in Bihar. You could do so now with considerable strength and assurance as there is no one to challenge your position in Bihar. There is the Jharkhand

49. Letter to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission. File No. NR-2(13)/59, Irrigation Division, Planning Commission. Also available in JN Collection.

50. See Appendix 28 for memorandum.

51. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bihar.

52. On 14 April 1960; see SWJN/SS/59/items 22-26.

Party which might be brought nearer to Congress and there are the people in the Congress who have rather drifted away.

I should like you to give thought to this matter.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(iv) Delhi

60. To Bhagwan Sahay: Planning Delhi⁵³

April 28, 1960

My dear Chief Commissioner,

I have received your letter of April 25th in regard to the land around Delhi.⁵⁴ I have read rather hurriedly the note you have sent with it. Obviously, it is not possible to consider this matter before I leave for England. Please, therefore, have your proposals and your note circulated to the Ministries concerned for their consideration as suggested by you.

Your note brings out certain important aspects of this problem, but it is not quite concise enough. I think it would be better if you had divided in two or three parts your note:

1. An introductory approach to the problem;
2. your proposals; and
3. the justification for these proposals.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

53. Letter to the Chief Commissioner, Delhi Administration. File No. 28(7)/56-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

54. On the planned development of Delhi and environs.

(v) Jammu and Kashmir

61. To G. B. Pant: Kashmir Conspiracy Case⁵⁵

May 31, 1960

My dear Pantji,

Mridula Sarabhai⁵⁶ came to see me this evening. She spoke to me about the case against Sheikh Abdullah. Before I went away to Europe, I was told by Pathak⁵⁷ and others that this case was in its last stage and evidence was over. Within a short time, there would be arguments. Mridula now tells me it is very far from being over, and another list of witnesses has been put in on behalf of the prosecution. I was rather surprised to learn this. I do not want it to appear that we are deliberately prolonging this case.

Apart from this particular case, apparently the other case, that is the Hazratbal one,⁵⁸ cannot be proceeded with because of Sheikh Abdullah's case. The result is that this other case is also hung up for years. Surely this is very unsatisfactory.

Mridula said that Vinobaji had expressed a wish to meet some of the people involved in these cases who were on bail. But these persons, although on bail, were not allowed to leave the State or even to come to Delhi.

She wanted to go to meet them in the J. & K. State. There is nothing to prevent her from doing so, as I think permit system has been abolished. Nevertheless, she wanted to know from me if she could go there.

She also said that the defence was in charge of the wrong people who are mostly Pakistani etc., and she did not want foreign lawyers to come in. Dingle Foot,⁵⁹ the U.K. lawyer, had come here principally for the Dalmia case.⁶⁰ Mridula had apparently approached Sultan Ahmed⁶¹ and asked him if he would be prepared to take charge. He said that he was too old for day to day work, but he would give advice when needed.

55. Letter.

56. Mridula Sarabhai, a freedom fighter and supporter of Sheikh Abdullah.

57. G. S. Pathak, a lawyer from Allahabad; represented the Jammu and Kashmir Government in the Kashmir Conspiracy Case.

58. See SWJN/SS/41/p. 644.

59. (1905-1978); British politician and lawyer.

60. See SWJN/SS/39/p. 270.

61. A lawyer from Patna; law member of Viceroy's executive council, 1937 and 1941-45.

Mridula asked me if there was any objection to a small Legal Defence Committee being formed with Sultan Ahmed as the Chairman of it. I told her that we did not wish to come in the way of proper defence in any way.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(vi) Maharashtra and Gujarat

62. To Ratubhai Kothari: Emotions about Names of States⁶²

April 19, 1960

Dear Shri Kothari,

I have your letter of the 12th April. In this you say that some people think that I am trying mostly to please and win the people of Maharashtra. I do not quite know what this means. I have always tried, I hope, to win people in India and to have their goodwill and confidence. If I go to Maharashtra, I feel that way. If I go to Gujarat or to Madras or Andhra, I feel the same way there.

As for the name of the new State, I have been in favour of the old name of Bombay being continued. But when the people concerned by a very large majority wanted otherwise, it would be wrong for me or for anyone to come in their way. These names cannot be interpreted literally. Maharashtra is a well-known word which has been used for a long time. "Maha Gujerat" is more or less an innovation.

You refer to two letters that I had not replied to, one from Dr. Heim and the other from some other gentleman. I have no recollection of these letters. I met Dr. Heim in India, I think, long ago.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

62. Letter to Kothari of 37 Gulab Mansion, Kings Circle, Bombay 19.

63. To Rajendra Prasad: Governor of Gujarat⁶³

23rd April, 1960.

Dear Mr President,

The new State of Gujarat will come into existence on May 1st. It is necessary for you to appoint a Governor for this State.

Dr Jivraj Mehta, the Chief Minister-designate of Gujarat, suggested the name of Shri Mehdi Nawaz Jung Nawab,⁶⁴ a former Minister for Co-operation and Housing in the Andhra State, for this post. I am informed by the Home Minister that Shri Mehdi Nawaz Jung has expressed his willingness to accept this appointment.

May I request you to be good enough to agree to this proposal and to appoint him as Governor of the new State of Gujarat on an appropriate date?⁶⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

64. To *Hitavada*: Inauguration of Two States⁶⁶

The inauguration of the two States of Maharashtra and Gujarat on the 1st of May is certainly an event of historical importance. This result has been achieved after much controversy and thinking. But finally this difficult question has yielded to a spirit of friendly cooperation. That is a good augury for the future.

Even though the two States have separated, they have innumerable matters in common and their interests overlap in many ways. I have no doubt that they will cooperate in all these matters and thus advance rapidly to the goals we have set before us.

It is unfortunate that many people in Vidarbha are not happy over this development. They are people whom I respect and they have played an important part in our freedom struggle. I earnestly hope that the special interests of Vidarbha will always be borne in mind by this State of Maharashtra and that the people of Vidarbha will prosper.

63. Letter to the President of India. File No. 19/22/60, MHA. Also available in File No. 1(3)/60, President's Secretariat, and JN Collection.

64. (1894-1967); a member of Hyderabad Civil Service, 1916-1949; joined INC and became Minister in the Andhra Government, 1952-60; Governor of Gujarat, 1960-65.

65. On 24 April, Rajendra Prasad indicated his approval for the same.

66. Message to A.D. Mani, Editor of the *Hitavada*, Nagpur, 23 April 1960. Published in newspapers on 1 May 1960.

65. In Bombay: Address to a Rally⁶⁷

Attempt to Wrest Part of India Has to be Resisted

Nehru Cautions New State.

Maharashtra Can Exist Only in United Country.

Bombay, April 30 —Prime Minister Nehru said here today that a new problem had been created on India's northern border. An attempt was being made to take away a part of Samyukta Bharat. They had to meet this challenge and defend their country.

Samyukta Maharashtra could hold its own only in Samyukta Bharat, he declared.

Pandit Nehru, who was addressing a mammoth rally at Shivaji Park in North Bombay, appealed to the people of Maharashtra, rejoicing over the unification of Marathi-speaking areas, to be alive to the need for keeping India united.

He said that when thirteen years ago the country achieved its independence, it was believed that only two or three problems remained to be solved Pondicherry and Goa. The problem of Pondicherry was no longer there and he was confident that a solution would be found soon to the Goa problem.

Pandit Nehru said that it was but proper that festivities should be held in celebration of this auspicious day of the birth of Samyukta Maharashtra. But he wished to point out that certain people in the state, the people from Vidarbha, nursed a grievance. It was for the rest of Maharashtra to work in a friendly spirit, remove the dissatisfaction which has found expression in Vidarbha, and take the people of that area along with them in the march towards progress.

At the same time, he said, the people of Vidarbha should not resort to any steps which would lead to a conflict.

"We are sorry that they are unhappy. We are trying and we will try to remove their grievance. What they are doing is not good," Pandit Nehru said.

Bombay—First City of India

Of Bombay City, Pandit Nehru said it was not merely the capital of Samyukta Maharashtra. It was the western capital of this country and in the development of which all people had a share.

He said that Bombay had been described as the first city of India. The people of Maharashtra had to live up to that description and ensure the special character of this multi-coloured city.

67. Report of speech, 30 April 1960. *National Herald*, 1 May 1960.

Pandit Nehru also drew attention to the association of centuries of the peoples of Maharashtra and Gujarat.

“Today, when they are separating, they should remember the cooperation and friendship with which they built the state of Bombay and the spirit of cooperation displayed in agreeing to divide the state. They should rise above whatever unpleasantness there has been in the recent past and live as good neighbours in the future.” He said.

India, Pandit Nehru said, faced many problems. The five year plans launched had taken the country further on the road to progress, though not to the extent that they had desired. The pace of development must be increased, for the defence of the country was linked with the economic and industrial growth. Agriculture must be improved for once the country was self sufficient in food, many of its problems would become easy of solution.

“Toil hard, produce more in factories and fields should be our motto”, Pandit Nehru said and drew attention to the progress made by China, the United States, Japan and other countries through hard work. Whatever might be the ideologies of those countries, whether the hard work put in was voluntary or imposed, the progress achieved in those countries was only because of the industry of their peoples, he said.

He added: “Indian democracy faces a challenge today. The world is watching how we meet it. Let us pledge ourselves to work hard in cooperation to build a prosperous nation”.

The Shivaji Park meeting was the first of the two organised by the State Government, in the words of the Chief Minister designate of Maharashtra, Mr. Y.B. Chavan, to receive the blessings of “the Prime Minister of this country, a leader who inspired the freedom movement in this country, a leader of the socialist movement in Asia, an apostle of peace and, above all, an acknowledged leader of humanity.”

(vii) The North East Tour

66. At Tezpur: Inauguration of “Operation Amar Two”⁶⁸

अफ़सरो और जवानो,
अभी जब हम यहाँ पहुँचे थे तो आपने एक गाना गाया था, वो गाना अच्छा था और आपने अच्छी तरह से गाया था। तो उसको सुनकर खुशी हुई। उस गाने में आपने कहा कि हमें इस अपने

68. Speech, 15 April 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

देश को, हिन्दुस्तान को, भारत को कैसे बनाना है। ठीक है, क्योंकि हम इस मुल्क में आजकल एक तरह से आप देखिये, सब बीमार हैं, मजबूर हैं हिन्दुस्तान के बनाने के लिए। एक देश के बनाने में तो बहुत बातें करनी होती हैं, उसके तो हज़ारों-हज़ारों उसके पहलू हैं, रूप हैं, शक्तें हैं, तब देश बनता है। तो हम सब एक तरह से अपने को समझें कि इस बड़े भारी काम में यानी नये हिन्दुस्तान के बनाने में हम सब अपना-अपना छोटा सा हिस्सा लगाना हमारा फ़र्ज़ है और अगर सब मिलकर लगायें तो तेज़ी से वो बन जाये। तो ये तो एक आदर्श नक्शा है दिमाग़ में और आप लोग सुनते होंगे कि इस सिलसिले में बड़े-बड़े नक्शे बनते हैं, योजनाएँ बनती हैं, प्लानिंग कमीशन है, योजना कमीशन, वो बैठ के पोथियाँ लिखते हैं। दूसरा, दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना आजकल है, तीसरी होने वाली है अगले बरस से, ये सब क्या है? ये सब यही है कि हम किस तरह से नये हिन्दुस्तान की इमारत मज़बूती से बनायें, उसकी बुनियाद गहरी हो, मज़बूत हो, वो फ़ैले और वो ऊँची हो।

एक मुल्क में और खासकर हमारे मुल्क में करोड़ों आदमी रहते हैं, चालीस करोड़ से शायद ऊपर हैं आजकल और बहुत उनमें फ़र्क़ है, उनके पेशों में फ़र्क़ है। पहले तो आप जानते हैं कि वो हिन्दुस्तान भर में फ़ैले अलग-अलग सूबे हैं, अलग-अलग प्रदेश हैं, अलग-अलग उनकी ज़बानें हैं, अलग-अलग मज़हब हैं तो फ़र्क़ है और बड़े मुल्क में होता ही है यह। इसके माने तो ये नहीं हैं कि सब लोग देशभर में एक छापा उनका हो, वह ठीक नहीं है। एक मुल्क की ख़ूबसूरती है कि उसमें अलग-अलग तरह के फूल हों, दरख़्त हों, सब कुछ हो हमारे हिन्दुस्तान के बाग़ में। तो और उन सब करोड़ों आदमियों को पचासों तरह के काम करने हैं, ज़्यादातर हमारे यहाँ आप जानते हैं लोग खेती करते हैं, ज़मींदार हैं, किसान हैं, कृषक हैं, फिर कारख़ाने हैं, फिर किस पर आप ध्यान दें क्योंकि मुल्क बनता है अपने जो लोग अपनी मेहनत और परिश्रम से पैदा करते हैं वो मुल्क की दौलत होती है। किसान या ज़मींदार पैदा करता है अपनी ज़मीन से वो दौलत है, दौलत सोना-चाँदी नहीं होती है वो तो एक तिज़ारत की चीज़ है। दौलत तो है जो सामान पैदा होता है, चाहे ज़मीन से, चाहे कारख़ाने से, चाहे कारीगरी से, किसी तरह से भी नयी चीज़ पैदा होती है वो नयी दौलत है। जिस मुल्क में यह ज़्यादा होता है वो मुल्क धनी होता है और वहाँ के लोगों के पास आता है।

अब आप जानते हैं आजकल की दुनिया में गिना जाता है कि अमरीका और यूरोप के देश और कुछ और दौलतमंद हैं। ठीक है हमारा मुल्क गिना जाता है दुनिया के ग़रीब देशों में, वो भी ठीक है और इसको हम निकालना चाहते हैं। वो कैसे दौलतमंद हुए? यह एक लम्बी कहानी है लेकिन आख़िर में वो दौलतमंद हुए अपनी मेहनत से, परिश्रम से, अक्ल से और नयी-नयी चीज़ें जो दुनिया में नयी-नयी ताक़तें पैदा हुई हैं उनसे फ़ायदा उठाकर, नयी-नयी कलें, नयी-नयी इसी तरह से उनकी फ़ौजें हैं वो मज़बूत हुई, कैसे? इसलिए नहीं कि ज़्यादा कोई बहादुर थीं बल्कि इसलिए कि उनके हाथ में ज़्यादा मज़बूत हथियार आये, जो उन्होंने बनाये साइंस, विज्ञान वगैरह से। आपमें भी बहुत सारे इंजीनियर लोग हैं, आप समझें, उसको समझ जायें आसानी से तो वो बढ़ गये। तो हमें मौक़ा नहीं मिला, सौ-दो सौ बरस से बिल्कुल हम पिछड़ गये, अब मौक़ा हमें मिला तो हमें इस काम को तेज़ी से करना है यानी अपने मुल्क को भी इस माने में दौलतमंद करना कि यहाँ बहुत सामान पैदा होता है ज़मीन से, कारख़ाने से, हर जगह से, वो चाहे सामान

फ़ौजी सामान हो, हम पैदा करें अपने मुल्क में, और मुल्कों से हमें लाना न पड़े क्योंकि और मुल्कों से लाने में अलावा इसके कि बड़ा खर्च होता है, इसके माने ये हैं कि और मुल्कों के हाथ में हम हो जाते हैं, जब उनका नहीं जी चाहे तो नहीं भेजें, सभी को तो नहीं भेज सकते। इसलिए अपने मुल्क में पैदा करना कहीं ठीक है, चाहे वो हथियार हो, चाहे वो कोई भी चीज़ हो, तो उसकी कोशिश है और उससे यह भी फ़ायदा है कि अपने मुल्क में पैदा करने में अपने मुल्क में रुपया रहता है, अपने मुल्क में लोगों को काम करने का मौक़ा मिलता है, रोज़गार बढ़ता है, इसी तरह से मुल्क बढ़ते हैं और इसी के बड़े-बड़े नक्शे जो मैंने आपसे कहा प्लानिंग कमीशन वगैरह में बनाये जाते हैं। आसान नहीं है कोई नक्शा बनाना चालीस करोड़ आदमियों के लिए, पेचीदा है लेकिन हल्के-हल्के अभ्यास से, तजुर्बे से एक चीज़ बनती है और उस सवाल की पकड़ उस वक़्त की जाती है।

इस पिछले दस-बारह बरस से, जबसे हमारा मुल्क आज़ाद हुआ, मैं समझता हूँ कि मुल्क ने काफी तरक्की की है, तरक्की की है एक बुनियादी तरक्की। बुनियादी से मेरा मतलब यह है कि ऐसी चीज़ों में तरक्की की जिसका नतीजा, फ़ल हमें ज़्यादा से ज़्यादा अब मिलेगा। फ़र्ज़ करो कि लोहे की बड़ी ज़रूरत होती है क्योंकि मुल्क में वो हर काम में आता है यहाँ तक कि ज़मींदार, किसान को भी ज़रूरत है लोहे की, लोहे के औज़ार की, लेकिन कारख़ानों में तो बग़ैर लोहे के काम ही नहीं चल सकता और आजकल अंदाज़ा होता है मुल्क की तरक्की का कि वो मुल्क कित्ता लोहा बनाता है। दो चीज़ें हैं ख़ास अंदाज़ की— कित्ता लोहा बनाता है और कित्ता बिजली का पावर पैदा करता है? तो वो बिजली एक ताक़त है जिससे काम किया जाये। अच्छा अब हम लोहे के कारख़ाने बनायें, हम बनाते हैं, बड़े-बड़े बन रहे हैं, इसमें बड़ा रुपया खर्च होता है बहुत। एक ग़रीब मुल्क के लिए सैकड़ों-करोड़ रुपये खर्चना मुश्किल बात है और बरसों लग जाते हैं उसके बनने में फिर, लेकिन जब एक दफ़े बन जाता है तब उससे फ़ायदा होता है, लाभ होता है, उससे फ़ायदा होता ही है और उसकी औलाद, उसके बच्चे बहुत निकलते हैं, कारख़ाने बनने शुरू होते हैं चारों तरफ़, वहाँ नयी चीज़ें बनती हैं, लोगों को रोज़गार मिलता है, मुल्क चलने लगता है। ऐसे बहुत से कारख़ाने बनेंगे जैसा मैंने कहा और भी बहुत हैं। तो इस तरह से मुल्क को, मुल्क बढ़ता है यानी अपने परिश्रम से, मेहनत से, दौलत हम पैदा करें ज़मीन में, कारख़ाने में, हर जगह, नहीं तो हम न करें तो हम कभी तरक्की नहीं कर सकते, ग़रीब मुल्क हो, ग़रीब मुल्क की ताक़त कम होती है। यह मैंने आपसे कहा इसलिए कि आपके सामने कुछ थोड़ी सी यह तस्वीर रहे कि क्या हमारे मुल्क में बातें हो रही हैं।

अब इन सब बातों को हमें ज़रा जल्दी करना है, यह नहीं कि हल्के-हल्के करें क्योंकि वाक़यात ऐसे हैं दुनिया में और हमारे मुल्क में कि अगर देर में हम करें तो वो काम और भी मुश्किल हो जाता है और हमारे सामने ख़तरे भी आ जाते, क्या ख़तरे? आजकल की दुनिया एक अजीब दुनिया है, एक बा-हथियार दुनिया है और बड़े-बड़े मुल्कों के पास ज़बरदस्त आजकल के हथियार हैं, एटम बम वगैरह और चर्चा बहुत है, बड़ा चर्चा है कि लड़ाई के होने का, ठीक बात है क्योंकि आजकल कोई लड़ाई हो तो उसका मुक़ाबला तो पुराने तरीके से तो नहीं है, उसको यह एटम बम वगैरह की लड़ाई तो मुल्क के मुल्क को और दुनिया को तबाह कर दे लेकिन बावजूद इस चर्चे के, शांति और अमन के, हथियारबंद मुल्क में हथियार बढ़ते जाते हैं, क्यों?

एक दूसरे से डरते हैं वो, घबराते हैं, तो हम एक अजीब पेंच में पड़ जाते हैं, हम तो नहीं चाहते हम लड़ाई-झगड़ा करें लेकिन उसी के साथ यह हमारा फ़र्ज़ है, कर्तव्य है, धर्म है कि हम अपने मुल्क की हिफ़ाज़त करें, कोई भी हमलावर हो उससे हम हिफ़ाज़त करें क्योंकि जहाँ किसी मुल्क में इस मामले में कमज़ोरी आ जाती है अपने मुल्क की हिफ़ाज़त करने में तो वो ढीला पड़ जाता है, वो क्रौम, वो ज़ात ढीली हो जाती है, इसमें ढील नहीं दे सकते।

तो इसलिए यदि हम चाहें शांति और अमन हो तो हमें तैयार होना होता है हर तरह से मुल्क की हिफ़ाज़त करने के लिए, हर वक़्त चौकन्ने, होशियार, तैयार, जहाँ ज़रा ढील हो, कमज़ोर हो जायेंगे—आज़ादी एक मुल्क की ऐसी चीज़ है कि जो फ़िसल जाती है अगर ज़रा भी होशियारी कम हो जाये। यह नहीं कि हमारा मुल्क आज़ाद हो गया तो हमेशा के लिए हो गया, अब कुछ नहीं करना है, जहाँ ढील हुई वो फ़िसलने लगती है, ऐसी दुनिया है हमारा मुल्क और तैयार होना है फ़ौजी तैयारी। ठीक है फ़ौज, हवाई जहाज़ वगैरह ठीक है लेकिन उसके पीछे आप जानते हैं आप बढ़ते कैसे हैं? किन चीज़ों से? हथियारों से, हथियार कहाँ से आते हैं? हमारे कुछ ऑर्डिनेंस फैक्ट्रीज़ में बनते हैं, कुछ कहीं से, कुछ विलायत से, कुछ कहीं और से। असल में फ़ौज लड़ती है, अपनी हिम्मत तो है ही, एक बड़ी भारी चीज़ है इंसान की हिम्मत और ताक़त, लेकिन हथियारों से जो उसके लिए बनते हैं सामान से, तो फिर ज़रूरी हो जाता है कि वो सामान पैदा हो मुल्क में। तो वही बातें ज़रूरी हो जाती हैं कि हमारे बड़े कारख़ाने बनें और लोहा पैदा हो और बिजली पैदा हो और क्या-क्या यानी हम मुल्क को, मुल्क में इस तरह की एक औद्योगिक क्रांति ले आयें कि [sic] दोनों की [sic] विज्ञान, इसको समझकर फ़ायदा उठायें और फिर इसको तेज़ी से करना है क्योंकि दुनिया— लड़ने की बातें बहुत दुनिया में होती हैं, लेकिन कोई लड़ने के पीछे, [sic] कोई रहम नहीं है, कमज़ोर मुल्क के साथ रहम नहीं है कोई। तो यहाँ ऐसी सख़्त दुनिया में रहते हैं तो हमें उनका सामना करना है। हम किसी पर हमला करने नहीं जाते, लेकिन हम अपने मुल्क पर किसी के हमले को बरदाश्त नहीं करने वाले हैं। ज़ाहिर है तो मैं, हमने मुल्क को मज़बूत करने की कोशिश की और उसमें हम कामयाब भी हुए। हम किसी के दुश्मन नहीं हैं, न चाहते हैं लेकिन हमारी इज़ज़त तभी हो जब हम मज़बूती से अपनी जगह पर रहें, दोस्ती ज़रूर हर एक से लेकिन किसी के सामने डर से झुकना नहीं है, सिर नहीं झुकायें, यह ज़रूरी बात हो जाती है और हमारी इज़ज़त भी दुनिया में काफी हुई, इसीलिए कि हमने दोस्ती के तौर पर और मुल्कों से रिश्ता बांधा। तो ये बात आप समझें, हमारे सामने पेचीदा है, एक तरफ़ ये, दूसरे तरफ़ हमारे मुल्क की ताक़त उस पर निर्भर है कि हमारे देश में आपस में इत्तेहाद और एकता किती है, अगर हममें है एकता तो हिन्दुस्तान एक बहुत ज़बरदस्त ताक़त है, अगर नहीं है, आपस में हम लड़ें छोटी-छोटी बातों पर तो ज़ाहिर है हम कमज़ोर हो जायें, और कोई हावी हो जाये।

तो मैंने आपके सामने जो ये चन्द बातें कहीं, जो हिन्दुस्तान के हर एक आदमी के लिए हैं, ख़ाली फ़ौज के लिए नहीं बल्कि हर एक आदमी के लिए हैं लेकिन ये सब बातें फ़ौज और हमारी जो और रक्षा के लिए सर्विसेज़ हों, एअर सर्विसेज़, नेवी हो, उसके लिए ये बातें कहीं ज़्यादा चप्पा होती हैं क्योंकि वो एक सीखे हुए लोग हैं, तगड़े लोग हैं, सीखे हुए हैं और उनका ख़ास, पहला, अव्वल धर्म और कर्तव्य है मुल्क की ख़िदमत करना, मुल्क की रक्षा करना। चुनांचे उनको इन सब बातों को ज़्यादा सामने रखना है एक मिसाल के तौर पर और जो देश के, मुल्क के लोग

हैं वो देखकर उससे फ़ायदा उठायेँ और उस रास्ते पर खुद कुछ चलने की कोशिश करें। तो फ़ौज क्या करती है? ये हमारी रक्षा के सविसेज्ज क्या करते हैं मुल्क में, यह बहुत ज़रूरी बात हो जाती है, यों भी काम ज़रूरी होता है, दूसरे ये कि और लोगों के देखने के लिए, और लोगों से अलग हमारी फ़ौज है, मुल्क भर से लोग उसमें आते हैं— उत्तर, दक्षिण, पूर्व, पश्चिम। फ़ौज हमारी एक सूबे की फ़ौज नहीं है कि वो बंगाल या उत्तर प्रदेश या पंजाब या राजस्थान, मद्रास या बम्बई, महाराष्ट्र, सारी फ़ौज हिन्दुस्तान की है, सारे भारत की है। अगर फ़ौज में एक सिपाही है वो सारे हिन्दुस्तान का सिपाही है, एक सूबे का सिपाही नहीं है, यह आप याद रखें यानी हमारी फ़ौज एक नमूना हो जाती है हिन्दुस्तान के इत्तेहाद और एकता की, वो हर एक आदमी के दिल में होना चाहिए और एक तैयारी की कि हमेशा तैयार रहें, जब भी ज़रूरत हो उस काम को करें, कोई ख़तरा हो अंदर से हमारे [sic] तो दिल और दिमाग़ में जो बातें होनी चाहियें और हैं, वो सारे मुल्क में फ़ैल जायें, आप समझ सकते हैं हमारे मुल्क की ताक़त कितनी ज़बर्दस्त हो जायेगी। अपनी एकता, हर वक़्त तैयारी, हर वक़्त कोई ख़तरा आये, उसका सामना करने की नीयत हो, इसलिए मैंने आपसे ये सब बातें कहीं। इसलिए कि मुझे खुशी होती है हमारे अफ़सरों और जवानों को देखकर क्योंकि उनके कई तरह के काम हैं लेकिन जो भी काम हों आप अच्छी तरह कर सकें।

पन्द्रह महीने हुए करीब, मैं गया था अम्बाले के करीब, वो अमर योजना, अमर प्रोजेक्ट पहला, पहले वाला और इत्तिफ़ाक़ है कि आप ही लोगों ने उसको किया था वहाँ।⁶⁹ और उसे देखकर खुशी हुई थी मुझे क्योंकि आपने अपनी मेहनत से एक इंतज़ाम किया अपने रहने के लिए, औरों के लिए, कितना जल्दी और तेज़ी से। अब पन्द्रह महीने बाद, एक साल के बाद, इत्तिफ़ाक़ से आप यहाँ आये आसाम की तरफ़ और यह सवाल फिर उठा यहाँ रहने का लोगों के और आपके ऊपर बोझ डाला गया है, आप जो यहाँ इंजीनियर हैं और सभी लोग और आज मैं यहाँ पहुँचा इसलिए कि ज़रा मैं इसको देखूँ और ख़ैर, ये तो मैं जानता था क्या हुआ है, उसकी रिपोर्ट वगैरह आया करती है लेकिन खासतौर से आप सब लोगों को, आपके अफ़सर और जवान, हमारे इंजीनियर भाई लोग हैं उन सभी को मैं बधाई और मुबारकबाद देता हूँ क्योंकि ऐसे ही कामों से कोई बड़ा काम उठाया जाता है, वो काम पूरा होता है, उससे हमारे दिल बढ़ते हैं, उससे एक हमारी शान बढ़ती है फ़ौज की और सारे हिन्दुस्तान की।

अब आपने सुना मुझे इसमें नहीं है कि आपने कितने मील तक आपने मकान, अगर एक से जोड़े जायें तो आठ मील तक जाते हैं और एक से एक जोड़े जायें और कित्ती सीमेंट लगाई और कित्ता छप्पर लगाया और कित्ता ये, ठीक है उस पर आप ग़ौर करें लेकिन मेरे सामने तो एक तस्वीर है कि हमारे जवानों ने और इंजीनियर्स ने एक काम तेज़ी से, अच्छी तरह से वक़्त पर किया।⁷⁰ यह अच्छी बात है और वो एक मिसाल हो जाती है, एक नमूना हो जाता है कि जो

69. In Ambala on 16 January 1959; see SWJN/SS/46/item 328.

70. According to the PTI report in the *National Herald* on 16 April 1960, the "Project Amar Two" was completed in the record time of 70 days by the troops guarding India's eastern frontier. *The Hindu* reported on 18 April that three thousand troops worked every day in rotation.

काम हमारे सुपर्द हो उसको हम तेज़ी से, शान से और वक़्त पर करेंगे। यह अच्छी बात है, इस तरह से क्रौमें बनती हैं, तो आपने एक अच्छा काम किया और एक अच्छी मिसाल फिर से दोबारा दी, इसके लिए आप सभों को मुबारकवाद और बधाई। जो आपके इंजीनियर हैं क्योंकि ज़्यादातर उन पर इसका बोझ पड़ा, खासतौर से उनको मैं बधाई दूंगा। इस मामले में यकीनन अब आप यहाँ आसाम में हैं, अगर आपको, हमें पूरीतर से मदद आसाम की सरकार की नहीं मिलती तो काम में दिक्कतें होतीं। मैंने सुना कि आसाम की गवर्नमेंट की ओर से और जो उसके मुख्यमंत्री हैं चालिहा जी⁷¹ उनकी और उनके साथियों की तरफ से पूरी मदद मिली हर तरह की। मैं उनका भी शुक्रिया अदा किया चाहता हूँ और और सभों का भी जिन्होंने यहाँ काम किया। अब जो कुछ मुझे बिलफ़ेल आपको कहना था एक माने में ख़त्म हुआ, लेकिन मेरी तो बुरी आदत है मैं बोलता ही जाता हूँ क्योंकि मैं जब आपसे बोलता हूँ तो ज़ाबते के लिए नहीं बोलता, मैं बोलता इसलिए हूँ कि मेरे दिमाग़ में, मन में जो ख़याल हैं वो आपके दिमाग़ में डालूँ, हमारा और आपका कोई दिमागी रिश्ता हो, दिल का रिश्ता हो और यह आपका मेरा नहीं, मैं तो चाहता हूँ हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों आदमियों के साथ एक दिल का और दिमागी रिश्ता हो क्योंकि तब मिलकर काम होता है और उसमें जान होती है, नहीं तो ऊपरी बातें होती हैं। इसलिए मेरी हमेशा ख़्वाहिश होती है कि जब मुझे मौक़ा मिले तो मैं कुछ आजकल के मुल्क की कहानी लोगों को बताऊँ, दुनिया को बताऊँ क्योंकि दुनिया बड़ी पेचीदा है, अजीब-अजीब बातें वहाँ हो रही हैं। दुनिया की कहानी आपको बताऊँ कि यूरोप में क्या हो रहा है, अमरीका में, अफ्रीका में क्या तूफ़ान उठे हैं और एशिया में क्या? या मैं आपसे कहूँ जो हमारे सरहद के सवाल उठे हैं, जो ख़तरनाक सवाल हैं, काफ़ी ख़तरनाक हैं उनका बता सकता हूँ लेकिन इन सबके पीछे जिस चीज़ की ज़रूरत हमें है वह एक तग़ड़ा मुल्क हो, एक मुल्क जिसके लोग अपने छोटे-मोटे झगड़े, बहसें भूल जाते हैं ख़तरे के सामने, उनमें एकता है, इत्तेहाद है और वो सीखे हुए हैं क्योंकि आजकल ताक़त एक ट्रेनिंग से होती है।

आपने सुने होंगे बहुत सारे किस्से-कहानियाँ हिन्दुस्तान की तारीख़ के, इतिहास के। किसी हिस्से में भी हिन्दुस्तान के जाइये, बहुत सारे किस्से हैं बहादुरी के, लेकिन शायद किसी क्रदर सबमें ज़्यादा मशहूर हैं पुराने ज़माने की बात, मैं कहता हूँ राजस्थान के किस्से-कहानियाँ हैं, किती उसमें वीरता, बहादुरी, हिम्मत, बलिदान इंसान का कि अब तक वो कहानियाँ पढ़कर एक ख़ून गर्म हो जाता है, लेकिन वो ही बहादुर राजपूत आख़ीर में हार गये। क्यों हारे? हिम्मत से नहीं हारे, बहादुर रहे, लेकिन पिछड़ गये थे अपने ख़्यालों में, अपने विचारों में, अपने हथियारों में पिछड़ गये। अब आप बड़ी हिम्मत से इस वक़्त एक रथ पर एक तीर-कमान लेकर लड़ने जाइये तो आपकी हिम्मत बहुत दूर आपको नहीं ले जा सकेगी। आजकल की लड़ाई तीर-कमान की नहीं रही, दूसरे तरह की हो गयी। इसलिए हमारे बहादुर से बहादुर आदमी पहले पिछड़ गये थे और दुनिया बढ़ गयी और हिन्दुस्तान हार गया, हालांकि यहाँ कोई बहादुरी की कमी नहीं थी।

तो हमें हमेशा याद रखना है कि मुल्क की तरक्की, हिम्मत और बहादुरी तो हमेशा ज़रूरी है बहुत, लेकिन वो ट्रेनिंग से होती है, सीखने से होती है, इस नयी दुनिया को समझने से होती

है। तो फ़ौज को मौक़ा मिलता है कुछ करने का इसलिए उसकी ताक़त बढ़ती है, यह बात सारे मुल्क में हमें चलानी है। मैं नहीं जानता मेरे पास एक साहब ने, जनरल साहब ने एक पर्चा भेजा है कि यहाँ बहुत सारे लोग हैं विदेशी लोग, तो मैं अंग्रेज़ी भाषा में भी कुछ कहूँ। अब मैं तो आपका शुक्रिया अदा करने आया था, मैं उनका शुक्रिया अदा करने तो आया नहीं था। हाँ, तो मैं क्या कहूँ उनसे, अब मेरी तो समझ में नहीं आता, लेकिन यह फ़ौजी मामला है और उन्होंने मुझे लिखा है तो मुझे कुछ न कुछ तो करना ही चाहिए।

[Translation begins:

Officers and jawans,

I liked the welcome song which you sang so beautifully. You spelt out the kind of India that we want to build. In a sense, all of us have a role to play in this task. There are thousands of different facets of nation building. Every one of us must consider ourselves, in our own small little ways, a worker in the service of the nation. If all of us work together, the task will be done very quickly. This is the ideal plan that we have before us. You hear of the five year plans in this connection. The Planning Commission is drawing up the Third Plan now. We are about to complete the Second Plan soon. We are doing all this to lay the firm foundations of the edifice of new India.

India has a huge population of forty crores or more. There are great diversities of occupation, province, religion and language among them. It is not proper that anybody should try to put a stamp of uniformity upon them. A nation's beauty lies in its diversity and the garden of India must have different kinds of trees and flowers. India's millions earn their livelihood by diverse methods. As you know the majority of the people in the country are farmers. Then there are industries. The problem is which sector to develop first. A nation's progress depends on the creation of new wealth by the effort of the people. Wealth is not gold or silver but goods produced from land industries, craft and all other means. The greater a country's production, the more wealthy it is and the people have more to distribute among themselves.

As you know, the United States of America and Europe are regarded as affluent countries. India ranks among the poor countries, we want to get out of that mire of poverty. The story of the affluence of the west is a very long one. The fact is that those countries have become affluent by their own effort, hard work, and intelligence and by taking advantage of the new scientific know-how and sources of energy which have been discovered. They use new machines and technology. Similarly they have modernised their forces which have become extremely powerful. It is not that their men are braver but because they have acquired extremely powerful weapons through science. Many of you who

know engineering would easily be able to understand the new technology.

The West has advanced over the last two centuries while we lagged behind. Now, that we have been given this opportunity, we must work fast and make India affluent by increasing production by every means from land and industries. We must produce whatever we need in the country, even military equipment and armaments. We should not have to import from other countries which apart from its high cost means that we are at their mercy. They can delay sending spare parts. So it is much better to be self-reliant in every sphere. We are trying to do this. The other advantage is that when we produce the goods in our own country our money remains within the country and people get employment. This is how countries develop. This is why we have adopted planning. It is an extremely complex job to plan for forty crores of people. But we are learning gradually through experience.

I feel that India has progressed a great deal ever since we got Independence. We have progressed in a very fundamental way in the sense that we will begin to reap the benefits only gradually. For instance, take steel. We need steel in every sector including agricultural implements and tools. No industry can come up without steel. A nation's progress is judged today by the amount of steel and power it produces. So, we are setting up huge steel plants at enormous cost which a poor country like India cannot easily afford. The problem is that it takes years to build. But once it is built, it benefits the entire country for years to come. Its offshoots come up, ancillary industries which provide jobs for more people. In this way, a nation progresses by its own hard work and effort in every sector, agriculture, industries, etc. A poor country lacks resources. I wanted to show you what is happening in India.

We must do all this quickly because the situation in the world and in India is such that the longer we delay, the greater our difficulties will be. New dangers arise. We are living in a strange world armed to the teeth with nuclear weapons. There is always talk of war. A war today will lead to total annihilation. In spite of the talk of peace the nations are engaged in a terrible arms race out of sheer fear. We are in a strange dilemma because we do not wish to go to war with anyone and yet, at the same time, it is our duty to defend our country in case of enemy aggression. There can be no slackness about that.

Therefore, if we want to maintain peace, we must be prepared in every way to protect the country. We must exercise constant vigilance because the moment we become slack, freedom will slip away. Having won freedom, we cannot become complacent. We have to be constantly prepared in every way, militarily as well as in other areas. We must be self-reliant as far as arms and ammunition are concerned. Our ordnance factories produce some and we have to import from other countries. Above all, our army depends on the courage

and strength of human beings. But it needs proper equipment and weapons. So it is very essential that we should produce them in India. That makes it imperative that we should produce steel and power in the country and, in short, bring about an economic revolution in India with the help of science.

A weak nation can expect no mercy from anyone. We have to make ourselves strong to be able to face this ruthless world. We will not go to war with anyone but it is obvious that we are not going to tolerate any aggression against India. Anyhow, we have tried to strengthen the country and succeeded to a large extent. We have no enmity towards anyhow. But we will be respected only if we can maintain our self-respect and Independence. We want friendship with all nations but we will not bow down before anyone out of fear. India is respected in the world because we have established friendly relationships with other countries. We face the complex problem of maintaining friendly relations with everyone while holding on to our freedom. On the other hand, a great deal depends on the unity among the people for if we are united, India can become a very great power. If we are constantly engaged in petty quarrels, it is obvious that we will become weak and lose our freedom to others.

I have pointed out something which every Indian, whether he is in the armed forces or not must bear in mind. They apply to the armed forces specially because they are strong, trained human beings whose first and foremost duty is to serve and protect the country. So they must always bear these things in mind and set an example to their brethren.

The manner in which the armed forces conduct themselves is a crucial one, they play a crucial role in the defence of the nation, and two, they stand as an example to the others. People from all over the country, north, south, and east and west are recruited into the armed forces. All the provinces of India are represented in them. A soldier in the armed forces is a soldier of India. So, the armed forces are a symbol of India's unity. Every member of the armed forces must be mentally prepared at all times to spring to the defence of the country the moment danger threatens. You can imagine what a tremendous force India will become if the spirit of unity could spread to all the people in the country. We must present a united front and keep ourselves in a constant state of readiness. I feel very happy when I see our young men in the armed forces.

About fifteen months ago I had gone to see the Amar project near Ambala which by a strange coincidence had been completed by you.⁷² I felt very happy to see how well you had worked to help others to have a roof over their heads. Now I see that you have taken up the burden here in Assam. I have been getting reports about this project. But I wanted to congratulate all of you,

72. See fn 69 in this section.

officers, engineers and jawans, who have worked on this project. When we take on big tasks and complete them it gives us fresh hope and courage.

We have just heard that if the houses were put next to one another, they would stretch over eight miles and the amount of bricks and cement which have been used, etc. But what impresses me more is the fact that our engineers and jawans have worked together so hard and quickly and completed the project on time.⁷³ It sets an example and becomes a symbol of our capacity to complete what we take up in time and do it well. This is the spirit of which nations are made. You have proved your mettle twice and I congratulate all of you especially the engineers on whom the burden has been heaviest. There is no doubt about it that if we had not had the wholehearted cooperation of the Assam Government and the people, we could not have succeeded so well. I have heard that the Government of Assam, its Chief Minister, Chali haji⁷⁴ and his colleagues have helped in every way. I want to thank them and all others who have been involved in this project.

I have finished speaking, in a sense about the things that I wanted to. But I have a bad habit of rambling on. I do not make formal speeches. I speak because I want to share my ideas and thoughts with you to create a mental and emotional bond between you and me and the millions of human beings in India. It is only by creating that bond that we can work together. If we lack that vitality, everything else becomes superficial. Therefore, it is always my desire to share at every opportunity the story of India and the world with you. We are living in a complex world today. Extraordinary events are overtaking all the countries, in USA, in Europe. A great storm is brewing in Africa and Asia. Our own border issue is posing great danger. I can talk about all that. But what really counts is that India should become a strong nation, politically and economically a nation capable of overcoming its petty quarrels and of defending itself against any danger. The people must be united and trained.

You must have read many tales from Indian history. Every part of India resounds with tales of bravery and heroic exploit. Rajasthan stands out in this respect. The blood tingles even to this day to bear the tales of bravery and sacrifice. And yet the Rajput warriors lose. Why? It is not because they lacked courage but they had become backward in their ideas and thinking. Their weapons had become outdated. You cannot fight against guns and tanks with bows and arrow. Modern warfare is quite different today. So our brave warriors lost to the enemy time and again.

73. See fn 70 in this section.

74. See fn 71 in this section.

Therefore, we must remember that though courage and bravery are very essential what really counts is training and education and an understanding of the new world. I have been given a note by one of your generals that I should now speak a few words in English as there are many foreigners present here. I have come to thank you not them. So I do not know what I should say to them. But this is a matter of military etiquette. So I will have to do something.

Translation ends]

[Nehru continues in English]

I have come here today to see the completion of this project "Amar II" as it is called. A little over a year ago I visited Ambala where a similar project had been undertaken by our army people. And as it happened a marvel incidentally that the same people, who are here today, did it there. I was very pleased with them then because their extraordinary [grit and ability] which is probably the biggest quality that an individual or a group can have, this kind of freedom from dependence on others. You can apply that in any sense you like. Self-help in a nation, a nation must have self-reliance and must depend upon itself. Of course, a nation will cooperate with other nations, it should, it is a different matter. But it should never have the feeling of dependence. We all know that so far as political dependence is concerned, nobody likes that, it becomes free. But it is equally important a feeling of not depending on others let us say to protect us, to look after us. We want the friendship of all countries, but we do not want to cultivate the habit of looking, of expecting others to look after us or protect us because that is, that weakens us, the very idea weakens us, because we begin to depend upon others, that is so far as a nation is concerned, but that applies to almost anything in life, self-reliance, self-help, cooperative endeavour. More particularly, obviously, it applies to one's defence forces. Defence forces have to do something much more than self-help. They have to help others too. So all these examples of "Amar Front Project" and "Amar II", which requires a little out of your normal routines and normal ways, are very good and very inspiring, because they show in a certain measure that quality of our men, officers and men. And it is quality that counts ultimately. You are good in your normal work; that we hope. But if an abnormal, unusual work comes to you and you do that well and efficiently, then your quality shines forth much more, because that shows the abundant measure of initiative, that measure of adaptability, not working merely, [...] you can face any contingency with confidence in yourself. That is the spirit, that is the feeling. I should like to develop in our country, in every person, in every individual—man and woman

and child if I may so—the spirit of self-help, self-sacrifice, cooperation and initiative to meet any kind of emergency that might come. Those who have built up these structures, seventeen hundred or, I do not quite remember how many but a fine example of initiative and doing something quickly and efficiently. We should have to face, we may have to face many occasions when much bigger undertakings will have to be taken up, bigger in which more initiative to be shown but if you have that basic self-reliance in yourself, in the army, in the defence services, in the country, we all incur that. We want to take advantage of the latest technique naturally. Technique [recording interrupted] but ultimately, it is the quality of the human beings which counts, and because we feel that our defence [recording interrupted] quality, we are proud of them and we shall be able to face it with calmness and courage.

Jai Hind!

अब मेरे साथ जय हिन्द कहिए तीन दफ़े—
जय हिन्द, जय हिन्द, जय हिन्द ।

[Translation begins:

Now say Jai Hind with me three times—
Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

67. In Tezpur: Public Meeting⁷⁵

अध्यक्ष जी, बंधुओ और बहिनो,
इस समय एक तो आपकी आसाम की युवक कांग्रेस का अधिवेशन है और दूसरे आम सभा है, दोनों मिल गयी हैं तो अब मैं युवक कांग्रेस के लिए कुछ कहूँगा विशेषकर या आम सभा में यह प्रश्न मेरे सामने आ जाता है। उन दोनों बातों में बहुत अन्तर नहीं है तो मैं विशेषकर आम सभा का कहूँगा लेकिन उसमें कुछ थोड़ा सा हमारे युवकगण के लिए भी कुछ होगा।

अभी आपकी युवक कांग्रेस की रिपोर्ट मैं पढ़ रहा था। उसमें पिछले दस-पाँच बरस का विवरण है। उसको मैंने देखा कि आपने क्या-क्या काम किया यहाँ और इस समय आपकी संस्था

75. Speech at a meeting organised under the auspices of Assam Youth Congress, 15 April 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

Later he briefly addressed Congress workers also, see *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 16 April 1960.

की हालत क्या है, कैसे वो रहती है इस प्रदेश में और क्या-क्या उसने जनता की सेवा किस-किस तरह की है? तो वह रिपोर्ट अच्छी है और मेरे ऊपर असर हुआ कि आपकी युवक कांग्रेस आसाम की एक काम करने वाली संस्था है, खाली सभाएँ करने वाली नहीं है क्योंकि आमतौर से मैंने देखा है बहुत कुछ संस्थाएँ कोई एक थोड़ा सा काम नहीं करती, कभी-कभी उसके अधिवेशन होते हैं और उसमें कुछ प्रस्ताव होते हैं और आमतौर से जो प्रस्ताव होते हैं वो और लोगों को देश की सलाह देते हैं— देश को यह करना चाहिए या सारी दुनिया को यह करना चाहिए। इसके माने ये होते हैं कि आप इस बात पर विचार अधिक नहीं करते कि आपको क्या करना है, हमको क्या करना है, औरों को सलाह देते हैं या यह बात ठीक नहीं होती।

पहले बहुत बरस हुए जब हमारे देश की महासभा कांग्रेस ने एक तरह की, एक तरह का बड़ा परिवर्तन हुआ था। जब महात्मा गांधी इसमें आये थे तो महात्मा जी ने बिल्कुल पसंद नहीं किया जैसे कि पहले कांग्रेस में प्रस्ताव हुआ करते थे। उन्होंने कहा कि प्रस्ताव होते हैं, उनमें अच्छी बातें भी होती हैं लेकिन सारा ध्यान होता है औरों को, औरों से कुछ माँगने का, औरों को कुछ धमकी देने का और इस तरीके से यह नहीं होता, उसमें प्रस्ताव में कि हमको क्या करना है तो उन्होंने हमारे ध्यान को पलटा कुछ, उन्होंने कहा कि अब कांग्रेस में जो प्रस्ताव हों उसमें थोड़ा बहुत तो चर्चा होगा औरों की तरफ, अंग्रेजी राज्य की तरफ यानी उसके हटाने के सम्बन्ध में, लेकिन विशेषकर हमारे प्रस्ताव में होना चाहिए कि हमारा कर्तव्य क्या है क्योंकि जब हम अपने कर्तव्य का पालन करेंगे, तभी हमारी शक्ति बढ़ेगी, तभी हम अंग्रेजी राज्य को यहाँ से हटा सकते हैं, खाली बातचीत करना कि अंग्रेजी राज्य हट जाये या बड़े ज़ोर का भाषण देना, उससे हटता नहीं। अपनी शक्ति बढ़ानी है इसलिए चालीस वर्ष की बात मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि उसमें से अगर आप कांग्रेस के प्रस्ताव देखें तो वो दूसरे ढंग के हो गये। देश को क्या करना है उसका चर्चा, हमें क्या करना है, कांग्रेस वालों को क्या करना है उसका उसमें ज़िक्र।

तो इसी तरह से कांग्रेस का ढंग बदला और देश भर में देशव्यापी संस्था वह हो गयी काम करने वाले लोगों की, जो कि गाँव में और और जगह जाके काम करते थे और खाली धमकियाँ नहीं अंग्रेजी सरकार को देते थे। इससे एक महाशक्ति हुई, पैदा हुई, देश में एकता हुई क्योंकि काम से एकता होती है, बहस से एकता नहीं होती। तो जब यह सबक सारे देश को महात्मा जी ने सिखाया था और थोड़ा बहुत हम समझ गये, पूरा तो नहीं, तो ज़रा हम समझे तो उससे हमें लाभ हुआ, विशेषकर यह सबक हमारे नवयुवकों के लिए है। यह शोभा नहीं देता नवयुवकों को कि वो औरों को बताएँ कि क्या उन्हें करना है, स्वयं उन्हें अपना विचार करना है कि हमें क्या करना है, हर एक को समझना है, हाँ जो लोग जिनकी बड़ी उम्र हो गयी, बुढ़े हो गये, कुछ स्वयं वह कर नहीं सकते, वह औरों को सलाह दें लेकिन जो जवान हैं, नवयुवक हैं उनके तो काम करने का समय है, वो औरों को क्या बताएँ क्या करो, स्वयं करें या अपने को तैयार करें काम करने के लिए। विद्यार्थियों का समय— उसके माने यह है कि विद्यार्थी अपने को तैयार करते हैं, ट्रेन्ड करते हैं कि फिर बाद में बड़े-बड़े काम करें। कोई काम हो, कोई बड़ा काम हो, उसको वही कर सकता है जिसने उसके लिए अपने को ट्रेन्ड किया, सिखाया। कोई काम हो, अगर आप कुश्ती लड़ते हैं, पहलवान बनना चाहते हैं तो आपको अपने को ट्रेन्ड करना है कुश्ती के लिए, भाषण दे के आप पहलवान नहीं हो जायेंगे। अगर आप फ़र्ज़ करो, एथलेटिक्स में, खेलों

में दौड़ते हैं, सारे गज़ में कौन जीते तो उसके लिए आपको अपने को ट्रेन्ड करना होता है कि आपका शरीर तगड़ा हो, मज़बूत हो और इतने बड़े कामों में आप पड़ें तो ज़ाहिर है उसमें काफी ट्रेनिंग की ज़रूरत है, शरीर की और उससे भी अधिक मन की, तब बड़े काम होते हैं। अब यह बात पहली आप समझ लें।

दूसरी बात यह कि यह शोभा नहीं देता कि हम औरों को बतायें क्या करना है, हम स्वयं निश्चय करें, हमें क्या करना है। इसलिए आपकी युवक कांग्रेस का पहला कार्य यह होना चाहिए कि उसके प्रस्ताव हों और दुनिया के बारे में नहीं लेकिन अपने बारे में कि आसाम के युवकों को क्या करना है। एक आप कार्यक्रम प्रोग्राम बनाएँ कि अब यह साल शुरू हुआ, अब इस साल में यहाँ के युवक कांग्रेस के लड़के-लड़कियों को क्या करना है, उससे आपको अंदाज़ा होता है, उसको आप फिर तराजू पर तोल सकते हैं, कागज़ से नाप सकते हैं कि क्या हुआ बाद में। काम कई तरह से होते हैं, एक तो संस्था का काम होता है यानी संस्था में सदस्य बढ़ाना, मेम्बर बढ़ाना, ठीक-ठीक काम करें एक तो वह है, और आवश्यक होता है किसी संस्था के लिए, लेकिन दूसरा जो असली ठोस काम होता है जनता का काम— जनता के काम में बहुत बातें आ जाती हैं और एक तो उसमें जो काम करें उससे लाभ होता है जनता को, लेकिन उससे अधिक काम करने वाले को लाभ होता है। आप स्कूल और कॉलेज में पढ़ते हैं और ठीक आप पढ़ें तो आपका उससे लाभ होगा, लेकिन उसके अलावा अगर आप कभी-कभी गाँव में, खेत में, कहीं भी कुछ कार्य करें तो उससे आपको स्कूल और कॉलेज में पढ़ने से भी अधिक लाभ होगा। दोनों बातें साथ-साथ चलनी चाहियें बल्कि अब यह विचार होते जाते हैं दुनिया में पढ़ाई की निस्वत, स्कूल और कॉलेज की पढ़ाई की निस्वत भी कि उस पढ़ाई में एक उसका एक बड़ा भाग होना चाहिए खेत में या कारख़ाने में काम करने का। क्या माने हैं इसके कि पढ़ाई के माने ख़ाली किताब पढ़ने का नहीं है, किताब तो पढ़नी चाहिए, ख़ाली आपके कुछ मन से आप किताब पढ़के और लेक्चर सुनके तैयार करें वो तो है अच्छी, लेकिन शरीर और मन साथ-साथ चलते हैं और शरीर का काम भी कुछ हाथ-पैर का होना आवश्यक है। इसीलिए गांधीजी इस बात पर ज़ोर देते थे कि कुछ न कुछ काम हर एक को करना चाहिए हाथ से, चाहे वह चर्खा चलाएँ, चाहे कुछ करें, कुछ न कुछ, तब ठीक तौर से आपका शरीर और मन साथ-साथ बढ़ते हैं। इसलिए आप जो अपने प्रस्ताव करें उसमें यह लिखें कि आप क्या काम करेंगे इस साल भर में, जो आपके सामने हैं और फिर आप हर एक आपकी शाखा जो है वो रिपोर्ट करे कि वो काम कितना पूरा हुआ। मैंने देखा आपकी रिपोर्ट में कि आपने बहुत अच्छे-अच्छे काम किए और कर रहे हैं। एक तो ऐसी जगह कि जब कोई मुसीबत आयी, बाढ़ आ गयी या कुछ और आया, भूकम्प आया था बहुत बरस हुए, तो ठीक है उसमें तो काम सभी को करना चाहिए, लेकिन उसके अलावा भी ऐसी मुसीबत के अलावा भी कुछ पक्का काम करना चाहिए।

आप एक बात पर विचार करें— आप लोग जो स्कूल और कॉलेज में हैं या मेरे जैसे लोग जो स्कूल-कॉलेज में पढ़े, हमें बहुत मौक़े मिले अपने को कुछ सीखने के बहुत मौक़े मिले। आमतौर से हमारे देश में कितने लोगों को, कितने लड़के-लड़कियों को वो मौक़ा मिलता है? अब बहुतांश को मिलता है मैं मानता हूँ, अब बढ़ गया, बढ़ता जाता है लेकिन बहुतांश को नहीं मिलता। तो हमको यह जो मौक़ा मिलता है जो हमारे बहुत सारे भाई-बहिनों को नहीं मिलते। तो एक

तरह देश हमारे लिए विशेष ध्यान देता है, विशेष पैसा खर्चता है, विशेष हमें समय देता है बढ़ने का, तो हमारे ऊपर देश का एक बोझा है, उस बोझ को हम कैसे पूरा करें? उसको इसी तरह से कि जो मौक़ा हमको मिला, देश ने दिया हमें, देश ने, कुछ अपनी सेवा से, कार्य से औरों की सेवा करें जिनके पास मौक़ा नहीं है हो सकता है बाद में ऐसा समय आये कि जब देश की हालत अच्छी हो, हम सब लोग खुशहाल हों और पढ़ाई का प्रबन्ध अच्छे से अच्छा हो, जिसमें सब लोग एक-एक लड़का, एक-एक लड़की अच्छे स्कूल में जा सकें, कॉलेज में जायें या कोई और काम सीखें और उसके बाद सभी को काम मिले। यह समय आयेगा, उसी के लिए हर तैयारी करते हैं, उसी के लिए पंचवर्षीय योजना और क्या-क्या करते हैं लेकिन वो समय तो अभी दूर है, चालीस करोड़ आदमियों तक पहुँचाना और उनको बराबर का हक़ देना समय लगेगा। तो इस समय जिनको यह लाभ, यह फ़ायदा हुआ है उनके ऊपर काफी बोझा है देश की सेवा करने का और भी, बनिस्वत उन लोगों के जिनको यह मौक़ा नहीं मिलता। तो इसको आप ध्यान में रखिए और ऐसा अपना कार्यक्रम बनाएँ जिससे आप इस ऋण को अदा करें और जिससे आप लाभ पहुँचायें अपने प्रदेश को, जनता को और देश को। और काम याद रखिए, ऐसा काम नहीं होता है दिखाने का काम कि कुछ लोग चले गये गाँव में, उन्होंने कहा कि भई आओ आज गाँव में ज़रा झाड़ू दे के साफ़ करें, एक घंटे डेढ़ उन्होंने किया और चले आये। यह तो एक मज़ाक़ सा हो जाता है, काम करना है तो डट के करना है जैसे और लोग करते हैं। जाइये आप छुट्टी के दिनों में खेतों में काम कीजिए, आइये आप खेतों में जो हमारा कार्यक्रम है खेतों के लिए उसमें कीजिए किसानों के साथ, उससे आपका सम्बन्ध भी होगा, हमारे किसान भाइयों और बहनों से आप कुछ समझेंगे भी वहाँ का हाल और आप भी तगड़े हो जायेंगे और ऐसे जो-जो काम आपको मिलें आप करें। तो मेरी आपको सलाह ये है कि आप ऐसे अपने प्रस्ताव बनाएँ कि आप किया करेंगे न कि यह कि आसाम की सरकार किया करे और भारत की सरकार किया करे, यूनाइटेड नेशन किया करे और दुनिया किया करे।

आज मैं यहाँ तेज़पुर आया एक विशेष कारण से। मैं यहाँ आया इसलिए कि हमारे फ़ौज के अफ़सरों और जवानों ने यहाँ अपने रहने के लिए घर बनायें हैं। कौन सी उसमें विशेषता है? वो तो ख़ास विशेषता है, नहीं है, लेकिन है भी। यह हमने निश्चय किया था पहले तो यह कि कुछ फ़ौज यहाँ अधिक हमें भेजनी है, अब वो आयेगी तो रहेगी कहाँ? अब मामूली तरीक़ा तो यह है कि गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से निश्चय हो, योजना बने और नक्शा बने और फिर धूमधाम हो और फिर ठेकेदारों को बुलाया जाये और क्या-क्या हो। वह तो ज़माना लग जाता है, खर्चा भी अधिक होता है और समय लगता है, हमारे पास समय नहीं था और हम खर्चना भी इतना नहीं चाहते थे। इसलिए हमने विचार किया कि हमारे फ़ौजी जवान खुद स्वयं क्यों न बनायें उसे अपने रहने के लिए, तगड़े लोग हैं और एक डिस्प्लन उनमें है।

तो इस फरवरी में यह निश्चय किया गया था, एक ढाई महीने हुए, आप समझे बहुत समय नहीं हुआ। हमने ऐसे ही काम अभी पार साल भर निश्चय हुआ उधर भी करवाया था फ़ौजी जवानों से पंजाब में, अम्बाला में। उन्होंने वहाँ भी कई हज़ार अपने मकान बनाए, तेज़ी से बनाए, अच्छे बनाए, सस्ते बनाए। तो वह हमने उससे सब सीखे। तो फरवरी में यहाँ निश्चय हुआ कि हम यहाँ उनके लिए मकान बनायें और हमारे सामने समय कम था क्योंकि बरसात मॉनसून के आने

के पहले बनाने थे, नहीं तो कठिनाई हो जाती और आजकल समय आ गया बरसात का आपके यहाँ, कभी बरस जाती है, कुछ देर हो गयी उसमें लेकिन समय आ गया। तो सिर्फ हमारे सामने समझो कि ढाई महीने थे उससे भी कम, हमने हिसाब लगाया और अपने फ़ौजी अफ़सरों और इंजीनियर्स से पूछा तो उन्होंने कहा कि हाँ हम इस को ढाई महीने में बना देंगे, बहुत कुछ बनाया है याद रखो और हमें पूरी आशा है कि हमारे फ़ौजी के जवान दिल लगा के मेहनत से कर लेंगे। तो हमने कहा कि करो फिर और कुछ हमने अपने क्रायदे-क़ानून— उसमें बड़ा समय लगता था— उसको भी बदल दिया कि जल्दी से हो जाये। तो यह काम जो उन्होंने कहा था करने को उन्होंने पूरा कर दिया उस समय के अंदर और उसको मैं खोलने आया। सत्रह सौ मकान उन्होंने बनाये हैं कतार के, ढंग के, अपने रहने के लिए, अफ़सरों और जवानों के लिए और वहाँ पर कुछ रह रहे हैं और कल परसों से कुछ और रहने लगेंगे। तो मैं उन लोगों से मिलने आया था अफ़सरों से और जवानों से, उनका काम देखने और उनको बधाई देने क्योंकि दिल खुश होता है जब कोई कठिन काम उठाये और उसको जल्द तेज़ी से और अच्छी तरह से करें। इससे हमारी शक्ति बढ़ती है, इसलिए मैं विशेषकर आया।

दूसरी बात जो मुझे यहाँ लायी वो यह कि आपके यहाँ तेज़पुर के पास कुछ महीनों से बल्कि अधिक से एक शरणार्थियों का कैम्प है जहाँ तिब्बत के भागे हुए लोग रहते हैं, वो हमारी एक ज़िम्मेदारी हैं, उनकी देखभाल करना, उनको अलग-अलग बसाना। मीसामारी में जो कैम्प उसका बना था वह कोई पक्का कैम्प तो नहीं था, वह तो उनका आरज़ी था, उस पर यहाँ थोड़े दिन ठहरे फिर और जगह भेजे। मीसामारी अच्छी जगह उनके लिए नहीं है, अच्छी जगह इसलिए नहीं कि वहाँ गर्मी अधिक होती है और यह लोग ऐसे देश से आये हैं जहाँ आप जानते हैं बड़ी सर्दी होती है। तो वो लोग यहाँ परेशान हो जाते, तो उनको हमें बसाना है, मालूम नहीं भविष्य में कब तक रहें, हमेशा रहें, कोई कह नहीं सकता। तो हमें उनका पक्का इंतज़ाम करना जिससे वह काम कर सकें कुछ न कुछ, जिससे वह पढ़-लिख सकें, उनके लड़के-लड़कियाँ और ठीक तरह और अपने धर्म का पालन करें, बौद्ध धर्म का। तो हम उन लोगों को इधर-उधर फैला रहे हैं और ख़ाली पहाड़ में रह सकते हैं क्योंकि नीचे देश में जायें तो गर्मी की उन्हें बरदाश्त नहीं है। तो यह बात हो रही है लेकिन फिर भी बहुतों को हमने भेज दिया, मालूम नहीं कितनों को, दस हज़ार को, अब भी एक ढाई हज़ार लोग यहाँ हैं और अब भी थोड़े-थोड़े आते जाते हैं। तो मैं उस कैम्प को देखने गया था।

अब यह दोनों बातें जो मैं करने आया था— एक तो अपने फ़ौजी लोगों को देखने क्या उन्होंने काम किया और एक यह तिब्बत के शरणार्थियों को देखने। ये दोनों बातें एक नयी चीज़ हैं आपके आसाम प्रदेश के लिए और इसकी तरफ मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

आसाम प्रदेश बहुत बरसों से हमारे स्वतंत्रता के पहले की बात मैं करता हूँ भारत के एक कोने में था और इसकी सीमा जो भी भारत से यहाँ वो एक शांत सीमा थी। उधर कोई बहुत ध्यान नहीं जाता था। हाँ, पिछली बड़ी लड़ाई में कुछ आसाम के पास लड़ाई रही थी बर्मा की ओर से और उधर इम्फाल, मणिपुर की तरफ आयी थी और उसी लड़ाई की वजह से आपके आसाम में, तेज़पुर में और इधर-उधर, कहाँ-कहाँ ये हवाई जहाज़ के अड्डे बन गये, एयरस्ट्रिप, एयरफ़ोर्स बन गये वो लड़ाई के सिलसिले में। तो वो लड़ाई आई थी और लड़ाई ख़त्म हो गयी लेकिन उसको

छोड़कर आसाम की सीमा एक शांत सीमा थी, तिब्बत से शांत थी, बर्मा से शांत थी और कोई झगड़ा-फ़िसाद इधर नहीं था आज से नहीं बहुत ज़माने से, हाँ इतिहास में कभी-कभी कुछ हुआ झगड़ा, लेकिन नहीं थे। अब भारत में दूसरी सीमा थी उस तरफ पूर्व की तरफ वो उस समय तो पाकिस्तान नहीं था, कुछ उधर की हमारी सीमा थी पश्चिमी सीमा, वह एक झगड़े की सीमा गिनी जाती थी और अंग्रेज़ी सरकार और वहाँ कई लड़ाइयाँ भी हुई थीं, वहाँ उस रास्ते से कितनी बार हिन्दुस्तान के ऊपर हमला हुआ था, फ़ौजें आयी थीं और गरज़ कि एक लड़ाई-झगड़े की सीमा थी और अंग्रेज़ी सरकार ने वहाँ पंजाब में बड़ी-बड़ी फ़ौजें रखते थे और सीमा प्रांत में, पंजाब में बहुत सारी सड़कें बनी थीं इसलिए कि वहाँ सीमा प्रांत के भी एक ख़तरे की सीमा है, फ़ौज आ जा सके इधर-उधर और देश की रक्षा कर सके। अब इसके मुकाबले में मैं इधर आसाम की सीमा बड़ी सीमा थी, कुछ शांत थी, कोई झगड़े का यहाँ भय नहीं था। यह बात, यह सिलसिला रहा। अब जब से स्वराज आया हल्के-हल्के यह बात बदलने लगी, हाँ और इसकी वजह थी क्योंकि यहाँ शांत सीमा थी, कुछ आसाम की उन्नति में भी हर्जा हो गया, अंग्रेज़ी सरकार के ज़माने में उनको बहुत फ़िक्र नहीं थी उस तरफ और आसाम एक दूर प्रदेश समझा जाता था और उनके राज्य में कोई डर नहीं था। तो उन्होंने इधर ध्यान नहीं दिया जैसे के और बाज़ जगह दिए गये। यह हाल रहा स्वराज आने पर।

मुझे याद है कि स्वराज आने के बाद जब मैं आपके प्रदेश में बार-बार आया तो मैंने आपको उस समय कहा भी कि अब दुनिया में परिवर्तन हो रहा है और यह आसाम जो कि एक भारत के कोने में था अब यह सीमा इसकी ऐसी नहीं रहेगी जैसी पहले थी और चाहे लड़ाई हो या न हो, मैं लड़ाई का नहीं कहता लेकिन इस सीमा के आर-पार आना-जाना होगा, चारों तरफ से देश बढ़ रहे हैं, बर्मा है, चीन आया, यह एक रास्ता हो जायेगा, जो भी कुछ हो आसाम एक कोने की जगह नहीं रहेगी यह मैंने कहा था। उस समय भी मेरे मन में यह विचार था कि यह सीमा एक ऐसी होती जाती है जिसकी हमें विशेष फ़िक्र करनी पड़ेगी, एकदम से नहीं तो दस-बीस बरस में लेकिन करें क्योंकि एशिया का नक्शा बदल रहा है, विचार था उस वक़्त और उस विचार पर कुछ थोड़ा बहुत अमल भी हुआ था। मेरे कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं है क्योंकि यह बातें फ़ौजी बातें कही नहीं जाती हैं लेकिन हमारे विचार में उस समय भी कुछ था और कुछ न कुछ प्रबन्ध उसके हुए। अब दस बरस हुए इसको आज अब आप देख सकते हैं कि यह सीमा हमारी जो कि एक शांति समझो कि सोई हुई सीमा थी अब जाग उठी है और उसके इधर-उधर ऐसी बातें होने लगीं जिससे हमें फ़िक्र हुई, जिससे कुछ देश से ख़तरा भी हो सकता है। तो सारे आसाम का तो जो कुछ हो, सारे देश के ध्यान करने के लिए भी हमें इस सीमा की फ़िक्र हुई, सभी को हुई, आपको हुई और सारे देश को हुई और कई बातें अब हो रही हैं जिससे आप देख सकते हैं कि अब ध्यान इस तरफ अधिक देश का होता जाता है। यह बातें बहुत अच्छी नहीं हैं जो बातें हुई हैं लेकिन अच्छी हों या बुरी हों, मोटी बात यह है कि यह आसाम की, भारत की सीमा सरहद यह अब जाग उठी है और इसका तकाज़ा है, इसकी पुकार है कि इसकी पूरीतौर से रक्षा हो। यह प्रश्न, नया प्रश्न और यह आज की बात नहीं है कि आज कोई हमारे ऊपर भय है तो हम करेंगे, यह नहीं। आज की बात जो है, कुछ है, उसका हम सामना करेंगे बल्कि यह भविष्य की बात भविष्य में, दस बरस, बीस बरस, तीस बरस, चालीस बरस में मैं नहीं जानता, मतलब

यह है कि वह सीमा का ढंग बदल गया, एक बहुत शक्तिशाली राज्य उस पार है और जब ऐसा होता है दो बड़े देश सामना करते हैं एक सीमा पर, चाहे उसमें मित्रता और दोस्ती क्यों न हो, सीमा जाग उठती है और अगर मित्रता नहीं हो तो भय भी होता है ऐसी सीमा पर। तो हर सूरत में यह सीमा बदल गई है और उसी का नतीजा यह है एक। इसी वजह से इधर शरणार्थी वगैरह यहाँ आये और उसी की वजह से हमें अलग-अलग इंतज़ाम करने पड़ रहे हैं यह सीमा की रक्षा के, फ़ौजी प्रबन्ध। और एक बात जो बहुत सारे आप इधर-उधर सड़कें बनेंगी, अच्छा है, यह तो आपको और सारे इधर रहने वालों को, चाहे वो हमारे नेफ़ा है या आसाम है या और इधर-उधर है उनका लाभ होगा, सड़कें बनेंगी पहाड़ों पर जो शायद हम आसानी से नहीं बनाते क्योंकि पहाड़ी सड़क पर बहुत खर्च होता है, कठिन होता है लेकिन जब आवश्यकता होती है तो बनायी जाती है और बनेंगी और जल्दी तेज़ी से बनेंगी।

तो आप देखिए कैसे यह सब रंग बदल रहा है यहाँ, रंग बदलने की वजह बहुत अच्छी नहीं है लेकिन उसका नतीजा जो होगा उससे आपके प्रदेश को लाभ होगा। सड़कें बनना वगैरह यह सब बातें हों, इससे काम यहाँ ज़्यादा बढ़ेगा, अन्दर के हिस्से जो बंद थे वो कुछ खुल जायेंगे, लोगों का आना-जाना होगा, हो सकता है यहाँ कारख़ाने बनें छोटे-बड़े, ये सब बातें होंगी, आवश्यक होती हैं। यह बात मैं चाहता हूँ आप याद रखें क्योंकि आसाम के इस समय के इतिहास में यह नया अध्याय शुरू हो रहा है। उस अध्याय में एक कुछ ऐसी बातें भी हैं जिससे आसाम या नेफ़ा पर थोड़ा सा ख़तरा हो, यह भी बातें हैं और उसी के साथ यह भी है कि आसाम और नेफ़ा इत्यादि के अन्दर से बढ़ने का और तरक्की करने का उन्हें मौक़ा मिलेगा तेज़ी से। यह अच्छी बात है, यह सब मौक़े तो आपके पास आ रहे हैं, आप उनके लिए किस तरह से तैयार हो रहे हैं, यह प्रश्न आपके सामने आता है? एक माने में यह प्रश्न तो सारे भारत का है यानी सारे भारत के सामने नये-नये मौक़े आते हैं, नये-नये भय आते हैं, कैसे उसके लिए सारा भारत तैयार हो रहा है? विशेषकर आप कैसे हो रहे हैं? विशेषकर जो नवयुवक हैं वो कैसे हो रहे हैं? क्योंकि आख़िर में नौजवानों पर यह बोझ पड़ता है, आज पड़ता है, कल और पड़ेगा, परसों और पड़ेगा और यह जिस क्रिस्म के ख़तरे आते हैं, भय की बातें होती हैं या ज़िम्मेदारियाँ आती हैं वो ऐसी नहीं हैं कि आप एक सम्मेलन करके, प्रस्ताव करके उनको हल कर दें। उसके लिए तगड़े लोगों की आवश्यकता है जो परिश्रम करें, जो सीखें हुए हों, जो काम उसके सुपुर्द हो उसको अच्छी तरह से कर सकें। आख़िर में देश बढ़ते हैं सभाओं से और जुलूसों से नहीं, न बाहर के व्याख्यानों से, देश बढ़ते हैं ठोस काम से और तगड़े दिलों से।

तो भारत का यह समय अब पहले से अधिक एक आजमाइश का हो गया, एक इत्ता ट्रायल का हो गया भारत के लोगों को कई तरफ से, एक तो हमारे सामने था ही कि कितनी जल्दी हम भारत को बढ़ा सकें, खुशहाल करें, यहाँ की दरिद्रता ग़रीबी को दूर करें और इस तरह से भारत को मज़बूत करें क्योंकि ग़रीब देश कहाँ मज़बूत होते हैं। कितने ही ग़रीब देश में लोग तगड़े भी हों, ग़रीबी एक कमज़ोरी की निशानी है। ग़रीब देश के पास तो सामान भी नहीं होता ठीकतौर से रक्षा करने को और अगर कोई देश और देशों पे भरोसा करे उसकी रक्षा करने को तो वो देश पूरी तौर से आज़ाद नहीं रहता है।

आपने भारत का इतिहास पढ़ा है और उसमें देखा होगा कि कैसे हमारे ऊपर बाहर से

आक्रमण हुए हैं इतिहास में अक्सर। दो बातें उससे निकलती हैं। एक तो यह कि हम आपस में लड़ा करते थे, बाहर के दुश्मन ने उससे लाभ उठाया और कभी-कभी ऐसा भी हमने आपस में लड़ने में खुद बाहर के दुश्मन का साथ दिया। कुछ लोगों ने, हमने अपने यहाँ के, अपनी अन्दर की लड़ाई में जीतने के लिए बाहर के दुश्मन का साथ दिया, ऐसा भी हुआ है, गद्दारी की, भारत में अक्सर बाहर के लोग आये हैं लेकिन करीब-करीब हमेशा वो कोई बहुत अपने तगड़ेपन से यहाँ नहीं आये, हमारे आपस के झगड़े से और आपस की दुर्बलता से, एक तो यह बात। दूसरी यह कि भारत कुछ दुनिया से अलग हो गया, हमने अपने चारों तरफ दीवारें बना लीं और दुनिया में बहुत उन्नति हुई, तरक्की हुई और बातों को छोड़ो हथियार की तरक्की हुई, बड़े-बड़े हथियार निकले नये, हम पुराने ढंग से काम करते थे, पुराने ढंग से लड़ाई भी लड़ते थे, अब मामूली बात हर सिपाही जानता है कि जिस आदमी के पास ज़्यादा मज़बूत हथियार हैं उसकी ताक़त बहुत ज़्यादा है। आप तीर-कमान से लड़ने जायें तो आप बंदूक का मुक़ाबला नहीं कर सकते, आप कितने ही तगड़े हों, बंदूक के पास नहीं पहुँचते आपके तीर, बंदूक ज़ोरदार हैं, मामूली बंदूक तोप का मुक़ाबला नहीं कर सकती। इस तरह से ज्यों-ज्यों हथियार नये बने, ताक़त चली गयी उसके पास जिसने बनाये, तो उसने फ़तह किया ख़ूब और मुल्कों को। तो फिर हम अगर असल में स्वतंत्र होना चाहते हैं तो इस तरह से हम नहीं हो सकते कि भरोसा करें, और देश हमारी रक्षा करें। यह भी तो भरोसा करना ही एक अपनी कमज़ोरी और दुर्बलता की निशानी है। आधा स्वराज तो हमारा निकल गया, जब हमने औरों से कहा कि हमें बचाओ। जो देश अपने को बचा नहीं सकता वो स्वराज का हक़दार नहीं रहा। इसलिए जैसे हमारे यहाँ स्वतंत्रता आई थी हमारे सामने यह बड़ा सवाल हुआ कि जल्दी से जल्दी इस देश को खुशहाल बनायें, जल्दी से जल्दी हम अपने देश को मज़बूत करें और एक तो इसलिए कि लोगों का भला होगा, जनता का। दूसरे इसलिए कि देश की ताक़त बढ़ाएँ अपने इस स्वतंत्रता की रक्षा करने को। बहुत लोग इस बात को समझते नहीं थे और अब भी नहीं समझते, समझते हैं कि स्वराज आ गया तो बस वो कहानी ख़त्म हो गयी। अब हमें फ़ुरसत है, हम आपस में लड़ा करें और बड़े-बड़े प्रस्ताव करें और यह करें और वह करें, बड़े-बड़े लेक्चर दें और भाषण करें। ख़ैर, लेक्चर भाषण की भी जगह होती है लेकिन जहाँ कोई देश इस बात को भूल जाता है कि हमें रोज़ प्रतिदिन स्वराज की रक्षा करना है, वो दुर्बल हो जाता है और स्वराज फ़िसलने लगता है। तो एक अमेरिकन ने, मशहूर अमेरिकन ने कहा था “इटरनल विजेलेंस इज़ दि प्राइस ऑफ़ लिबर्टी” कुछ ऐसा कहा था यानी स्वराज की आप रक्षा..., स्वराज एक ऐसी चीज़ है जिसके लिए आपको बड़ी क़ीमत देनी पड़ती है, स्वराज को लेने के लिए हमारे देश ने काफी क़ीमत दी है, काफी बलिदान, कुर्बानी, जानें दीं, हमने उसको लिया, लेकिन वो क़ीमत स्वराज की हमेशा जारी रहती है, उस ढंग की नहीं, दूसरे ढंग की। जहाँ कोई देश के लोग ग़फलत में पड़ गये, होशियार नहीं रहे हर समय, ढीले हो जाते हैं, वो स्वराज की क़ीमत नहीं दे रहे हैं और स्वराज फ़िसल सकता है, तो ये सब बातें मन में थीं। तो हमने कहा कि जल्दी से जल्दी हम देश को मज़बूत बनायें और इसीलिए आपने सुना कि पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ बनीं, प्लानिंग बना, पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना, दूसरी अब हो रही है, अब तीसरी बन रही है। क्या माने हैं इसके? ख़ैर, एक तो यही माने कि हम देश की उन्नति चाहते हैं, देश में धन दौलत अधिक बढ़े, ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा हो, कारख़ाने बनें, रोज़गार मिले, खुशहाली हो। ये सब

बातें तो ठीक हैं, आवश्यक हैं लेकिन उसके पीछे बुनियादी बात यह है कि देश अपने स्वराज की रक्षा कर सके और कर नहीं सकता अगर वो खुशहाल देश नहीं है, कर नहीं सकता अगर हम सामान अपने यहाँ न बनायें, अगर हम किसी मुसीबत में लड़ाई [में] पड़ें और हम अपना सामान नहीं बना सकते, अपने हथियार नहीं बना सकते और वहाँ अमेरिका और इंग्लैंड और रूस से मंगाने पड़ें तो हम तो अपाहिज हो गये, वो लोग नहीं दें तो बस खत्म हमारी लड़ाई, यह बात नहीं हो सकती ना। इसलिए यह ज़रूरी हो गया कि जल्दी से जल्दी हम बढ़ें।

अब यह आसान बात नहीं होती है एक चालीस करोड़ आदमियों के देश का एकदम से उठना, बड़ी कठिन बात है, गरीबी से निकलना कठिन है एक गरीब आदमी का, गरीबी से निकलना कठिन होता है एक आदमी का या एक परिवार का, लेकिन एक पूरे देश को निकालना और भी कठिन है क्योंकि उससे निकलने के लिए शक्ति होनी चाहिए, उसके निकलने के लिए सामान होना चाहिए, उससे निकलने के लिए पैसा होना चाहिए क्योंकि पैसे से आप ऐसे काम कर सकते हैं जिससे देश का धन बढ़े, लेकिन गरीब देश के माने हैं कि उसके पास बचता है नहीं, तो कैसे काम चले? ये पेंच पड़ जाते हैं लेकिन करना पड़ता है और सब देशों को करना पड़ता है चाहे अमेरिका, चाहे अंग्रेज़, चाहे कुछ, मुसीबत में से निकले, हाँ एक दफ़े उनकी गाड़ी चलने लगी तिजारत की और खेती की सब अच्छी तरह से और वह ज़्यादा पैदा करने लगे, उसके बाद उनकी ताक़त तेज़ी से बढ़ी। हमारा समय भी वह समय आयेगा कि जब हमारी गाड़ी ज़ोरों से चलने लगेगी, तब परिश्रम तो सबमें करना पड़ेगा लेकिन उता नहीं। इस समय हमें अधिक परिश्रम करना पड़ता है इसलिए कि जल्दी से हमारे कारख़ाने बनें, जल्दी से हमारी ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा हो। जहाँ अधिक पैदा होता है उससे जो बचता है सरप्लस से, उससे हम तरक्की करते हैं, उससे नये कारख़ाने बनते हैं, हज़ार बातें करते हैं, पावर पैदा करते हैं, बिजली पैदा करते हैं, लोहे के कारख़ाने बनाते हैं। लोहा और बिजली सबसे बुनियादी चीज़ें हैं और चीज़ें भी हैं—तेल है और बुनियादी चीज़ जो आपके यहाँ पैदा होता है।

तो यह प्रश्न हमारे सामने आये और लोग समझे कि योजना बनाने के माने तो यह हैं कि एक कारख़ाना यहाँ बना दो, एक वहाँ बना दो, वह समझें नहीं यह प्लानिंग नहीं है। प्लानिंग है एक तरह से एक लड़ाई लड़ना। लड़ाई किससे लड़ना? लड़ाई अपनी दुर्बलता से, अपनी गरीबी से लड़ना, किसी दूसरे देश से नहीं। जब कोई लड़ाई लड़ता है तो इस तरह से नहीं लड़ता है कि हर एक आदमी अपनी-अपनी अलग-अलग लड़ाई लड़े जा के दुश्मन से, वह जल्दी से हार जायेगा। फ़ौज लड़ती है और उसका वह निश्चय करती है फ़ौज के अफ़सर कि क्या लड़ाई का ढंग हो, क्या स्ट्रेटेजी हो, क्या टैक्टिक्स हो, कहाँ हमला करें, कहाँ बिलफ़ेल थम जायें, कहाँ चाहे थोड़ा सा पीछे भी क्यों न हट जायें क्योंकि हमें एक छोटी लड़ाई नहीं जीतनी है, एक बैटल नहीं, हमें वॉर जीतनी होती है और जो मूर्ख कमांडर होते हैं वह अपनी ताक़त ज़ाया कर देते हैं कभी इधर दौड़ गये, कभी उधर दौड़ गये, दुश्मन उनसे मज़ाक करता है। कैसे मज़ाक करता है? फ़र्ज़ कीजिए, हमारा कोई दुश्मन हो तो वो क्या करे, वह कहीं एक सीमा के इस तरफ़ गुलशोर मचाना शुरू करे, पचास सिपाही भेज दे, हम घबरायें, अपनी फ़ौजें वहाँ भेजें, तो पचास सिपाही उसके वापिस चले जायें वो एक दूसरी जगह, पाँच सौ मील के फ़ासले पर, आये फिर हम फ़ौज को उधर दौड़ाते हैं, फिर तीसरी जगह, हम इस तरह से दौड़ाते रह जायें फ़ौज को और फिर कहीं

चौथी जगह दुश्मन आ जाये। इसलिए स्ट्रेटेजी होती है, एक लड़ाई लड़ते हैं, इसलिए कि हम जीतें, इसलिए नहीं कि हम घबरा के इधर-उधर दौड़ें और अफसरों को सोचना पड़ता है कहाँ पे जोरों से लड़ें, कहाँ ज़रा रोकथाम करें, कहाँ जो कुछ करें।

तो जैसे मैंने आपको लड़ाई की मिसाल दी, असली लड़ाई की, जैसे कि हमारी आर्थिक लड़ाई होती है, हमारी योजना की, प्लानिंग कमीशन की लड़ाई, यह नहीं है कि यहाँ गुल मचा दो, वह हुआ, यहाँ यह कर दो, वहाँ वह कर दो, चारों तरफ कर रहे हैं और जो असली लड़ाई की जड़ है वह रह जाती है और भारत में जो उन्नति तेज़ी से होनी चाहिए वह नहीं होती। मैं चाहता हूँ आप इस बात को समझें क्योंकि लोग नहीं समझते, बड़े-बड़े आंदोलन करते हैं। आपके यहाँ आसाम के लोगों ने, नवयुवकों ने दो-तीन बरस हुए एक आंदोलन किया, मुझे याद नहीं रिफ़ाइनरी हो यहाँ, वह हो। खैर, रिफ़ाइनरी होगी, रिफ़ाइनरी होगी और बात है लेकिन वह आंदोलन इतना गुलत था, इत्ता मूर्खता का था कि मैं तो हैरान हो गया क्योंकि इसलिए नहीं कि आप आसाम की उन्नति चाहते हैं, चाहना चाहिए आपको ज़रूर और ठीक था आपका कहना लेकिन अगर आप समझें कि हमारी बड़ी लड़ाई है देश की दरिद्रता से और ग़रीबी से, इस पर आप विचार करें कैसे उस लड़ाई को लड़ना है और किधर पहले हमला किधर दूसरा, तब आप ऐसी बात न करें क्योंकि इसमें तो आप आंदोलन यहाँ करें, पंजाब में दूसरे करें, मद्रास में तीसरे करें और बम्बई में चौथे और बंगाल में पाँचवें। हम दौड़े-दौड़े फिर रहे हैं यहाँ यह कर दो, यहाँ यह कारख़ाना, यहाँ रिफ़ाइनरी, यहाँ एक प्लांट और सारी जो हमारी लड़ाई की स्ट्रेटेजी है वह बिगड़ जाती है।

क्या लड़ाई की स्ट्रेटेजी है, ग़रीबी की लड़ाई की? मैं कह रहा हूँ बड़ी लड़ाई की स्ट्रेटेजी उसकी यह है, बहुत सारे इसके भाग हैं— पहली बात तो यह कि ग़रीबी दूर होगी अधिक पैदा करने से, दौलत पैदा करने से और दौलत के माने, सोना-चाँदी नहीं बल्कि जो सामान नया पैदा होता है खेत से, कारख़ाने से, दोनों से, कारीगरी से, हर तरह से, याद रखिये विशेष परिश्रम से पैदा होता है, वह कोई जुआ खेलने से नहीं हो जाता, वह कोई लॉटरी में डालने से आपको मिल जाये, आप किसी आदमी को लॉटरी मिल जाये, लेकिन देश तो लॉटरी से नहीं बढ़ता है, परिश्रम से पैदा करके। एक तरफ़ खेती है, बहुत भारी हिस्सा भारत का खेती का है और आवश्यक हिस्सा है, जब तक खेती से हम अधिक नहीं पैदा करते हम कारख़ाने नहीं चला सकते, हमारे पास पैसा नहीं होगा चलाने के लिए। दूसरी तरफ़ उद्योग-धंधे हैं, इंडस्ट्री हैं, कारख़ाने हैं, इसके बग़ैर कभी भारत खुशहाल नहीं हो सकता, पिछड़ा रहता है। अगर आप देखें अमेरिका को या अंग्रेज़ों को या रूस को, उन्होंने तरक्की की है इंडस्ट्री से, खेती, ज़मीन से भी लेकिन विशेषकर विज्ञान और टेक्नोलॉजी से, नयी कलों से, नयी शक्तियों से उन्होंने इंडस्ट्री चलाई, प्रकृति की नयी शक्तियों को उन्होंने पकड़ा, चाहे वह रेल चलाने के लिए भाप हो, स्टीम को पकड़ा या बिजली को पकड़ा। ये प्रकृति की शक्तियाँ हैं बड़ी भारी जो एक आदमी से कहीं ज़्यादा काम करती हैं, हजार आदमी से ज़्यादा काम करती हैं, उससे उन्होंने कारख़ाने चलाए और अब एक नयी महाशक्ति है एटॉमिक एनर्जी, उससे इन चीज़ों से लाभ उठाते हैं।

तो हमें अधिक पैदा करना है, अधिक पैदा करना है हर तरफ़ से और बुनियाद तो है खेती से और याद रखिए आप कि ज़मीन से जो आप पैदा करते हैं वो बहुत कम है, वो बहुत कम है और देशों के मुकाबले में, हम आधा चौथाई भी नहीं करते यानी मेरा मतलब यह है कि एक

एकड़ में जित्ता हम पैदा करते हैं और देशों में उसका दुगुना चौगुना होता है चाहे आप गेहूँ को लो, चाहे आप धान को लो, कोई चीज़ लो, और देशों में अधिक होता है। पहले ही यह हमें धक्का लगता है और यह नहीं कि हम अधिक कर नहीं सकते, हम कर सकते हैं, यहाँ जाओ, जिस प्रदेश में जाओ, आसाम में भी होगा। मैं अभी महाराष्ट्र से आ रहा हूँ, महाराष्ट्र पिछड़ा हुआ था यह गल्ले वगैरह के पैदा करने में, अब उसने अपने परिश्रम से ज़मीन को ज़रा संभालकर, और भी बँडिंग करके और क्या-क्या उसको उन्होंने डेढ़ गुना कर लिया और बढ़ाते जा रहे हैं। अभी मैं सात रोज़ वहाँ था और मुझे आश्चर्य हुआ देखकर कैसे हज़ारों किसान वहाँ से छोटे-छोटे ज़मींदार लगे हुए हैं अपने-अपने खेतों में बँडिंग कर रहे हैं जिससे पानी बह न जाये, ज़मीन बह न जाये, जिससे पानी रहे। एक बार मैं उन्होंने अपनी पैदावार को करीब डेढ़ गुना कर दिया है, और बातें भी हैं, अच्छे बीज हों, अच्छी खाद हो, अच्छे हल हों आपके, सौ बरस और पाँच सौ बरस पुराने हल न चलायें, यह सब बातें हों, सब छोटी-छोटी बातें हैं लेकिन उससे बहुत फ़र्क़ होता है। क्या बात है कि अमेरिका में वह हमसे तिगुना-चौगुना पैदा करें, तो क्या बात है उसी ज़मीन से? इसलिए कुछ समझ के करते हैं, अक्ल से करते हैं, विज्ञान से फ़ायदा उठाते हैं, अच्छे उनके पास औज़ार हैं और अच्छे बीज चुनते हैं, अच्छी खाद देते हैं, सब बातें हम कर सकते हैं और जहाँ-जहाँ हमारे देश में यह हुआ है वहाँ यह हुआ। तो खैर, यह तो पहली बात है ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा करना।

उद्योग-धंधों की तरफ़ आइये जो बहुत आवश्यक हैं यानी इंडस्ट्रलाइज़ेशन, उद्योग बढ़ाना। आपकी इच्छा है कि आसाम में उद्योग बढ़ें। ठीक है सारे देश में बढ़ने चाहियें और एक दो तीन चार नहीं, हमारे देश में लाखों ऐसे बढ़ने चाहियें, लाखों छोटे-मोटे, बड़े बढ़ने चाहियें और बढ़ रहे हैं। अच्छा, उद्योग-धंधे कैसे बढ़ते हैं? उनमें मशीन की आवश्यकता होती है। मशीन कहाँ से आयेँ? अगर हम अमेरिका से, जापान से और जर्मनी से मशीन मंगायेँ तो फिर वही बात हो जाती है कि उनके ऊपर निर्भर हैं कि वो दें, न दें। मशीन का एक पुर्जा ख़राब हो जाता है तो जापान से, जर्मनी से मंगाना पड़ता है, उद्योग-धंधे पक्केतौर से नहीं बढ़ सकते जब तक कि मशीन आपके घर में नहीं बने और मशीन के माने छोटी मशीन नहीं, बहुत बनती हैं आजकल जो स्विंग मशीन बनती हैं, यह हैं और वह हैं, अच्छा है। मशीन बनने के माने हैं बड़ी मशीन बने, मशीन बनने के माने मशीन बनाने वाली मशीन यहाँ बने, देखिए न और इसके माने हैं कि और जो बुनियादी चीज़ें हैं यहाँ पैदा हों। क्या बुनियादी चीज़ें हैं? लोहा है, आजकल लोहे के बग़ैर कोई कारख़ाने नहीं बन सकते, घर नहीं बनते, खेती में भी लोहे की आवश्यकता है, इसलिए लोहा आवश्यक है, इसलिए हमने बड़ा जोर लगा के बड़े-बड़े लोहे के कारख़ाने शुरू किये। आपने सुना होगा उधर मध्य प्रदेश में, उड़ीसा में, बंगाल में, बिहार में, वहीं इलाक़ा है, लोहे का कारख़ाना वहीं हो सकता है जहाँ लोहा है आयरन है, नहीं तो हो नहीं सकता और जहाँ कोयला है, कोयला-कोयला है। कोयला और लोहा दोनों चीज़ें हमने किये, अब वह करीब-करीब बन रहे हैं, पर उसमें बड़ा रुपया ख़र्च हुआ है, बड़ा धक्का लगा है, लेकिन अब बन गये हैं तो अब और दो-चार महीने साल भर के बाद फिर उसका लाभ होगा और लोहे के हो जाने से आप देखेंगे कि छोटे-छोटे बड़े कारख़ाने अधिक बनेंगे। अच्छा, लोहा काफी नहीं, कोयला बढ़ाना पड़ता है हमें, यह भी आवश्यक है। तीसरे हमें पावर चाहिए, शक्ति चाहिए कारख़ाने चलाने के लिए। यह

बड़े कारखाने हैं हाथ से आदमी के नहीं चलते, वह चलते हैं पावर से, पावर पैदा हो या तो कोयला बहुत जलाने से या बिजली का या अब नया पावर आया है एटॉमिक एनर्जी का एक और, और भी है। इस तरह से तो फिर पावर बढ़ाना पड़ता है बिजली का और इसलिए योजनाएँ खड़ी करनी पड़ती हैं।

तो यह सब चीजें, जो यह स्ट्रेटेजी में यह बुनियादी चीजें हैं, ये अमूमन चीजें हैं, अगर हम उनकी तरफ ध्यान न दें और फुटकर छोटे-मोटे कारखाने लगा दें तो उससे कुछ थोड़ा लाभ होता है लेकिन हम कमज़ोर रहते हैं, हम बाद में तेज़ी से नहीं बढ़ सकते। यह फ़र्क़ है, तो इसलिए जब हम प्लानिंग करते हैं, योजना बनाते हैं तो उसमें एक तरह से एक बड़े फ़ौजी अफ़सर की तरह उसकी स्ट्रेटेजी हमें देखनी पड़ती है, आज किस काम के करने से कल हमें लाभ होगा और कल हमारी रफ़्तार चलने की कितनी तेज़ हो जाये, यह देखना पड़ता है। अगर न करें तो गाड़ी रुक जायेगी कल, आज तो हमने कुछ कर लिया, कल गाड़ी रुक गयी, कल चले परसों रुक गयी। इसलिए हैवी इंडस्ट्री पे ज़ोर देना पड़ता है, इसलिए पावर प्रोडक्शन पर ज़ोर देना पड़ता है, इन बातों पर और यह हमारे भाग्य की बात है कि हमारे देश में लोहा, कोयला यह है काफी छिपा है।

एक और आवश्यक चीज़ आजकल की दुनिया में है— वह तेल है, ऑयल है, पेट्रोल है जो कुछ कहिए। तो आजकल की दुनिया उससे चलती है। बहुत दिन से आपके आसाम के कोने में तेल निकलता था, लेकिन लोग कहते थे कि अधिक तेल हमारे देश में नहीं है। अब यह निश्चय हुआ है कि हमारे देश में मैं नहीं कह सकता कि कितना है लेकिन फिर भी जितना हम पहले समझते थे उससे बहुत अधिक है। दो जगह विशेषकर और मिला है— एक तो आसाम ही में और मिला है, दूसरा जैसे उस पार भारत के गुजरात में कैम्बे के पास। यों तो हमें आशा है कि पंजाब में भी कुछ मिले और मद्रास में भी कुछ मिले और शायद उत्तर प्रदेश में भी मिले, लेकिन वो तो ढूँढ़ने की बात है, लेकिन यहाँ तो हमें मिल चुका है, आसाम में अधिक मिला है, अलावा उसके डिगबोई वगैरह में, उसके अलावा मिला है और गुजरात में मिला है। यह अच्छी बात हुई क्योंकि तेल से आजकल दुनिया की गाड़ी चलती है, लेकिन तेल मिल जाने पर भी बहुत उसमें परिश्रम करना पड़ता है, बहुत हमें रुपया लगाना पड़ता है, तब कहीं उससे फ़ायदा मिलता है। अब रिफ़ाइनरी पहले से उसकी तलाश हुई, बड़ा रुपया खर्च के मिल जाये, तब उसको निकालने में, फिर उसको रिफ़ाइन करने में सब बातें होंगी। असल चीज़ तो है मिलना और यह आसाम के लिए अच्छी बात है कि यहाँ अधिक तेल मिला है, तेल और गैस वगैरह, इससे सहायता काफी होगी आसाम के बढ़ने में और इन सब बातों से जो मैंने आपसे कहीं, आसाम के लिए दरवाज़े खुलते जायेंगे आगे बढ़ने के।

लेकिन आख़िर में कितने ही दरवाज़े खुलें, आख़िर में आदमी होने चाहियें जो इससे लाभ उठायें। कैसे आदमी? सीखे हुए आदमी, मेहनती आदमी, परिश्रमी आदमी क्योंकि कोई देश आगे नहीं बढ़ता अगर उसके यहाँ के आदमी सीखे हुए नहीं हैं और परिश्रमी नहीं, उसमें कोई शक़ नहीं। यह आपको, आसाम के रहने वालों को, इस बात को समझना है नवयुवकों को। मैं दुनिया के देशों के नाम आपके सामने नहीं रखना चाहता, लेकिन अगर ज़रा भी आप ध्यान करें तो देखें दो देश एक से हैं, फ़र्क़— वैसे ही उनके पास सामान है, वैसे ही उनके पास ज़मीन के नीचे सामान

है, ऊपर है, लोहा, कोयला, तेल सब, फ़र्क़ इत्ता है कि एक देश में परिश्रमी लोग थे, मेहनत करने वाले, दूसरे में आरामतलब लोग थे भाषण देने वाले बड़े ज़ोरों के। थोड़े ही दिन बाद, दस, बीस, तीस बरस, चालीस बरस बाद दोनों देशों में ज़मीन आसमान का फ़र्क़ हो गया। एक मज़बूत, तगड़ा, बड़ा देश, धनी देश दूसरा हल्के-हल्के बढ़ रहा है और भाषण होते जाते हैं, स्पीचें होती जाती हैं और रेज़ोलूशन होते जाते हैं। तो आखिर में तो एक आदमी देश को बनाता है, कल और मशीन तो आती हैं बाद में। आदमी और कल और मशीन को चलाता कौन है? आदमी चलाता है लेकिन सीखा हुआ आदमी। हम लोहे के कारख़ाने बना रहे हैं बड़े-बड़े और उनके बनाने में पाँच, छः, सात बरस लगते हैं, काफी समय, लेकिन जो इत्ते बड़े अफ़सर होंगे, इंजीनियर उसको चलाने के लिए, उनको सिखाने में दस-पन्द्रह बरस लगते हैं, कारख़ाना बन जाये पाँच बरस में, उसके चलाने वाले को पन्द्रह बरस लगेंगे सिखाने में, बड़े मैनेजर वगैरह। तो सबमें आवश्यकता हो जाती है आखिर में मशीन की नहीं और पैसे की भी नहीं, सीखे हुए आदमी, परिश्रमी आदमी की। आजकल की साइंस को समझने वाले आदमी, आजकल की टेक्नोलॉजी को समझने वाले अच्छे से अच्छे इंजीनियर, अच्छे से अच्छे हर तरह के ट्रेन्ड आदमी, वैज्ञानिक वगैरह हर दर्जे के तब देश बढ़ता है और जहाँ ऐसे लोग होते हैं ट्रेन्ड और परिश्रमी उस देश को कोई रोक नहीं सकता।

आप देखें एक मिसाल, मैं आपको दो-तीन दूँ। इस पिछली बड़ी लड़ाई में दो देश जो बिल्कुल हार गये थे करीब-करीब, उनका सब कुछ चकनाचूर हो गया था, तबाह हो गये थे लड़ाई हार कर, वह जर्मनी था और जापान था हारे हुए देशों में। जीते हुए देशों में रूस भी बहुत तबाह हुआ था। जर्मन फ़ौजों ने आधे रूस को बिल्कुल तबाह कर दिया था और बल्कि बड़े-बड़े शहर के शहर तबाह कर दिए। अब लड़ाई को ख़त्म हुए पन्द्रह बरस नहीं हुए हैं लेकिन जर्मनी और जापान फिर एक दौलतमंद, खुशहाल देश हैं, रुपया फ़टा पड़ता है, कारख़ाने ज़ोरों से चल रहे हैं और तगड़े देश हो गये हैं पन्द्रह बरस के अन्दर। क्यों? इसलिए एक तो ख़ैर, उनको यह नाज़ था कि पुराने उनके यहाँ कारख़ाने टूटे, वह टूट गये थे और उसके अन्दर सीखे हुए लोग थे, लाखों आदमी मरे लड़ाई में, लेकिन जो बचे वह भी सीखे हुए थे, हर एक सीखा हुआ था, ट्रेन्ड आदमी थे, ट्रेन्ड थे मशीन चलाने में, ट्रेन्ड थे कोई काम हो साइंस में, टेक्नोलॉजी में और बड़े मेहनती हैं जर्मन लोग और लड़ाई के बाद उन्होंने इतनी मेहनत की कि वहाँ कोई सात घंटे, आठ घंटे का सवाल नहीं था, बारह घंटे रोज़ काम कर रहे हैं, उनके पास घर रहने को नहीं थे क्योंकि लड़ाई में करीब-करीब उनके सारे शहर तबाह हो गये थे, बॉम्ब के गोले से घर टूट गये थे, घर रहने को नहीं थे, खंडहर में रहते थे। उन्होंने यह निश्चय किया कि हम पहले अपने कारख़ानों को चलायेंगे क्योंकि कारख़ाने के चलने से फिर गाड़ी चलने लगेगी देश की और पैसा आयेगा, घर हम पीछे बना लेंगे, तक्रलीफ़ उठा के उन्होंने निश्चय किया कि ग्यारह घंटे रोज़ हम काम करेंगे। हालाँकि ग्यारह घंटे काम करना बड़ा कठिन है, लेकिन लड़ाई में हारे थे, उनमें और अभिमान काफी, काफी हुनर, काफी बड़ा धक्का लगा था। उन्होंने कहा अच्छा हार गये, हार गये, फिर हम अपने को बनायेंगे और दस-बारह बरस के अन्दर फिर देखिए जर्मनी खड़ा हुआ है और महज़ खड़ा नहीं है और उसके आसपास के देश उससे डर रहे हैं, आज फिर से उनके शहर खड़े हैं, उनके मकान थे सब बन गये, कारख़ाने बन रहे हैं, अजीब बात है और इसलिए कि सीखे हुए

और ट्रेन्ड आदमी और परिश्रमी लोग हैं। वही बात आप जापान में देखिए— जापान में एटम बॉम्ब तक गिरा, वहाँ दो शहरों को तबाह किया, वो भी हारा, पहली दफ़ा जापान इतिहास में ग़ालेबन हारा और हारा ख़ाली नहीं बल्कि दुश्मन ने जो के उसके मुल्क पर कब्ज़ा किया, बहुत दिनों तक उसकी आज़ादी भी छिन गयी, लेकिन फिर उन्होंने दस, बारह, पन्द्रह बरस बाद ज़ोरों से उसके सारे कारख़ाने चल रहे हैं, उसकी ज़मीन से जित्ता वह पैदा करते हैं उते उसके किसान ज़मींदार, कहीं दुनिया में इत्ता नहीं होता है। एक जापान बड़ा मुल्क नहीं है, बिल्कुल भरा हुआ है लोगों से, हिलने की जगह नहीं वहाँ, आप कहीं जापान में जाओ तो आपको एक दस बालिशत ज़मीन ख़ाली नहीं मिलेगी, वहाँ कुछ न कुछ पैदा कर रहे हैं लोग, ज़ाया नहीं करते। रेलगाड़ी चलती है रेल की पटरी पर, एक बालिशत पर खेत हैं, जैसे यहाँ की ज़मीन छूटी हुई है क्योंकि वहाँ ज़्यादा से ज़्यादा पैदा करना चाहते हैं और मेहनत करते हैं, और करते हैं, जित्ता वह पैदा करते हैं एक एकड़ ज़मीन में बहुत कम देश करते हैं, बड़े मेहनती लोग हैं और सीखे हुए लोग।

मैं, ग़रज़ कि मैं आपको बताता हूँ कि कैसे लोगों ने और यही बात मैं आपको बताऊँ रूस को लीजिए। रूस का बड़ा हिस्सा तबाह हो गया था, काफी मेहनती लोग, बड़े मेहनती और सीखे हुए लोग, उन्होंने अपने देश को भी खड़ा कर लिया। तब आप बड़ी बहसों में पड़ते हैं, साम्यवाद और समाजवाद और कम्युनिज़्म और सोशलिज़्म, कैपिटलिज़्म और क्या-क्या, वह बहसें ठीक हैं अपनी जगह पर लेकिन जो बात मैं चाहता हूँ आप समझें, वो यह कि असली चीज़ जो देश को बनाता है वह सीखा हुआ और परिश्रमी आदमी, हाय-हाय करने वाले नहीं बनाते हैं।

अब क्या यह बात बाद में आ जाती है, आप सोचें कि हम अपना कैसा देश चाहते हैं? हम आप समाजवादी देश चाहते हैं, आप निश्चय करें कि लोगों को बराबर का हक़ हो, लोगों में ऊँच-नीच न हो, वो ठीक है, हम समाजवाद कर रहे हैं लेकिन आप ले तो तभी जायेंगे समाजवाद की तरफ जब आप तगड़े हैं और सीखे हुए हैं और आजकल की दुनिया को समझते हैं और आजकल की मशीन को समझते हैं और आजकल की साइंस को समझते हैं। अगर ऐसा है तो आप कोई वाद को लीजिए, आप बढ़ जायेंगे। यह बात आपको समझनी है और यह सारे देश को समझनी है और नौजवानों को समझनी है खासकर, क्योंकि एक हमारे देश में अजीब बात है, आप लोग देखेंगे कि जो लोग ऐसे देश में रहते हैं जहाँ मौसम सर्दी का होता है वह आमतौर से तगड़े ज़्यादा होते हैं, उन्हें मेहनत ज़्यादा करनी पड़ती है और आराम से नहीं रह सकते। गर्म देशों के लोग ज़रा लेटने वाले ज़्यादा होते हैं, आरामतलब हो जाते हैं और कम मेहनत से कमा सकते हैं, और नीचे आओ भारत के इक्वेटर के उस पार इधर-उधर जाइये तो वहाँ भी आपके बिल्कुल कम मेहनत से वह काफी कमा लेते हैं। एक सौ-पचास नारियल के पेड़ लगा दो, काफी हैं उनके परिवार भर के लिए, कुछ करना ही नहीं है उन्हें, लेते रहें चारपाई पर दिन भर। तो इससे आमतौर पे ज़रा पहाड़ी लोग ज़रा ज़्यादा तगड़े होते हैं क्योंकि उन्हें परिश्रम करना पड़ता है, मेहनत करनी पड़ती है ज़रा, पहाड़ की ज़मीन अच्छी नहीं होती, लेकिन परिश्रम ज़्यादा करना पड़ता है। तो परिश्रम से वह तगड़े हो जाते हैं और ज़्यादा लाभ उठाते हैं।

तो ये बातें बुनियादी हैं और मैं चाहता हूँ आप समझें यह जो मैंने आपसे कहा स्ट्रेटेजी, यह योजना बनाना, कमीशन इसके माने क्या हैं? क्या हैं? क्योंकि आजकल लोग ऐसे हैं नये-नये दल खड़े हुए, वह कहते हैं कोई कमीशन नहीं, कोई प्लानिंग नहीं, लोगों पर छोड़ दो तब देश

बढ़ने लगेगा। इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि लोगों को छोड़ दो तो बाज़ लोग बहुत बढ़ने लगेंगे और बाज़ लोग बहुत धनी हो जायेंगे और बड़े दौलतमंद हो जायेंगे। जहाँ तक आम जनता का हाल हो, वह दूसरी सवाल है। तो यह बात आपके समझने की है क्योंकि दुनिया के सामने और हमारे देश के सामने बड़ी कठिन समस्याएँ हैं, मैं उनकी चर्चा आपसे नहीं करता दुनिया की। अभी थोड़े दिन में कहा जाता है, सुना होगा आपने कि वहाँ जिनेवा में चोटी का सम्मेलन होने वाला है—समिट कांफ्रेंस, जहाँ बड़े-बड़े देश के नेता जमा होंगे। क्यों? क्योंकि दुनिया के सवाल बड़े भयानक हैं, बड़े खतरनाक हैं, जिस दुनिया में यह एटम बम्ब और हाईड्रोजन बम्ब हो, वह ज़रा चुटकी से चल जाये और दुनिया का नाश हो जाये, वह दुनिया कोई आराम की दुनिया नहीं है, ऐसी तो दुनिया है।

उधर देखो, देखिए आप अफ्रीका में देखिए, एक-एक सारे में आग लग रही है, बहुत दिन से दबा हुआ था अफ्रीका, अब जाग गया, जाग गया और गुस्ते में जागा है, मालूम नहीं क्या उसका नतीजा हो, कितने रोज़ से हम कह रहे थे कि अफ्रीका के सवाल को ठीकतौर से हल नहीं करेंगे तो ऐसा दिन आयेगा। लोगों ने, बाज़ लोगों ने कुछ समझे, कुछ हुआ, बाज़ लोग नहीं समझे और अब वह दिन आ गया। तो जिधर आप दुनिया में देखें उधर उथल-पुथल और झगड़े-फ़िसाद या कुछ हो रहा है या कुछ होने वाले का अंदेशा है ऐसा। और आप जानते हैं मैंने कुछ इसकी चर्चा किया कि हमारी सरहद भी एक नयी सरहद हो गयी, एक-एक जीवित सरहद हो गयी जिसमें आज नहीं जाने कब तक हमें उसकी देखभाल व बड़ी फ़िक्र करनी पड़ेगी। तो यह सब बातें।

तो ऐसी दुनिया का सामना हम एक ही तरह से कर सकते हैं— एक देश की हैसियत से, नेशन से, अपनी एकता से, अपने तगड़ेपन से, अपने परिश्रम से और अपने परिश्रम से जल्दी से जल्दी देश को आगे ले जाके क्योंकि तभी ताक़त आती है। यों बड़े ज़ोरों से हमारे नौजवान, बड़े ज़ोरों से लिख देते हैं— मेरे पास ख़त आये अपने ख़ून से दस्तख़त कि हम अपने देश की रक्षा करेंगे, अपनी जान देने को तैयार हैं। ख़ैर, मुझे खुशी होती है उनका उत्साह देखकर, लेकिन जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा बहादुर से बहादुर हमारे वीर पुरुष पिछले ज़माने में हार गये। क्यों हारे? क्योंकि अच्छा हथियार दूसरे के पास था। तो यह ख़ाली ख़ून से नाम लिख देना काफी नहीं है, न प्रस्ताव पास करना और ज़ोरों का भाषण देना बल्कि एक दृढ़ता, एक दिल की मज़बूती और एक मन की सफ़ाई, मन तेज़ होना चाहिए, अगर मन साफ़ नहीं है तो आप आजकल की दुनिया को नहीं समझेंगे, आजकल की विज्ञान की दुनिया को। यह समझ के और इसके लिए तैयार होना और जो कुछ मुसीबत आये उसका सामना करना, बग़ैर घबराये और पैर ठंडे हो गये और दिमाग़ बंद हो गया, मुझे बिल्कुल पसंद नहीं है। इस तरह से बाज़ लोग आजकल घबराकर चिल्लाते हैं, क्या मुसीबत आयी, यह है, वह है और हमारे पास यह नहीं है, वह नहीं है, यह तो बुज़दिली की बातें हैं। ज़ाहिर है कि हमारे पास हिन्दुस्तान में फ़ौजी ताक़त इतनी नहीं जितनी बड़े देशों में। हम कोई मुकाबला कर सकते हैं अमेरिका का और रूस का या और भी देश हैं ऐसे? हमारे पास नहीं है वह हमारी फ़ौज बहुत अच्छी है, हमारी हवाई जहाज़ के अच्छे लोग हैं, तगड़े लोग हैं और मैं नहीं समझता कि बड़े से बड़ा देश हिन्दुस्तान की आज़ादी पर हमला कर सकता है, लेकिन आख़िर में हमारे दिल तो ऐसे मज़बूत होने चाहियें कि दुनिया टूट पड़े तब उसका मुकाबला करें, न देश को तो नहीं छोड़ेंगे या सिर नहीं झुकायेंगे। जब एक दिल मज़बूत

इत्ता होता है तब एक आधी लड़ाई तो हमने जीत ली, आधी लड़ाई समझो जीत जायें, लेकिन आधी जीते। दूसरे तो वह है कि हम सीखें, अपने को ट्रेन्ड करें, सम्भालें और दिमाग से काम लें, खाली भाषण से, गाली से और हाय-हाय करने नहीं। इस मुल्क में हाय-हाय करने वाले बुढ़े-बुढ़िया बहुत हो रहे हैं, इस तरह से नहीं, बुढ़े-बुढ़िया उम्र का, मैं..., उनके दिमाग बूढ़े-बुढ़ियाओं के हो गये हैं। यों तो मैं भी बुढ़ा हूँ लेकिन मेरा दिमाग अभी बूढ़े का नहीं हुआ है, मैं तो देखता हूँ अभी कुछ जान बाक़ी है।

तो यह आप समझे और मैं आपके सामने एक सवा घंटे से बोल रहा हूँ, इसीलिए कि कुछ आपके मन में बात आये, यह नहीं कि मैं आपको उत्साह दिला दूँ, जोश दिला दूँ कि आप सोचें कि यह इस वक्त्त दुनिया की और देश की पुकार क्या है। उसको समझें आप और खासकर जो हमारे नौजवान हैं, वह अपने को तैयार करें अपने-अपने ढंग से, हर एक आदमी एक बात तो नहीं करता, लेकिन जो बात वह सीखते हैं उसको अच्छी तरह से सीखें क्योंकि देश आखिर में चलता है बहुत सीखे हुए आदमियों से, चाहे आप जो भी आप बात करें, चाहे आप इंजीनियर हों, चाहे आप डॉक्टर हों, जो भी आपका पेशा हो, उसमें आप अब्बल हों, चाहे आप फ़ौज में हों, आपकी कोशिश हो हम उसमें अब्बल हों, जिस देश में काफी एक दर्जे के लोग होते हैं वो देश अब्बल हो जाता है। गिनती तो भेड़-बकरी की हुआ करती है आदमियों की नहीं होती है ऐसे मामले में और अगर मुझे विश्वास है हिन्दुस्तान के भविष्य पर तो इसलिए कि मुझे विश्वास है भारत की जनता पर, मुझे विश्वास है भारत के किसानों पर, तगड़े लोग हैं, अच्छे लोग हैं, बेवकूफी करते हैं, लड़ते-झगड़ते हैं लेकिन अच्छे तगड़े लोग हैं। मुझे विश्वास है आजकल के हमारे नौजवानों पर, लड़के-लड़कियों पर, वह भी एक बहुत मूर्खता किया करते हैं, फ़िज़ूल बातें, लेकिन मैं देखता हूँ कि उसमें कितने अच्छे लोग हैं और अच्छे से अच्छे हमारे नौजवान इस वक्त्त साइंटिस्ट हैं, मैं उनको देखा करता हूँ, देख के दिल खुश होता है। अच्छे से अच्छे हमारे फ़ौज के अफ़सर हैं, नौजवान, दुनिया में किसी का मुक्काबला कर सकते हैं अपनी अक्ल से या अपने काम से। हमारी लेबोरेट्रीज़ इतनी बड़ी हुई हैं साइंस की, भरे हुए हैं लोग, हमारे सर्विसेज़ में आ रहे हैं अच्छे आदमी। तो मुझे इसमें कोई शक नहीं है, हाँ उसमें दुर्बलता भी है, कमज़ोरी भी है, हाय-हाय भी है, सब बातें हैं क्योंकि हमारे ऊपर इतने पुराने बोझें हैं, उनको हटाने में समय लगता है और सबसे बड़ा बोझा यह है कि हम कितने ही कहें कि हम नेशनलिस्ट हैं, हम यह हैं, वह हैं, हमारा ध्यान नेशन की तरफ कम जाता है और अपने हलक़े की तरफ या अपने गाँव या ज़िला या सूबा या प्रदेश की तरफ अधिक जाता है, फंसे रहते हैं, भूल जाते हैं कि सारे भारत की तरक्की होगी तो हमारी भी होगी, अपने प्रदेश का सोचने लगते हैं गड़बड़ा के या अपनी भाषा के ऊपर लड़ने लगते हैं, ज़बान के ऊपर और इतनी चीज़ें हमें अलग-अलग करती हैं।

फिर जो एक पीठ पर हमारी एक मुसीबत सवार है आज नहीं सैंकड़ों बरस से यह जातिभेद, कास्ट सिस्टम जिसने हिन्दुस्तान को गिराया, कमज़ोर किया और एक बड़े भारी देश को, जैसे भारत को क्योंकि बड़ा शानदार देश रह चुका है प्राचीन समय में, उसको गिरा दिया था। यह आप याद रखिए यह एक जातिभेद है, यह कास्ट सिस्टम है जिसने हरिजन को दबाया है, जिसने कितनी दीवारें हममें रखीं, ऊँच-नीच बनाया है कि कास्ट सिस्टम और प्रजातंत्रवाद, डेमोक्रेसी चल नहीं सकते साथ-साथ, वह एक-दूसरे का विरोध करते हैं, कास्ट सिस्टम और क्या समाजवाद,

सोशलिज्म साथ नहीं चल सकते, विरोधी हैं एक दूसरे के और मुझे आश्चर्य एक तो यह होता है कि बड़े-बड़े हमारे समाजवादी और प्रजातंत्रवादी लोग हैं, लेकिन उनके जीवन में यह सब एक जातिभेद भरा हुआ है। मेरी बात समझ में नहीं आती कैसे हो सकता है? यह मैं मानता हूँ कि सब लोग एक से तो होते नहीं भाई, बहुत अन्तर है लोगों में, शरीर में उनके अन्तर है, कोई लम्बे हैं, कोई छोटे हैं, कोई तगड़े हैं, कोई दुर्बल हैं, अक्ल में अन्तर है, कोई तेज़ दिमाग़ हैं, कोई कम दिमाग़ हैं, यह तो अन्तर होता ही है, हम सब लोगों को एक सा थोड़े ही बना सकते हैं समाजवाद में, लेकिन एक सा मौक़ा सभी को मिलना चाहिए, जिसमें दम हो वह आगे बढ़ सकते हैं। आजकल एक सा मौक़ा नहीं मिलता, मिलेगा, मैं आशा करता हूँ और मिलना चाहिए और ऊँच-नीच अधिक नहीं होना चाहिए। अब जिसकी ज़्यादा अक्ल है उसको मौक़ा आयेगा, बड़ें आगे, वह अपनी अक्ल से फ़ायदा उठाएँ, लेकिन आजकल की अपनी जो समाज है उसका ढंग बदल गया, एक मेरी राय में वो एक छीना-झपटी का समाज है। मैंने अनुवाद किया है एक अंग्रेज़ी शब्द 'एक्वीज़िटिव सोसाइटी', छीना-झपटी का समाज। मैं समझता हूँ अच्छा अनुवाद है और होनी चाहिए। आजकल की दुनिया में अधिक से अधिक सहयोगी समाज, कोऑपरेटिव समाज।

हमारे कांग्रेस के विधान में लिखा है कि भारत में कोऑपरेटिव सोशलिस्ट कॉमनवेल्थ, सहयोगी समाजवादी कॉमनवेल्थ, यह हमने अपना ध्येय रखा है और मैं समझता हूँ दुनिया में उसके माने नहीं हैं कि सब दुनिया को देख के एक-दूसरे की नकल करें, एक से हो जायें, अलग-अलग चलें, अलग-अलग ढंग से, कोई वजह नहीं कि हम अमरीका की नकल करें या रूस या अंग्रेज़ों की करें या चीन की करें। आखिर हमारा बड़ा देश है, हम अपने ढंग से करें, लेकिन बुनियादी बात यह हो कि हममें से जातिभेद निकले, हममें कुछ सहयोगीपन अधिक आये, हर एक को मौक़ा मिले, ऊँच-नीच कम हो। ये बातें बुनियादी हैं तब देश ठीक बढ़ेगा।

तो अब आप पूछें कि आपको करना क्या है? अब नवयुवक लोग या कोई, मैं नहीं बता सकता एक बात क्योंकि पचासों बातें हैं। एक बात तो मैं बता सकता हूँ जो आपको नहीं करनी है, वो हाय-हाय नहीं करनी है, शोभा नहीं देता किसी को हाय-हाय करना, हाय-हाय करने से कुछ मिलता नहीं, लेकिन दुर्बलता ज़ाहिर होती है। तो आप एक तो आपको अपने को ज़्यादा ट्रेन्ड करना है, जित्ता आप ट्रेन्ड करेंगे इस समय, उतता ही अधिक कल परसों आप काम कर सकेंगे। अपनी ट्रेनिंग को ख़राब न कर दीजिए और एक इम्तहान पास कर लेने से आप कोई बड़े आलिम फ़ाज़िल नहीं हो जाते, इम्तहान की क़दर कम हो जाती है, आप पूरा फ़ायदा उठाएँ, आप कॉलेज में, यूनिवर्सिटी जहाँ कहीं पढ़ते हों और फिर आपको दूसरी बार मौक़ा नहीं मिलेगा याद रखिए, लोग कुछ भूल जाते हैं, एक ही दफ़े समय आता है आपके वहाँ स्कूल कॉलेज जाने का, दुबारा नहीं आता। लेकिन आपकी पढ़ाई स्कूल कॉलेज में अन्त नहीं होती, उसके बाद पढ़िए, देखिए, अपने को ट्रेन्ड करते जाइये, सिखाते जाइये और वो सीखना खाली किताबें पढ़ने से नहीं, किताब पढ़िए, काम करने से होता है काम कीजिए और काम कीजिए, कोई बनाने वाला काम क्रियेटिव काम, प्रोडक्टिव काम कीजिए, हमारे [काम] देखिए आप कैसे कर सकते हैं, हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना है, हमारी विकास योजना है, हमारे कित्ते काम आजकल उसमें क्या आप कर सकते हैं, गाँव में, शहर में, कहीं भी आपस में कुछ न कुछ करें।

इस वक़्त हमारे सामने दो तीन बड़ी बातें हैं। एक तो आप जानते हैं एक तो हम पंचायतों

को अधिक अधिकार दे रहे हैं, पंचों को। हम चाहते हैं कि सारे हमारे विकास का काम, डेवलपमेंट का काम पंचायत के हाथ में हो, पंचायत गलती करेगी धोखा खायेगी, कुछ हर्ज नहीं, इसी तरह से सीखेगी। हम अपने स्वराज की जड़ मजबूत किया चाहते हैं एक-एक पंचायत में, खाली ऊपर नहीं बड़े-बड़े नेताओं में। तो पंचायत को हम अधिकार देना चाहते हैं, दिए हैं और जहाँ-जहाँ उससे लाभ हो रहा है और आपके यहाँ भी हमने सुना है होने वाला है। कल ही एक पंचायती सम्मेलन में मैं गोहाटी के पास जा रहा हूँ।⁷⁶ दूसरी बात यह सहकारी संघ, कोऑपरेटिव्स बहुत आवश्यक हैं। हम चाहते हैं यह ढंग काम करने का, कोऑपरेटिव का, हर तरफ फ़ैले लेकिन विशेषकर गाँव में, देहात में फ़ैले और तेज़ी से फ़ैले, यह बातें आप याद रखें विशेषकर और इसको करवाने की कोशिश करें।

खैर, और जो मैंने बातें मैंने आपसे कहीं, बहुत कुछ नवयुवकों के लिए लेकिन सभी के लिए और और सभी के लिए, पुरुष-स्त्री दोनों के लिए हैं। कोई देश आगे नहीं बढ़ता अगर उसकी स्त्रियाँ काफी पढ़ी-लिखी न हों, काफी काम करने वाली न हों, देश के काम, ये बड़ी-बड़ी बातें हैं। आप आजकल एक भारत और दुनिया के इतिहास को समझो एक नया अध्याय शुरू हो रहा है, नये पन्ने हैं, आपको लिखने हैं। कैसे लिखने हैं? क्लम-दवात से नहीं, वह तो बाद में आयेंगे, अपने कर्तव्य से, अपने कार्य से, अपने परिश्रम से लिखने हैं, जैसा आप लिखेंगे वैसा भारत का इतिहास होगा।

जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Mr President, brothers and sisters,

The session of the Assam Youth Congress seems to have been merged with the public meeting. So I am in a dilemma. Should I address the Youth Congress specifically or the public meeting? Not that there is much difference. I shall address the public meeting but there will be something for our youth too.

I have been reading your Youth Congress report describing the activities of the last five to ten years. I have tried to gauge how your organisation functions and whether it serves the people. The report has engrossed me. It seems that the Youth Congress is a hard working organisation which does not believe merely in organising public meetings or passing resolutions advising others what to do. It is not proper to keep doling out advice to others without thinking what we ourselves ought to do.

Many years ago when Mahatma Gandhi came on the scene, a sea-change occurred in the character of the Congress. Gandhiji did not like the idea of the Congress passing resolutions because though they may be beautifully worded,

76. See item 69.

it keeps everyone's attention centred on making demands of others or threatening them. The resolutions do not say what we will do. So he gave us a new sense of direction and said that the Congress resolutions will henceforth refer to the removal of British rule only in passing and concentrate on what we ourselves will do. It is only by doing our duty can we strengthen our hand and get rid of British rule. Making fiery speeches demanding that the British should go will take us nowhere. I am talking of forty years ago. The Congress resolutions suddenly changed their tune. They began to speak of what the country, the people, the Congressmen ought to do.

In this way, the Congress changed and grew and became a great national organisation. The members went out to the rural areas to work instead of merely issuing threats and ultimatums to the British government. It acted as a great unifying force in the country because we were engaged in a great task instead of in learned debates. When Gandhiji tried to teach us this we learned it to some extent though not fully. To the extent that we learned what he taught us, we benefited. This is a lesson that the youth in particular must pay heed to. It does not become the young to advise others. They must think about what they will do. The old, the aged, who cannot do much on their own can advise others. But as far as the youth is concerned, it is their time for activity. Why should they advise others? They must prepare themselves to do something useful and concrete. The years as a student are meant for training and preparation for the years ahead. You can achieve something only through training and learning. If you want to become a pugilist or a great runner or athlete, you have to train yourself. You have to develop a strong physique. You cannot achieve anything by making fiery speeches. Any great task in the world requires training and preparation, mental, physical, and emotional. This is the first thing for you to understand

Secondly, it is not becoming of you to tell others what they should do. We must decide what we shall do. Therefore, the first duty of the Youth Congress is to ensure that its resolutions pertain not to the rest of the world but to the work that the youth of Assam must do. You should draw up a constructive programme for the boys and girls in the New Year. You can judge at the end of the year how much you have been able to achieve.

There are many ways of going about it. One is organisational work, to increase the membership, which is an important aspect. But the more concrete work is service to the people which benefits not only the people at the receiving end but also those who serve. If, apart from your studies in schools and colleges you go into the villages and do something constructive, you will benefit even more from your studies. Both these things should go hand in hand. In fact, the thinking that is gaining ground in the world today regarding school and college

education is that practical training in the field, in factories or elsewhere should be an important part of it. What it means is that education should not be confined to book learning, though that is important. It should include physical, manual work and training. That is why Gandhiji used to insist on everyone doing some useful manual work like spinning the charkha or something else to ensure a balanced mental and physical development.

Therefore, in all your resolutions you should spell out what you intend to do during the year ahead and then ask all your branches to report how much of it has been completed. I have seen from your report that you are doing good work. You must certainly help in times of crisis and natural disasters. But apart from that you should have a constructive programme of action.

You must think about one thing more. Those of us who have been to or are in schools and colleges are the lucky ones, who have had great opportunities for learning. How many boys and girls in this country get such opportunities? Their number is increasing. I agree. But many of them are deprived of it even now. In a sense, the nation spends its resources and time on some of us. Therefore, we owe a special duty to the nation. We must discharge that duty and fulfil our obligation by serving those who are not so fortunate as us. A time may come later when conditions improve to such an extent that every boy and girl in the country is able to get good education and training for some useful profession. We are working towards that through our five year plans and so on. But that day is still distant. It will take time to ensure equal opportunities and rights to all forty crores of human beings. Therefore, it casts a burden upon the privileged few today to serve the country and their less fortunate brethren.

I want you to bear this in mind and draw up a programme so that you can repay your debt and serve the people of your own state and the country at large. Please remember that the work should not be for mere show, that you go to a village and ostentatiously sweep the streets and go away. That becomes a joke. You must work with sincerity and determination. Go to the villages in your holidays and work in the fields along with the farmers. You will establish contacts with our rural brethren and understand their problems. In the process you will become stronger physically. You must do something constructive in any area that you can. My advice to you is to draw up proposals as to what you plan to do and not about what the Government of Assam or India or the United Nations ought to do.

I have come to Tezpur for a special purpose, to inspect the houses built for the officers and jawans for our armed forces. There is nothing special about that. The thing is that when we decided to send more troops to this area we had to decide where they would live. Normally, the plans are drawn up by the

P.W.D. and tenders are invited for contracts. All this takes time and the expense is also enormous. We did not have that much time or money. So, we thought that the best thing would be to let the jawans build their own houses. They are physically tough and have a sense of discipline.

This decision was taken in February, two and a half months ago, which is not a very long time. Last year, a similar decision was taken in the Punjab and the jawans had built thousands of good houses in Ambala in a very short time and at very little expense. We had learnt a lesson from that. So, it was decided in February that they should build the houses themselves. The time was very short because the houses had to be built before the monsoons came. Otherwise, it would be very difficult to do anything once the rains came. We had barely two and a half months. Calculations were made and the officers and engineers in the armed forces assured us that the work will be completed in two and a half months. A great deal has been done and we hoped that the targets will be achieved quickly. So, we let them do it and changed the rules to enable them to go to work quickly. The work has been completed in the stipulated time and I have come here to inaugurate the houses. 1700 houses have been built for officers and jawans. Many of them have been occupied and others will also be occupied in a day or two. I have come here to meet the officers and jawans and to congratulate them because it gladdens my heart when a difficult task is taken up and done quickly and well. It adds to our strength. That is why I came specially for this.

The second thing which has brought me here is the Tibetan refugee camp near Tezpur. It is our responsibility to look after them and rehabilitate them. The camp at Misamari was a temporary one. Ultimately, it did not suit the Tibetans at all who are used to a colder climate. It is very hot in Misamari. So we have to make more permanent arrangement to settle the refugees, provide education and religious teaching in Buddhism. We are spreading them out in the hilly areas because the climate of the plains does not suit them. We have rehabilitated nearly 10,000 so far. Even so about 2500 remain and more are coming in trickles. I had gone to inspect that camp.

Now, both these matters which have brought me here, the house-building activity of our armed forces and the Tibetan refugees are novel for Assam. I want to draw your attention to them.

Assam is an outlying province of India and during the days of the British rule since these borders were quiescent, nobody bothered very much about it. Yes, during the last War, some parts of Assam, Imphal, and Manipur saw some fighting. That is the reason airstrips were built in Tezpur and other places in Assam. But apart from that, Assam was a quiet border. There were no problems with Tibet or Burma. In the olden days, there may have been some problem. It

was the other side, the western border which was considered troublesome. There was no Pakistan then. The British had to fight many wars there. There have been innumerable attacks on India from that frontier. The British Government had stationed large forces in the Punjab and on the border. Excellent network of roads has been built in the Punjab in order to facilitate troop movement to the borders.

Compared to this, the Assam border was quiet. There was no threat of war. Now this situation has gradually been changing since Independence. The problem is that Assam was totally neglected during the British days. They regarded it as an outlying province which posed no threat. So, they did not pay any attention to it.

I remember that on my frequent visits to your state after Independence. I repeatedly drew your attention to the fact that in the rapidly changing world, Assam could not remain isolated and neglected as before. I am not talking about the threat of war. But movement across the border to the neighbouring countries is on the increase. It lies on the route to Burma and China. Even then it came to me that we would have to pay special attention to this border state, if not immediately, in a few years' time. The entire map of Asia is changing. This was the thinking then which was also put into practice to some extent. I do not have to spell it out because defence matters are not openly talked about. But we were fully alive to the problems.

Now as you can see, these borders, regarded for so long as a quiet one, have suddenly awakened. Developments have taken place which cause us concern. They may be a threat to India's security. So apart from our concern for Assam's development, national interest was at stake.

Everybody in the country has been worried about Assam and the border. We are taking steps which will show you that the country's attention is focused on this state. The recent developments have not been very healthy. But the fact remains that the Assam border has become alive and there is a demand for proper defence of these borders.

We are facing a new problem which concerns not only the present but the future as well. We are not taking these steps to combat an immediate threat. Nobody knows what will crop up ten, twenty or forty years hence. What I mean is that the complexion of the eastern border has changed. There is a very powerful neighbour on the other side. When two big countries are ranged on either side of a border even if there is friendship between them, the border becomes alive. If there is no friendship, then it causes fear. So, in every sense this border has changed. This is one of the reasons for the refugees pouring in. We have to take various steps to build roads and deploy forces, etc. Road building will benefit the people of this region, in Assam and NEFA. Normally

we may not have undertaken to built roads in mountain terrain because it costs a great deal of money and is extremely difficult. But we have to build them now because they have become necessary.

So, you can see how the entire complexion is changing though the reason for that is not very welcome. But the outcome to your state will be good. New roads will open up the interior to traffic and perhaps industries will come up in this region. All these things are essential for development. I want you to remember that a new chapter is beginning in the history of Assam. That may well include some external threat to NEFA and Assam. But at the same time, there will be more opportunities for development in this region which is a good thing. It depends upon you to prepare yourselves to take advantage of these opportunities. In a sense, this is a problem that the whole of India faces. New opportunities and challenges, new threats are emerging. The question is how India faces them. It is especially important that the youth should prepare themselves mentally and physically. It is upon their shoulders that the burden and responsibility of dealing with these threats and dangers will fall. These are not issues which you can deal with by passing resolutions. The situation demands tough people who are prepared to hard, trained and responsible. Ultimately, a nation's progress depends not on public meetings and processions or speeches but by hard work and quiet determination.

So, this is a testing time for India, of trial in many ways. One, we have been facing the challenge of improving India's economic condition, by eradicating poverty and unemployment. A country's power depends on its economic strength. Poverty is a sign of weakness. A poor country lacks resources and finds it difficult to defend itself against external threats. If it relies on another country for its defence, then its freedom is curtailed.

You have read Indian history. You must have read about the foreign invasions which highlighted our own disunity. The enemy took advantage of our destiny. Very often we sided with the enemy against our own kith and kin. It was absolutely traitorous. Whenever India was conquered by foreign invaders, it was not because of their superior strength but due to our own weakness and disunity.

Secondly, India was cut off from the outside world. We erected barriers around ourselves. The world advanced economically, in science, technology and warfare. We stick to outdated methods of production and warfare. Even our ordinary soldier knows that the side with superior arms is stronger. We cannot fight with guns and tanks with bows and arrows. So, the west developed new and more powerful weapons, and was soon able to establish huge empires all over the world.

Therefore, if we wish to hold on to our freedom, we cannot rely on others

for our defence. That is in itself an admission of weakness. The moment we rely on others for help, half of our freedom is bartered away. The country which is unable to defend itself has no right to freedom.

Therefore, right from the beginning the problem before us has been to improve India's economic condition. It would make the people better off and secondly, give us the strength to defend the country from external threats. Many people fail to understand this even now. They think that now that India is free, we can relax and go back to our old pastime of fighting with one another or passing long resolutions and making long winded speeches. Well, there is a time and place for everything. But the moment a country forgets that eternal vigilance is the price of freedom, it weakens itself and freedom slips away. We have to defend and protect our freedom day and night with every breath in our body. We had to pay a great price in blood, sweat and sacrifices to attain independence. But we have to continue to pay the price for freedom. The moment a nation becomes complacent and slack, they fail to pay the price and freedom can slip away. All these things were in our mind so we decided to take up five years plans, in order to strengthen the country economically. We have completed the First, Second is about to complete and the Third is about to begin.

What does it imply? Well, one, it means that we want economic progress, increase in production from agriculture and industries, employment and a better standard of living for the masses. All these things are necessary. But underlying them is the fact that we should be able to defend and protect our country in every crisis. It cannot be done unless we are economically prosperous and self-reliant. If we are not able to produce the essential consumer goods and weapons and other military goods to defend ourselves, and have to import them, we will be crippled. If other countries fail to come to our help, we will be helpless. Therefore, economic development is absolutely essential.

It is not a simple matter to try to uplift forty crores of human beings from their poverty. It is difficult enough for a poor man to get rid of his poverty. But it is far more difficult for an entire nation to do so. It needs resources and strength and capital in order to produce more wealth. A poor country often flounders in a vicious circle. But we have to do it somehow. The West has advanced in spite of initial difficulties. Once their pace of progress gathered momentum, and production increased, they became extremely powerful. We too will come to that take-off point once our efforts pay off and the pace of development gathers momentum. We will have to continue to work hard. But at the moment we have to work very much harder in order to set up new industries and increase agricultural production. Once we have a surplus, development will become faster. We can generate more power and steel and other major industries which are essential for progress. We need oil. We must

be able to produce the essential goods ourselves.

These were the questions that we faced. People seem to think that planning means setting up some industries here and there. That is not the real meaning of planning. Planning is to wage a war, a war against our weakness and poverty, not a war against another country. A battle cannot be fought by each soldier doing his own thing. He will soon be defeated. In a war, an army fights under a general and other officers who decide what the strategy and the moves ought to be, and when to advance or retreat, etc. We are engaged in a great war. It is not a question of winning a small battle. It is only a foolish general who fritters away his strength by spreading himself thin on the ground. He makes a laughing stock of himself.

Suppose, for instance, there is an external threat. If we panic, move our troops here and there while the enemy plays a cat and mouse game, we will lose. Therefore our strategy lies in being patient to win the war, not fritter away our strength in futile exercises. We have to carefully consider where to lay stress and when to exercise restraint.

Another commodity which is absolutely vital to modern economy is oil. Some years ago, we struck oil in Assam. But for a long time people thought we did not have much oil in the country. Now it has been conclusively proved that we have far more than we thought earlier. We have struck oil in Assam and in Gujarat, in Cambay. We hope that we will be lucky in the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Madras too. But that is speculation. There is a great deal of oil in Assam. It is a good thing because the modern world moves on oil. However, we have to work very hard and spend enormous sums of money to benefit from the crude oil which we take out. First of all, it costs a great deal to explore for oil. Then a refinery is an expensive proposition. Anyhow, we are lucky to have struck oil. It will benefit Assam and bring about quicker development. The doors of opportunity will open up for Assam.

So ultimately, it is a human being who makes a nation. Machines come later. It is human beings who operate the machines but they must be trained. We are setting up huge steel plants which take years to be completed. But the officers and engineers who will man them require at least ten to fifteen years to be fully trained. A plant can be set up in five years whereas it takes fifteen years to train the personnel, managerial and others, to man it.

So ultimately, it is not a question so much of machines and resources but of trained personnel, human beings who understand modern science and technology, good engineers and technicians and scientists. Only then can a country progress. Nobody can stop a nation which has human beings of high quality.

Let me give you some examples. During the last war, the two countries

which faced defeat and utter devastation were Germany and Japan. Though Russia was on the victorious side, it had also been devastated. The German forces had overrun more than half of Russia and razed huge big cities to the ground. Now just fifteen years later, Germany and Japan are once again prosperous, wealthy countries with teeming industries and enormous production. How did they manage that? For one thing though their industries lay in ruin, they still had the trained personnel. Though millions of people had lost their lives in the war, those who remained were highly skilled and trained scientists, engineers and others. Moreover, the Germans are extremely hard-working people and so they worked day and night to put Germany back on its feet once again. Millions of people had been rendered homeless because the cities had been razed to the ground during the blitz and buildings were reduced to dust and rubble. They decided to rebuild their industries first before thinking of houses, the factories would churn out the wealth to put Germany on its feet. So they bore great hardships with determination and grit and worked for eleven hours a day. It was difficult but they were a people full of pride and self respect and the defeat had been a great shock.

Anyhow, they decided to cut their losses and rebuild Germany and they did it. Today within ten to fifteen years Germany has become a powerful, wealthy country once more and others stand in awe of it. Their teeming and prosperous houses and industries have been rebuilt. It is extraordinary all this has been possible because the Germans are hardworking, trained and skilled human beings.

The same thing happened in Japan. Two of its cities were ruined when the atom bombs were dropped. Japan was defeated for the first time in its history and was under enemy occupation. Yet within a few years, Japan is again among the highly industrialised, advanced countries of the world. Their agricultural production is enormous. Japan is a small country and completely packed by its population. But they do not waste an inch of space. They brought every bit of available land under cultivation. They even grow things on both sides of the railway tracks. They are determined to produce as much as they can. Very few countries can equal Japan's rate of production. The Japanese are an extremely hard-working and skilled people.

Take the Soviet Union. A large part of Russia was devastated during the war. But being extremely hard-working and trained, they have managed to put their country on its feet once again. We often hear fierce debates raging over questions of ideology and the alternative merits of socialism, communism, and capitalism. It is all very well in its place. But I want you to understand that what really counts are hard-working, trained human beings who do not moan about their fate.

What kind of a society do we wish to build? We want a socialistic pattern of society in which people enjoy equal rights, and there is no disparity between the haves and the have-nots. But we can bring about socialism in the country only if we are strong, tough, trained, skilled with a grasp of modern science and technology and machines. If we are all these things, we will go ahead irrespective of the ideology we adopt. All of us must understand this clearly, particularly the youth. You will find that people in colder climates are tougher because they have to work harder. They cannot afford to slacken. People in warmer climates are more prone to laziness because they have to make less effort to produce something. Near the equator, you will find that people can earn their livelihood with minimum effort. They can plant a 100 coconut trees and the sale of the coconuts are enough to feed the entire family. So they can lie around all day doing nothing. In this respect the people in the mountain regions are tougher because they have to work harder. The soil is not fertile and so the people have to work hard to produce anything. Anyhow, it makes them stronger and so they benefit more.

All this is fundamental to our progress. I want you to understand clearly what I mean by having a strategy and a planning commission. Today new parties are emerging in the country which stridently oppose planning and demand that we should go back to *laissez-faire*. There is no doubt about it that if we leave it to the people, some people will certainly progress and become very rich. But what happens to the masses is a different matter. We must understand this because we are facing extremely complex problem, problem in India and the world. I shall not spell out the international problems. You must have heard that a summit is to take place in Geneva very soon where the great world leaders will gather together to discuss the question of disarmament. Nuclear weapons can rain death and destruction over the whole world within minutes. This is not the time to sit back and relax.

In Africa, you will find that the entire continent is ablaze. Crushed by alien rule for centuries, there is a great awakening today. Nobody knows what the outcome will be. We have been saying for years that unless a timely solution to Africa's problems is found a day will come when everything will burst into the open. Now that day has arrived though most people have not understood it yet.

So, whichever way you turn, the world is in a turmoil and tension and faces the threat of war. As I mentioned, our eastern borders have come alive and we will have to be extra vigilant in its protection. We can get by in this world seething with tensions only by consolidating our national unity and presenting a united, determined and strong front. We must accelerate the pace of progress. Young men write to me signing letters with their blood in their enthusiasm, offering to shed their blood if necessary in the defence of India. I

am happy to see their enthusiasm. But as I told you, the bravest of our warriors lost the battle in the past because the enemy had superior weapons. So, it is not enough to take an oath in blood nor to pass resolutions and make fiery speeches. We need determination and strength and clarity of purpose. We need to understand modern science and technology and to be prepared to face any crisis unflinchingly. I do not like people who get cold feet in a crisis. That is stupid. It is obvious that militarily India is not as strong as the great powers. How can we compete with the United States, the Soviet Union or other great powers? Our armed forces are excellent and I have no reason to fear that anyone can attack us and get away with it. But ultimately, we must be tough and stout hearted, ready to face the biggest crisis without letting a stain come upon our country's honour. A stout heart is half the battle won. The other half can be won by training ourselves and working hard instead of shouting slogans or making speeches and moaning. It is a sign of senility. I am also getting on in years. But I have not become old mentally. I feel that there is still life left in me.

I have been speaking for nearly an hour and a quarter to explain some of the thoughts that come crowding into my mind. I want you to understand the exigencies of the times and to spur you to prepare yourselves, particularly the youth, to serve the nation in your own way with all your might. But whatever you learn, you should learn well, because a country's progress depends on well trained, educated human beings of quality whether you are engineers, doctors, in the armed forces, in whatever profession you are, you should be the best. To the extent that we possess such human beings India can go very far. A nation's strength is not counted, sheep-like by its population. And I have full faith in India's future, a bright future because I have great faith in the people of India, in her farmers and peasants. They quarrel among themselves foolishly sometimes, but they are tough, good people. I have confidence in our young boys and girls, they also do foolish things sometimes and quarrel. But I also see too the number of people of quality growing in the country, scientists, doctors and engineers. My heart is filled with joy when I see them. Our armed forces have excellent young officers. They can compete with anyone in the world in intellect and competence. Our science laboratories have grown, good people are coming in services. So, I have no doubt. Yes there are weaknesses, there are shortcomings, there are problems, because we are carrying the burdens of our past and it takes time to get rid of them. The biggest burden is that however much we say we are nationalist, we are this we are that; our focus is more on our own region, our village or district or state and we forget that if India as a whole progress we shall also progress. We start thinking about our state in a confused way, we start fighting over language; there are so many things which separate us.

The caste-system which has come down in India for centuries, it has been responsible for the weakening of the fabric of our society in the past. It led to the downfall and degradation of a country which had risen to great pinnacles of glory in the past. It is the caste system which has created barriers among the people, suppressed the Harijans, and kept a large section of the people in a state of subjection. So long as the caste system exists there can be no democracy or socialism in India; they are opposed to each other. I am amazed at the casteism displayed in their personal lives by even people who profess to be great socialists and democrat. I agree that everyone is not exactly alike. People differ from one another physically and mentally—some are strong, some weak, some more intelligent than others—all that is there. We cannot cast everybody into the same mould through socialism. But everybody should get equal opportunities so that they can go as far as they can. Nowadays the opportunity is not available to everyone. I hope a day will soon come down when there will be no disparity in the country. Today the pattern of society has changed. In my opinion it is an acquisitive society. I have translated this English word as “chheena jhapti ki society”. I think it is a good translation; and what we need is to build a more and more cooperative society.

The Congress constitution lays down that India shall strive for a cooperative socialist commonwealth in the world. That does not mean that everyone must become a replica of one another. Each country must be free to follow the path of its choice. There is no reason for us to imitate the United States, the Soviet Union or China. India is a big country, we follow our own path. But the fundamental thing is to get rid of the caste system, develop habits of cooperation and ensure equal opportunities for everyone.

So, you might ask what you ought to do. There are hundreds of things I could point out that the youth ought to do. One thing, of course, is that you should not moan or indulge in self-pity. It is not becoming. Moreover it is a sign of weakness. You must train yourselves for some useful occupation because the more training you get, the better you can serve the country in the future. You must not fritter away your time. You must take full advantage of your time in college and university because you will not get a second chance. But education does not end there. Now is book learning enough. You must have practical training in some creative, productive work. You can participate in our five year plans, in the community projects. There are hundreds of things you can do in the villages and cities.

We are taking some important steps now. One, as you know, we are giving greater autonomy to the panchayats. We want them to be responsible for all our development projects even if they make mistakes initially. But they will learn. We want to lay the firm foundations of freedom through the panchayats.

We have already given greater autonomy to the panchayats in many states. It is showing good results. I believe it is going to be taken up in Assam also. I am going to participate in a panchayati sammelan in Gauhati tomorrow.⁷⁷

Secondly, cooperative societies are essential. We want the method of cooperation to take root in the rural areas in particular. You can help to promote cooperation.

Well, what I have said is by and large aimed at the youth but everyone, men and women must pay attention to it. A nation cannot progress unless its women are educated and hardworking. We are entering a new era in our history and it is you who will write that history. It will be recorded later by historians. But you have to make history by doing your duty and working hard. It is up to you to decide what India's history is going to be. Jai Hind!

68. At Jhalukbari: To Gauhati University Students⁷⁸

Assamese as State Language
Nehru Asks Students to Go Slow

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Gauhati, April 16.

Mr. Nehru, addressing off the schedule roadside gathering of students of Gauhati University at Jhalukbari today, addressed them to go slow in the matter of having Assamese declared as State language in Assam.

The Prime Minister, who spoke nearly 20 minutes from under a shamiana to the students who welcomed him on his way from Borjhar Airport to Gauhati, said it was not a wise thing to force a language on other linguistic groups. He himself did not approve the idea of thrusting the national language Hindi on non-Hindi speaking people. A language, he pointed out, was like a tender plant which had to be nurtured. It would not grow by pulling at it. Perhaps in the course of time as non-Hindi people would start learning Hindi so would non-Assamese speaking hill people would take to Assamese language. One could hardly make friends by forcing them, he added.

Earlier, Mr. Nehru on arrival here this morning from Tezpur was given a rousing reception by a large gathering at Borjhar Airport.

As the Prime Minister's Ilyushin landed at 9 a.m. he was received at the tarmac by the Governor of Assam, General Shrinagesh, the Chief Justice of

77. See fn 76 in this section.

78. Report, 16 April 1960. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 17 April 1960.

Assam, Mr. C.P. Sinha, Major-General G.C. Mishra, and Mr. Siddhinath Sarma, the Pradesh Congress Chief.

69. At Sonapur: Public Meeting ⁷⁹

बंधुगण, बहिनो,

आप लोग आंचलिक सभाओं के पंच लोग यहाँ आये हैं, यह मुझसे कहा गया है और यहाँ आसाम प्रदेश में यह नया क़ानून बना है जिससे गाँव की पंचायतें और उसके बाद आंचलिक सभाएँ, उनके पंच और उसके बाद क्या कहलाते हैं महकमा परिषद यह एक नया चित्र बना है यहाँ के कार्य के लिए।⁸⁰ अब इसके क्या माने हैं, क्यों किया गया यह? यह बात तो आप समझ गये होंगे, लेकिन फिर भी मैं इसका कोई चर्चा किया चाहता हूँ।

हमारे देश में बड़े-बड़े कार्य हो रहे हैं, आपके प्रदेश में भी बड़ी-बड़ी बातें हो रही हैं, बड़ा अच्छा है यहाँ गंगा के ऊपर पुल बन रहा है⁸¹ और यहाँ तेल निकला है और तेल से बहुत लाभ पहुँचेगा इस प्रदेश आसाम को और बहुत बातें होंगी। जबसे हमारे देश को स्वराज मिला, बारह-तेरह बरस हुए इसको, तबसे हमारे सामने कौन बड़ा प्रश्न रहा है? स्वराज मिलने के पहले सबमें बड़ा प्रश्न था स्वराज का, अंग्रेज़ी राज को हटाना यहाँ से और अपनी जनता का राज्य करना। बहुत दिन तक आप जानते हैं उसके लिए बलिदान देश में हुआ, परिश्रम हुआ बीस-तीस बरस तक, यों तो और भी अधिक और महात्मा गांधी ने हमको बताया किस रास्ते पर हम चलना चाहते हैं, शांति से चलें, सहयोग से चलें, सब लोग मिलकर, चाहे उनका कोई धर्म हो, कोई जाति हो क्योंकि यह प्रश्न सारे देश का, स्वराज का है। तो फिर स्वराज हमें मिला और उसमें देश की जनता की एक बड़ी विजय हुई। तो फिर हमारा काम तो पूरा नहीं हुआ और स्वराज किसलिए मिला हमें और किसलिए हम चाहते थे? एक तो यह कि सब देशों को अपने लोगों का राज्य होना चाहिए, प्रदेशी लोग आकर राज्य करें यह अच्छी बात नहीं है, लेकिन दूसरे इसलिए हम स्वराज्य चाहते थे कि हम अपने देश की उन्नति कर सकें, तरक्की कर सकें, हमारे देश में जो दरिद्रता है, ग़रीबी है उसको दूर करें। यह बड़ा भारी प्रश्न था क्योंकि हमारा देश तो बहुत बड़ा है। आपका आसाम प्रदेश जैसा है वैसे हमारे देश में बड़े-बड़े और प्रदेश हैं, इससे भी बड़े— बंगाल है, उत्तर प्रदेश है, बिहार है, पंजाब है, राजस्थान है, मध्य प्रदेश है, उधर बम्बई प्रदेश है और मैसूर है और मद्रास है, केरल है और इस तरह से बहुत सारे, सब मिलकर हमारा यह बड़ा देश होता है, हिमालय से लेकर कन्याकुमारी और रामेश्वर तक दक्षिण में और इसमें चालीस करोड़ लोग रहते हैं, चालीस कोटि। अब इन सब लोगों को उठाना बड़ी कठिन बात है।

79. Speech, 16 April 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

80. Assam Panchayati Raj Act, 1959, which introduced a three-tier system— Gaon Panchayat, Anchalik Panchayat and Mohokuma Parishad—was implemented from 1960.

81. The Saraighat Bridge, across the Brahmaputra; Nehru refers to it here as the Ganga. See also SWJN/SS/56/item 29.

कैसे उठें? कोई, कोई बाहर के देश वाले पैसा दे के तो हमें नहीं उठा देंगे। इस तरह से तो देश उठते नहीं। हमारा उनसे माँगना भी अच्छा नहीं और उनका देना भी अच्छा नहीं। हाँ, समय पर कुछ सहायता दें वो भली बात है, इसमें तो कोई बात नहीं, लेकिन हम समझें कि कोई और लोग हमको धनी कर देंगे यह तो अनुचित बात है, देश उठते हैं अपने परिश्रम से, अपनी बुद्धि से, अपने संगठन से, अपने सहयोग से। तो हमें उसी रास्ते पर चलना है। तो जब स्वराज आया तो यही यह प्रश्न हमारे सामने आया कि क्या हम उपाय करें, क्या ढूँढ़ें जिससे हम उठें, हमारी जनता सब उठे। अब अंग्रेज़ी राज्य के समय पर सारा काम ऊपर के बड़े-बड़े अफ़सर करते थे, वो बड़े लाटसाहब और छोटे लाटसाहब और बड़े-बड़े अफ़सर, जनता के हाथ में अधिकार नहीं थे। स्वराज आने पर जनता के हाथ में बहुत कुछ अधिकार आया और जो बड़ी-बड़ी हमारी सभाएँ हैं जैसे दिल्ली में लोकसभा, राज्यसभा, उसको जनता चुनती है, आप लोग चुनते हैं, आपके यहाँ सभा है विधानसभा आसाम की, वो आप चुनते हैं और जिसको आप पसंद करें उसी को आप चुनेंगे। तो यह कहा जा सकता है कि जनता के हाथ में अधिकार आया, प्रजातंत्र राज्य हो गया देश में, लेकिन और जो बड़े-बड़े अफ़सर थे, अफ़सर कुछ रहे, कुछ गये, वो अफ़सर भी उन्हीं लोगों के नीचे काम करते हैं जिनको जनता ने चुना। तो जनता का अधिकार एक तरह से हो गया, लेकिन फिर भी जो हमारे काम का ढंग था, राज्य के काम का ढंग था वो ज़रा ऊपर का ढंग था, ऊपर के अफ़सर करें और वो जो पुराना ढंग था उसमें अन्तर थोड़ा हुआ, अंग्रेज़ी राज्य में तो बहुत काम लोगों को करने नहीं थे अफ़सरों को। वो अपना रोज़ का काम कर देते थे अच्छी तरह या नहीं। अब जब हमारे सामने यह बड़ा भारी प्रश्न आया कि चालीस कोटि लोगों को उठाना, यह कोई अफ़सर के हुकुम से तो उठते नहीं, न कोई अफ़सर के कार्य से, न मंत्री के कार्य से, यह तो अपने परिश्रम से उठ सकते हैं यह सब लोग क्योंकि आप विचार करें काम का ढंग बदल गया। एक तो पहले काम का ढंग यह था कि जैसे दुनिया है वैसी रहे, हाँ कोई अमन से रहे, शांति से रहे, लोग टैक्स दिया करें, लगान मालगुज़ारी दें और थोड़ा बहुत और भी फुटकर काम होता रहे।

अब हमारे सामने बहुत बड़े-बड़े काम हुए कि जल्दी-जल्दी हम करें जिससे देश में लोगों को काम मिले, रोज़गार मिले सभों को जो बेरोज़गार हैं, 'अन-इम्प्लाइड', और देश में नया धन पैदा हो, नये धन से लोग खुशहाल हों। नया धन कैसे पैदा होता है? धन सोना-चाँदी नहीं होता, सोना और चाँदी व्यापार की चीज़ है, धन होता है जो चीज़ मनुष्य अपने परिश्रम से पैदा करता है, नयी चीज़ जैसे आप भूमि पर काम करते हैं खेती में। आप कृषक हैं, किसान हैं तो आप खेती से नयी चीज़ पैदा करते हैं वो धन है, आप कारख़ाने में काम करें जो आप बनायें वो धन है, वो किसी और की जेब से नहीं निकालते आप, आप कारीगरी करें, आप कुछ काम करें, आप बढ़ई हों, लुहार हों, जो भी कुछ काम करें, आप अपने परिश्रम से नयी चीज़ बनाते हैं। अब जिस देश में अधिक से अधिक ऐसे सामान बनता है या पैदा होता है वो देश धनी हो जाता है। आप सुनते हैं विदेश में अमेरिका देश बड़ा धनी है, बात ठीक है। क्यों धनी है? इसलिए कि अमरीका में ज़मीन से, भूमि से बहुत पैदा होता है ग़ल्ला, हमसे बहुत अधिक। एक एकड़ में जित्ता हम पैदा करें उससे कहीं अधिक वो पैदा करते हैं और उनके यहाँ बहुत सारे कारख़ाने हैं छोटे-बड़े, जिससे लोगों को रोज़गार मिलता है और जहाँ सामान पैदा होता है जनता के लिए।

इस तरह से धनी हो गये। तो अगर हमें भी यही बात करनी है तो हमें अपने देश में अधिक पैदा करना है अपने परिश्रम से, सरकारी हुकुम से धन नहीं पैदा हो जाता। अगर सरकारी हुकुम से होता तो बड़ी सरल बात थी, बैठे-बैठे हमारे यहाँ चालिहा जी मुख्यमंत्री हुकुम दे देंगे, सब लोग धनी हो जायें, वो उनके हुकुम से नहीं होगा, वो तो परिश्रम और मेहनत से होगा। तो फिर हमारे सामने यह प्रश्न आया देश के कि किस ढंग से जल्दी से जल्दी हम लोग मिलकर परिश्रम से देश में अधिक पैदा करें जिससे देश की दरिद्रता दूर हो, ज़मीन से पैदा करें, कारखाने से, दोनों बातें। अब यह बात मैंने आपसे कही, यह सरकारी हुकुम से धन सब नहीं हो जाता, इसमें तो सारी जनता के ऊपर बोझा पड़ता है और सबमें अच्छा तो यह हो कि जनता का जो काम हो उसमें सरकारी काम भी हो, अफसर सब मदद करें, सब लोग एक तरफ परिश्रम करें, तो जल्दी से उसका लाभ मिले।

अब मैंने आपसे कहा हमें बहुत कारखानों की भी आवश्यकता है बड़े-छोटे, वो बात ठीक है लेकिन उससे भी पहले जो सबमें बड़ा काम हमारे पास है वो भारत के ग्रामों का है, भारत के देहात में, जो गाँव में लोग रहते हैं विशेषकर किसान कृषक उनका है क्योंकि भारत में हर सौ आदमी में अस्सी आदमी गाँव में रहते हैं और भारत उठ नहीं सकता जब तक कि यहाँ के गाँव नहीं उठते और अगर हम धन पैदा किया चाहते हैं तो पहले हमें अपनी ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा करना होगा, पैदा करें हम धन ज़मीन से जैसे और देशों में लोग करते हैं। जितना आप एक एकड़ में पैदा करते हैं उसका दुगुना-चौगुना और देशों में लोग पैदा करते हैं उतनी ही ज़मीन से, इसलिए वो धनी हो गये। आप सोचो अगर आसाम में जिस-जिस आदमी के पास ज़मीन है, भूमि है, जित्ता वो पैदा करता है उसका दुगुना पैदा करे, तिगुना तो उसका भी कित्ता लाभ हो और देश का भी हो। कैसे और लोगों ने यह किया? इसलिए कि उन्होंने नयी-नयी तरकीबें लगायीं, उन्होंने अच्छे हल चलाये, पुराने हल नहीं, अच्छे हल जो खूब खोदते थे गहरा, उन्होंने अच्छी खाद बनाई, बनाई फ़र्टिलाइज़र बनाई, वो दिया, उन्होंने बहुत परिश्रम से अच्छे-अच्छे बीज चुने क्योंकि जित्ते अच्छे बीज आप चुनें उतनी अच्छी फ़सल होगी। उन्होंने..., कभी वर्षा होती है कम, कभी अधिक आप जानते हैं उन्होंने खेतों के बीच में वो कहते हैं बंडिंग छोटी-छोटी मुंडेर बनाये दीं कि पानी वहाँ आये तो बह न जाये, कुछ दिन रहता है, उससे पानी ज़मीन के नीचे भी जाता है तो कुएँ में भी अधिक आ जाता है। इस तरह से बहुत सारी छोटी-छोटी की जो आप लोग भी कर सकते हैं अगर आपको मालूम हो, अभ्यास हो, सीख सकते हो, कोई बड़ी बात नहीं।

अभी तक मैंने सुना यहाँ आसाम में आप लोग हल चलाते हो। वो ऐसा हल है जैसे कि लोग एक-सौ, दौ-सौ, चार-सौ बरस से चलाए आते हैं। अरे, दुनिया में नये हल चलते हैं, आप वही पुराने चलाते हैं जिससे इतना कम खुदता है जैसे समझो हाथ से, नाखून से खोद दिया तुमने। अगर आपके पास ज़रा अच्छा हल हो तो आपकी फ़सल अच्छी हो जाये। अब अमेरिका वगैरह में तो बड़े-बड़े हल चलाते हैं, ट्रैक्टर कहीं चलें, चलें मोटर-गाड़ी, मेरा मतलब है अच्छा हल हो, जो बैल खेंचे, जैसे बैल ज़रा गहरा खोदे, उसमें अच्छा लोहा लगा हो और वो एक फुट भर खोदे, फ़ौरन फ़सल अच्छी हो जाती है, ज़मीन अच्छी खुदती है। अब ये सब बातें आप कर सकते हैं और और भी बहुत बातें।

तो पहला काम हमारा हो गया कि हम अपने ग्रामों को उठावें, गाँव वालों को उठावें, तब

भारत उठता है। कैसे उठे गाँव वाले? कोई आके बाहर से अफ़सर उनको उठायेंगे, इस तरह से नहीं उठता है वह। कोई उठता है तो अपने दम से, अपने पैर पर उठता है, दूसरे के पैर पर कोई नहीं उठ सकता। हाँ और लोग मदद कर सकते हैं, और लोग सलाह दे सकते हैं, और लोग आपको बता सकते हैं कि भाई देखो खेती में इस ढंग से करो तो फ़ायदा होगा। यह तो सब ठीक बात है। तो इसलिए अब हम दस बरस से इस काम को कर रहे हैं और दस बरस से देश में बहुत कुछ लाभ भी हुआ और उन्नति हुई, बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने बने, खेती में भी लाभ हुआ है, अधिक पैदा हुआ है लेकिन और हमें इसको बहुत बढ़ाना है। कैसे करें? तो यह निश्चय हुआ कि यह ज़मीन होगा ठीक-ठीक जब हमारे गाँव वालों के हाथ में, उन्हीं के हाथ में उसकी लगाम दे दी जाये। समझे आप। आपको ही को अधिकार मिले, अपने अभ्यास से, अपनी अक़ल से अपने गाँव को बढ़ायें, ख़ाली अफ़सर लोगों की तरफ़ न देखें यानी जो अधिकार बड़े-बड़े अफ़सरों के हाथ में था वो अब पंचायतों के हाथ में दे दिया गया, असल में पंचायती राज नीचे से हो। अगर ऐसा पंचायती राज होता है तब आपके हाथ में अधिकार है, आप जैसा चलायेंगे वैसा ही आप बढ़ेंगे, आप अच्छी तरह करें आपका लाभ होगा, बुरी तरह करें आपके ग्राम [में] हानि होगी। शायद हो सकता है आपसे कभी गुलती हो जाये, ठोकर खाके गिरें आप, फिर आप संभल जायेंगे। इसलिए हमने अब स्वराज जो देश में आया था वो स्वराज को ज़्यादा मज़बूती से फ़ैलाने की कोशिश की है कि स्वराज एक गाँव, एक पक्के तौर से हो ख़ाली लोकसभा और राज्यसभा और विधानसभाओं में नहीं। असल में पंचायती राज हो ग्रामों में और उसमें हमें आशा है कि हमारी उसमें फिर काम करने वालों में देश के करोड़ों आदमी लग जायेंगे।

हमारे देश में साढ़े पाँच लाख ग्राम हैं। अब सब ग्रामों में पंचायत हो और एक-एक पंचायत में आप समझें मालूम कितने लोग हों? दस लोग हों, कुछ हों तो ख़ाली पंचायत में एक पचास लाख तो पंच हो जाते हैं हमारे देश में, पचास-साठ लाख और फिर और भी लोग बहुत काम करने वाले। तो इस तरह से काम फैल जाता है और बहुत लोगों की शक्ति उसमें आ जाती है, बहुत लोगों की बुद्धि और अभ्यास उसमें आ जाता है।

मैं आपको बता ये रहा हूँ कि आप खेती में क्या करें लेकिन मुझसे आप अधिक जानते हैं जो आप खेती करते हैं। मैं क्या आपको बताऊँ, लेकिन मैं आपको एक बात बताये सकता हूँ कि और देशों में कैसे उनकी उन्नति हुई? जैसे मैं आपको बताऊँ कि ऐसा हल चलाने से उनको लाभ हुआ, मैंने देखा है उनके हल। मैं आपको बताऊँ कि वहाँ कैसे बीज चुनते हैं, यह सब काम जो आप करते हैं जैसे करते हैं और हमारे देश में भी अब अच्छे किसान इसको करने लगे।

तो ग़रज़ कि हमने यह निश्चय किया कि देश की तरक्की को जल्दी करना है और देश की उन्नति ऊपर से हुकुम देने से नहीं होती, उसकी ज़िम्मेदारी, उसका बोझ आम जनता के ऊपर पड़े और आम जनता को मौक़ा मिले इस नये काम को सीखने का, उनके पंचों को, औरों को। तो यह पंचायतें बनीं और पंचायत के ऊपर और दर्जे पंचायतों के बने और आप वहाँ से आये हैं चुने हुए पंच अपने कामों पर विचार करने के लिए। तो पंचायत लोग ख़ैर, सारे वहाँ का अपने-अपने इलाक़े का काम करेंगे, पंचायत वहाँ की सरकार होगी, हाँ उसको सहायता मिलेगी जो सरकारी अफ़सर है लेकिन असल में हुकुम पंचायत का, फ़ैसला पंचायत का चलेगा।

अब दूसरे ढंग से आप देखो कि हमारी खेती के काम में और कामों में जो हम उन्नति चाहते

इस तरह से धनी हो गये। तो अगर हमें भी यही बात करनी है तो हमें अपने देश में अधिक पैदा करना है अपने परिश्रम से, सरकारी हुकुम से धन नहीं पैदा हो जाता। अगर सरकारी हुकुम से होता तो बड़ी सरल बात थी, बैठे-बैठे हमारे यहाँ चालिहा जी मुख्यमंत्री हुकुम दे देंगे, सब लोग धनी हो जायें, वो उनके हुकुम से नहीं होगा, वो तो परिश्रम और मेहनत से होगा। तो फिर हमारे सामने यह प्रश्न आया देश के कि किस ढंग से जल्दी से जल्दी हम लोग मिलकर परिश्रम से देश में अधिक पैदा करें जिससे देश की दरिद्रता दूर हो, ज़मीन से पैदा करें, कारखाने से, दोनों बातें। अब यह बात मैंने आपसे कही, यह सरकारी हुकुम से धन सब नहीं हो जाता, इसमें तो सारी जनता के ऊपर बोझ पड़ता है और सबमें अच्छा तो यह हो कि जनता का जो काम हो उसमें सरकारी काम भी हो, अफ़सर सब मदद करें, सब लोग एक तरफ़ परिश्रम करें, तो जल्दी से उसका लाभ मिले।

अब मैंने आपसे कहा हमें बहुत कारखानों की भी आवश्यकता है बड़े-छोटे, वो बात ठीक है लेकिन उससे भी पहले जो सबमें बड़ा काम हमारे पास है वो भारत के ग्रामों का है, भारत के देहात में, जो गाँव में लोग रहते हैं विशेषकर किसान कृषक उनका है क्योंकि भारत में हर सौ आदमी में अस्सी आदमी गाँव में रहते हैं और भारत उठ नहीं सकता जब तक कि यहाँ के गाँव नहीं उठते और अगर हम धन पैदा किया चाहते हैं तो पहले हमें अपनी ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा करना होगा, पैदा करें हम धन ज़मीन से जैसे और देशों में लोग करते हैं। जितना आप एक एकड़ में पैदा करते हैं उसका दुगुना-चौगुना और देशों में लोग पैदा करते हैं उन्नीस ही ज़मीन से, इसलिए वो धनी हो गये। आप सोचो अगर आसाम में जिस-जिस आदमी के पास ज़मीन है, भूमि है, जित्ता वो पैदा करता है उसका दुगुना पैदा करे, तिगुना तो उसका भी कित्ता लाभ हो और देश का भी हो। कैसे और लोगों ने यह किया? इसलिए कि उन्होंने नयी-नयी तरकीबें लगायीं, उन्होंने अच्छे हल चलाये, पुराने हल नहीं, अच्छे हल जो खूब खोदते थे गहरा, उन्होंने अच्छी खाद बनाई, बनाई फ़र्टिलाइज़र बनाई, वो दिया, उन्होंने बहुत परिश्रम से अच्छे-अच्छे बीज चुने क्योंकि जित्ते अच्छे बीज आप चुनें उतनी अच्छी फ़सल होगी। उन्होंने..., कभी वर्षा होती है कम, कभी अधिक आप जानते हैं उन्होंने खेतों के बीच में वो कहते हैं बंडिंग छोटी-छोटी मुंडेर बनाये दीं कि पानी वहाँ आये तो बह न जाये, कुछ दिन रहता है, उससे पानी ज़मीन के नीचे भी जाता है तो कुएँ में भी अधिक आ जाता है। इस तरह से बहुत सारी छोटी-छोटी की जो आप लोग भी कर सकते हैं अगर आपको मालूम हो, अभ्यास हो, सीख सकते हो, कोई बड़ी बात नहीं।

अभी तक मैंने सुना यहाँ आसाम में आप लोग हल चलाते हो। वो ऐसा हल है जैसे कि लोग एक-सौ, दौ-सौ, चार-सौ बरस से चलाए आते हैं। अरे, दुनिया में नये हल चलते हैं, आप वही पुराने चलाते हैं जिससे इतना कम खुदता है जैसे समझो हाथ से, नाखून से खोद दिया तुमने। अगर आपके पास ज़रा अच्छा हल हो तो आपकी फ़सल अच्छी हो जाये। अब अमेरिका वगैरह में तो बड़े-बड़े हल चलाते हैं, ट्रेक्टर कहीं चलें, चलें मोटर-गाड़ी, मेरा मतलब है अच्छा हल हो, जो बैल खेंचे, जैसे बैल ज़रा गहरा खोदे, उसमें अच्छा लोहा लगा हो और वो एक फ़ुट भर खोदे, फ़ौरन फ़सल अच्छी हो जाती है, ज़मीन अच्छी खुदती है। अब ये सब बातें आप कर सकते हैं और और भी बहुत बातें।

तो पहला काम हमारा हो गया कि हम अपने ग्रामों को उठायें, गाँव वालों को उठायें, तब

भारत उठता है। कैसे उठे गाँव वाले? कोई आके बाहर से अफ़सर उनको उठायेंगे, इस तरह से नहीं उठता है वह। कोई उठता है तो अपने दम से, अपने पैर पर उठता है, दूसरे के पैर पर कोई नहीं उठ सकता। हाँ और लोग मदद कर सकते हैं, और लोग सलाह दे सकते हैं, और लोग आपको बता सकते हैं कि भाई देखो खेती में इस ढंग से करो तो फ़ायदा होगा। यह तो सब ठीक बात है। तो इसलिए अब हम दस बरस से इस काम को कर रहे हैं और दस बरस से देश में बहुत कुछ लाभ भी हुआ और उन्नति हुई, बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने बने, खेती में भी लाभ हुआ है, अधिक पैदा हुआ है लेकिन और हमें इसको बहुत बढ़ाना है। कैसे करें? तो यह निश्चय हुआ कि यह ज़मीन होगा ठीक-ठीक जब हमारे गाँव वालों के हाथ में, उन्हीं के हाथ में उसकी लगाम दे दी जाये। समझे आप। आपको ही को अधिकार मिले, अपने अभ्यास से, अपनी अक़ल से अपने गाँव को बढ़ायें, ख़ाली अफ़सर लोगों की तरफ़ न देखें यानी जो अधिकार बड़े-बड़े अफ़सरों के हाथ में था वो अब पंचायतों के हाथ में दे दिया गया, असल में पंचायती राज नीचे से हो। अगर ऐसा पंचायती राज होता है तब आपके हाथ में अधिकार है, आप जैसा चलायेंगे वैसा ही आप बढ़ेंगे, आप अच्छी तरह करें आपका लाभ होगा, बुरी तरह करें आपके ग्राम [में] हानि होगी। शायद हो सकता है आपसे कभी ग़लती हो जाये, ठोकर खाके गिरें आप, फिर आप संभल जायेंगे। इसलिए हमने अब स्वराज जो देश में आया था वो स्वराज को ज़्यादा मज़बूती से फ़ैलाने की कोशिश की है कि स्वराज एक गाँव, एक पक्के तौर से हो ख़ाली लोकसभा और राज्यसभा और विधानसभाओं में नहीं। असल में पंचायती राज हो ग्रामों में और उसमें हमें आशा है कि हमारी उसमें फिर काम करने वालों में देश के करोड़ों आदमी लग जायेंगे।

हमारे देश में साढ़े पाँच लाख ग्राम हैं। अब सब ग्रामों में पंचायत हो और एक-एक पंचायत में आप समझें मालूम कितने लोग हों? दस लोग हों, कुछ हों तो ख़ाली पंचायत में एक पचास लाख तो पंच हो जाते हैं हमारे देश में, पचास-साठ लाख और फिर और भी लोग बहुत काम करने वाले। तो इस तरह से काम फैल जाता है और बहुत लोगों की शक्ति उसमें आ जाती है, बहुत लोगों की बुद्धि और अभ्यास उसमें आ जाता है।

मैं आपको बता ये रहा हूँ कि आप खेती में क्या करें लेकिन मुझसे आप अधिक जानते हैं जो आप खेती करते हैं। मैं क्या आपको बताऊँ, लेकिन मैं आपको एक बात बताये सकता हूँ कि और देशों में कैसे उनकी उन्नति हुई? जैसे मैं आपको बताऊँ कि ऐसा हल चलाने से उनको लाभ हुआ, मैंने देखा है उनके हल। मैं आपको बताऊँ कि वहाँ कैसे बीज चुनते हैं, यह सब काम जो आप करते हैं जैसे करते हैं और हमारे देश में भी अब अच्छे किसान इसको करने लगे।

तो ग़रज़ कि हमने यह निश्चय किया कि देश की तरक्की को जल्दी करना है और देश की उन्नति ऊपर से हुक़म देने से नहीं होती, उसकी ज़िम्मेदारी, उसका बोझ आम जनता के ऊपर पड़े और आम जनता को मौक़ा मिले इस नये काम को सीखने का, उनके पंचों को, औरों को। तो यह पंचायतें बनीं और पंचायत के ऊपर और दर्जे पंचायतों के बने और आप वहाँ से आये हैं चुने हुए पंच अपने कामों पर विचार करने के लिए। तो पंचायत लोग ख़ैर, सारे वहाँ का अपने-अपने इलाक़े का काम करेंगे, पंचायत वहाँ की सरकार होगी, हाँ उसको सहायता मिलेगी जो सरकारी अफ़सर है लेकिन असल में हुक़म पंचायत का, फ़ैसला पंचायत का चलेगा।

अब दूसरे ढंग से आप देखो कि हमारी खेती के काम में और कामों में जो हम उन्नति चाहते

हैं वो अलग-अलग आदमी करना चाहें, आप चाहें तो आपसे नहीं होगी, आपकी शक्ति नहीं लेकिन अगर आप गाँव वाले मिलकर अपना सहकारी संघ बनायें, कोऑपरेटिव बनायें तब आपकी शक्ति बढ़ जाती है और आपका फिर गाँव तेज़ी से बढ़ सकता है, आपको कोई अच्छे हल लेने हैं आपको उसके द्वारा मिल जायेंगे, आपको रुपया कर्ज़ा लेना है आपको उसके द्वारा मिल जायेगा, आपको अच्छे बीज मंगाने हैं मिल जायेगा, आपको अपना जो पैदा करें ग़ल्ला-धान उसको बेचना है आपका संघ सहकारी संघ बेचेगा, अच्छे दाम मिलेंगे और बीच वाले लोग जो दाम ले जाते हैं व्यापारी लोग वो फिर आपको मिलेंगे उनको नहीं। इस ढंग से आपका बहुत लाभ होता है क्योंकि मिलकर काम करने से हमेशा अच्छा होता है। मिलकर काम करने के ये माने नहीं हैं यह मैं आपसे साफ़ कर दूँ कि आप लोगों की ज़मीन आपसे ले ली जाये, ज़मीन तो भूमि आपकी है, आप ही की और आप ही की रहेगी, भूमि तो कोई नहीं लेता लेकिन और बहुत सारे काम जो हैं वो गाँव वाले मिलकर करें, कुछ बेचना, ख़रीदना, सामान लाना, हल लाना, रुपया कर्ज़ा लेना, यह सब मिलकर आपकी सहकारी संघ करे तो आपको लाभ होगा और आप जल्दी से आगे बढ़ेंगे और फिर आपके सहकारी संघ, यह आपकी पंचायत, यह गाँव में और काम भी कर सकती है क्योंकि उसकी शक्ति बढ़ जाती है, वो छोटे-छोटे गाँव के कारख़ाने खोल सकती है, छोटे उद्योग-धंधे, ग्रामोद्योग या छोटी-छोटी मशीन लाके रख दें जिसमें आपके गाँव वालों को रोज़गार मिलेगा और आपके यहाँ धन कमाया जायेगा।

अच्छा अब असल बात तो यह है कि देश आगे बढ़ते हैं पढ़-लिखकर और बिना पढ़े-लिखे आजकल किसानों भी अच्छी नहीं हो सकती है बहुत, क्योंकि बग़ैर पढ़े-लिखे आपको मालूम नहीं होता और जगह क्या हो रहा है, क्या तरक्की हुई है। इसलिए यह आवश्यक है कि हमारे सब लड़के-लड़कियाँ पढ़ें, स्कूल जायें। किसलिए पढ़ें? इसलिए नहीं कि पढ़के वो बाबू होके शहर में जा कहें हमें नौकरी चाहिए सरकारी, ऐसे काम नहीं चलता। हम तो चाहते हैं कि पढ़-लिखकर गाँव में रहके गाँव की सेवा करें, अपनी भूमि की सेवा करें और उसको बढ़ायें। वह छोटे-मोटे कारख़ाने बने इस तरह से।

इस तरह से सब लोग मिलकर करें तो बहुत जल्दी गाँव खड़ा हो जाये और आपकी खेती अच्छी हो, वहाँ छोटे-छोटे कारख़ाने हों, वहाँ स्कूल खुल जायें और जो स्कूल तो बच्चों के लिए, बड़ों के लिए भी तो प्रबंध हो पढ़ना-लिखना सीखने का या कैसे पंचायत का काम करें या सहकारी संघ कोऑपरेटिव का काम कैसे होता है, उसके सीखने का भी यह प्रबंध हो क्योंकि सीखे हुए आदमी अच्छा काम करते हैं, नहीं सीखे हुए होते हैं, उनकी तो आँखें बंद होती हैं। तो आँखें खोलनी होती हैं सीख के, तब काम तेज़ी से होता है। इसलिए यह बड़ी भारी बात हमारे देश में आजकल हो रही है, यही पंचायतों को अधिकार देना, एक तरह से पंचायती राज मज़बूत करना सारे देश में और हम चाहते हैं हर गाँव में एक तो पंचायत हो या गाँव सभा हो, जो कहे उसे। दूसरे वहाँ सहकारी संघ हो, कोऑपरेटिव हो आर्थिक बातों के लिए, तीसरे स्कूल हो। तीन चीज़ सब गाँव में हों तो गाँव मज़बूत हो जायें और बढ़ें। हों उसके बाद गाँव में छोटे-छोटे धंधे, उद्योग-धंधे हों, काम शुरू हों, छोटे-छोटे कारख़ाने भी शुरू हो जायें, पढ़-लिख के आपके लड़के आयें, उसको शुरू करें और इस तरह से गाँव वाले सब खुशहाल हो जायें और इसमें पुरुष-स्त्री सभी का काम है, सभी को बढ़ाना है। तो यह एक बड़ी क्रांतिकारी बात है आप समझ लें। एक

बड़ी क्रांति देश भर में आजकल देहातों में हो रही है सब जगह, जहाँ जाओ वहाँ यह नयी पंचायतें बनी हैं, नयी गाँव सभाएँ और उनको बने बहुत कुछ, जो लगान मालगुजारी टैक्स का रुपया आता है उनको दे दिया जाता है उनका हिस्सा। तो उनके पास पैसा भी होता है खर्चने को और वो मिल कर सोचते हैं कैसे हम खर्चे जिससे हमारे गाँव का भला हो सबका और आपस में सलाह करते हैं, मशवरा करते हैं, खर्चते हैं, कभी ग़लती भी हो जाये लेकिन पंचायती राय से होता है। इससे गाँव की उन्नति होती है और सब लोग जो वहाँ रहते हैं उनकी भी तरक्की होती है। यह एक बड़ी क्रांति की बात है जो भारत में आजकल हो रही है।

आप देखते हैं एक बड़ा पुल ब्रह्मपुत्र पर बन रहा है और आप सुनते हैं कि आसाम में और तेल निकला है। अब तेल तो सुनते हैं कि आसाम में बहुत तेल निकला है। अब तेल तो आजकल बड़ी क्रीमती चीज़ है, सोना-चाँदी से ज़्यादा क्रीमती है तेल, लेकिन सबमें बड़ी बात होती है न बड़ा पुल, न बड़ा कारख़ाना, सबमें बड़ी बात होती है कि लोग तगड़े हों, जनता तगड़ी हो, पढ़ी हो, सीखी हुई हो क्योंकि वही लोग अपने परिश्रम से देश को बदलते हैं। लोग अपने परिश्रम से कल चलाते हैं, मशीन चलाते हैं, पुल बनाते हैं, तेल निकालते हैं। इसलिए लोगों को उठाना है और लोग जभी उठते हैं जब उनके हाथ में ज़िम्मेदारी आती है, खुद काम करें। आप लोग अपने गाँव को उठायेंगे, अपने-अपने गाँव को और उसी के साथ-साथ अपने प्रदेश को उठायेंगे, आसाम को और उसी सिलसिले में आप सारे देश भारत को उठायें, याद रखिये क्योंकि ये सब बातें जुड़ी हुई हैं। इसलिए मुझे बहुत इस बात की खुशी है, प्रसन्नता है कि आपके यहाँ ये बातें नये क़ानून बने हैं जिससे गाँव सभा के और उसके बाद जो हैं थोड़े दिन में शायद चुनाव हों। आप उन चुनाव में ऐसे लोगों को चुनें जिनको आप समझते हैं ठीक-ठीक काम करेंगे, तगड़े हैं, जिन पर आपको भरोसा हो, जिन पर विश्वास हो उनको चुनें आप और फिर अपने सलाह मशवरे से इस काम को चलाइये आप। आप देखेंगे किती जल्दी आपका गाँव बदल जाता है। आप गाँव वाले कहीं सड़क नहीं है सड़क बनायेंगे, कहीं कुछ और नहीं उसको बनायेंगे, हल्के-हल्के ये बातें होंगी और फिर आप दौड़-दौड़ के नहीं आयेंगे यहाँ मंत्रियों के पास या बड़े अफ़सर के पास कि हमें इस काम को करना है। अगर आपको करना है तो आप जो चाहे कीजिए, कराइये अपनी पंचायत द्वारा। हाँ, कोई बड़े काम हों तो वो और बात है। इस ढंग से हमें चलना है और हमें इस अपने देश को अब जल्दी से बदलना है, यह दुनिया में क्रांति का समय है, लेकिन हमारे देश में भी बहुत क्रांति हुई है और होने वाली है, लेकिन क्रांति के माने लड़ाई नहीं, शांति से हम काम करते हैं और शांति से अपने समाज के संगठन को बदलते हैं। ये सब बातें समाज के बदलने की हैं जो मैंने आपसे कहीं।

हमारे यहाँ बहुत चीज़ें हमको गिराती हैं, हमें दुर्बल कर दिया, जातिभेद ने दुर्बल कर दिया, अलग-अलग खाने जाति के एक ऊपर, एक नीचे। हम तो चाहते हैं कि हमारे देश में सब लोगों को बराबर का मौक़ा मिले, बराबर का अधिकार हो आगे बढ़ने का, हाँ कोई लोग ज़्यादा तगड़े हों, बुद्धि के हों वो आगे बढ़ेंगे लेकिन मौक़ा सबको एक सा मिलना चाहिए, सब लोगों को पढ़ाई ठीक बराबर की, तो कुछ मौक़ा मिलता है, सब लोगों को ठीक खाने-पीने को मिले, घर रहने को मिले, स्वास्थ्य का प्रबंध हो, तो कुछ मौक़ा ठीक मिलता है। उसके बाद फिर जिसमें अधिक शक्ति हो, योग्यता हो वो आगे बढ़ेगा। बड़े, ठीक है, सब लोग तो एक से नहीं होते, कुछ मूर्ख होते

हैं, कुछ अक्लमंद होते हैं। अब यह हम कहें सब एक से हैं मूर्ख और अक्लमंद, अब यह तो उचित बात नहीं है, लेकिन मूर्ख को भी मौक़ा उतना ही मिलना चाहिए, क्या मालूम मूर्ख है कि नहीं? मौक़ा मिलेगा वो भी आगे बढ़ सकता है। इस तरह एकता से ही बढ़ना है, एकता से, याद रखो क्योंकि हमारे देश में अलग-अलग धर्म हैं, अलग-अलग जाति, अलग-अलग भाषा, अलग-अलग प्रदेश, लेकिन सब लोग देश में देश के बच्चे हैं, एक बड़ा भारी परिवार हमारे देश का है, उसमें आप भी हैं और जो लोग मद्रास में रहते हैं और जो लोग उत्तर प्रदेश में और बम्बई में, सब लोग इस बड़े देश के परिवार में हैं। तो हमेशा एकता रखनी है और [एकता] रखकर और मिलकर हमें आगे बढ़ना है और देश को मज़बूत कर देना है।

तो बस कुछ दो-चार बातें मैंने आपसे कहीं। मैंने सुना कि आप अभी दो दिन और यहाँ रहेंगे और विचार करेंगे अपने-अपने प्रश्नों पर। यह ठीक है आपस में विचार करने से, सलाह करने से रास्ते निकलते हैं। एक बात मैं आपसे कहूँ, आपको तो विचार करना है, निश्चय करना है, क्या आप करेंगे? हाँ, उसमें कभी-कभी ऐसी बात भी आयेगी कि आप आसाम के सरकार से कुछ कहें करने को, वो ठीक है लेकिन विशेषकर आपको निश्चय करना चाहिए कि आप स्वयं क्या करेंगे और यह निश्चय कीजिए कि अब इस साल में, साल शुरू हुआ है, इस साल के अंत तक आप क्या करेंगे? इस साल के अंत तक आप, एक-एक आदमी अपनी ज़मीन से कितना पैदा करेगा, कुछ अधिक। पहले अगर आप समझो बीस मन पैदा करते थे तो अब आप निश्चय करो कम से कम तीस मन पैदा करेंगे। अब आप कहें कि इसको कैसे निश्चय करें? वर्षा पर है, इस पर है, उस पर है, कुछ तो बात यह ठीक है, लेकिन फिर भी हम इसको निश्चय कर सकते हैं और बहुत कुछ पूरा कर सकते हैं अगर दिल लगाकर करें क्योंकि जो लोग, परिश्रमी लोग, देश होते हैं वो अपना काम पूरा कर देते हैं चाहे वर्षा कम हो चाहे अधिक हो, यह ऊँच-नीच तो होती रहती है। एक दफ़े भूकम्प भी आ गया है यहाँ आसाम में और हमारी ब्रह्मपुत्र नदी भी कभी-कभी बहुत क्रोध दिखाती है, दिखाया है। ये सब बातें तो हैं, उससे लाभ भी होता है और हानि भी होती है, लेकिन जो लोग तगड़े होते हैं और निश्चय कर लेते हैं हमें क्या करना है वो उसको कर डालते हैं और वो देश बढ़ता है। तो अब आसाम के सामने, इस प्रदेश आसाम के सामने एक नया युग उठ रहा है, खुल रहा है चारों तरफ से। तो अगर आप उससे लाभ उठायें और अपने-अपने गाँव सभा और पंचायतों में अधिक काम करें, सहयोग करें, मिलकर रहें तो आप आसाम का चित्र और रूप बदल दे सकते हैं और मुझे आशा है कि आप बदलेंगे।

जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Brothers and sisters,

I have been told that the panch from the anchalik sabhas have assembled here. A new law has been passed in Assam⁸² in which the hierarchy consists of the village panchayats, then anchalik sabha and above them the mohokuma parishad.

82. See fn 80 in this section.

You must already be aware of its implications. But I would like to say a few words about it.

Big things are happening in the country today. They are happening in your state too. A bridge is being built on the Ganga,⁸³ and oil has been discovered here, which will be of great benefit to the State, as well as the country as a whole. What has been the biggest problem which has confronted us since the coming of freedom? Before freedom, the main task before us had been the removal of British rule from the country. As you know, the struggle was a long and difficult one and the people had to make tremendous sacrifices. For thirty years we followed the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi, of peace and cooperation irrespective of caste or religion, because the problem was a national one. Anyhow, freedom came and it was a great victory for the people of India. But our task was by no means over. What are our goals since the coming of Swaraj? One is that there should be self-rule in all the countries. But more important is that we should be free to work for our own progress and removal of poverty. This is a gigantic problem because India is a vast country. There are other states like yours, Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Bombay, Mysore, Madras, Kerala and all of them together form this large country of ours, from the Himalayas to Kanyakumari and Rameshwaram in the South. There are forty crores of people living in this country and to uplift everyone is a difficult task.

It is not as if we can expect someone from outside to come and help us. This is not the way a country can progress. It is neither good for us, nor for the giver. A little aid may certainly come in useful. But it will be improper for us to think that others can help us to become wealthy. Countries progress by their hard work, intelligence, organised strength and cooperation. So we shall also have to follow that path.

So, with the coming of freedom we were confronted with the problem of how to go about the task of uplifting the population of India. During the British rule, the work was done entirely by government officials, big and small. The people had no powers. With the coming of freedom, the people began to hold the reins of power and the country is administered by their representatives in Parliament, in Delhi and the State Assemblies. The members to the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha and the State Assemblies are elected by the people. In this manner, democracy has been established in the country. Now the bureaucracy works under the people's representatives.

Anyhow, there is people's rule in the country. So a change can be marked in the working of the bureaucracy. During British rule, the tasks given to the

83. See fn 81 in this section.

officers were limited. When we were confronted with the tremendous task of uplifting forty crores of people, it became obvious that it could not be done by the effort of officers or Ministers alone. It can be done only by the hard work of the people. The pattern of working has changed. Earlier, the only task was to maintain the status-quo. The officials had to supervise the maintenance of law and order, and collect land revenue and other taxes.

Now there are innumerable tasks which need to be done in a hurry so that people can get jobs and new wealth may be generated in the country. What is wealth? It is not gold or silver, for those are merely tools of trade. Wealth is something that man produces through his own effort and hard work, from land or industries or in some other way. This is not transferring wealth from one pocket to another. Whether you are a carpenter or ironsmith or something else, whatever you produce constitutes the wealth of the country. The greater the amount of goods that a country produces, the wealthier it becomes. The United States of America is an extremely rich country. Why? It is because they produce a great deal from land and industries. They produce far more food grains than we do from an acre of land. They have millions of industries, big and small, which provide employment to the people and enormous amounts of goods are produced. Which are available to the consumer? So they became rich. If we want to become wealthy, we will also have to increase production in the country. Wealth cannot be produced by an order from government. If it were possible to do so, it would have been very easy for me and the Chief Minister, Shri Chaliha, to pass an order that everybody should become wealthy, but it cannot be done. What is required is hard work.

So, we faced the problem of increasing production quickly, by hard work and cooperation and eliminating poverty. We had to increase production from land and industries had to be expanded. I told you, these things cannot be done by governmental orders. The burden falls upon the people and the best way is for the officials to help the people in their work. If everyone works with a determined zeal, the result will be quicker.

I told you that we need to set up millions of industries. But our first priority is the rural areas, the Indian villages, particularly the peasantry. Eight per cent of India's population lives in the villages and India cannot progress until they progress. If we want to increase our national wealth, we will first have to increase production from land. In other countries they produce four times as much as we do from an acre of land and that is why they have become wealthy. Just think for a moment that if each farmer in Assam produced twice as much as he does at the moment, how well-off he would become and the country will also benefit. The countries in the West have done this by adopting the latest techniques of agriculture like better ploughs, fertilizers, good seeds, etc., and

worked very hard. The crop depends a great deal on the kind of seeds that are selected. Then for irrigation, they have adopted the method of bunding, so that the rain water is retained for some time. This method raises the underground water level also. We can also do these small things to improve agriculture. It is not very difficult if you have the training and know-how.

I have heard that even now in Assam farmers use outdated ploughs, which have been used for hundreds of years. They hardly scratch the surface of the soil. If you had better ploughs, production will immediately increase. In the United States and other advanced countries, they use tractors. But I do not mean that all of you should use tractors. You can use better ploughs which can dig the earth deep, and immediately the crops will be better. These are things which all of you can do.

So our first priority is the uplift of the villages, for that is the only way for India to progress. How is it to be done? Officers cannot do it for them. The only way is for the people of the villages to work for it themselves, and to learn to stand on their own feet. Others can help or guide and advise and teach you things which will be of use.

Anyhow, this is the task that we have been engaged in for the last ten years and there has been a great deal of progress. Big industries have come up, agricultural production has increased. But this has to be increased further. It was decided that the only way to ensure that was to give the reins to the people in the villages. The villagers are going to be given more powers so that they can work for the progress of their areas using their experience and intelligence, instead of looking to the government officials constantly for help. So the powers that the government officials have held so far have now been given to the panchayats. This is the real panchayat raj from the grass roots level. Now the progress of the villages will depend entirely on the effort of the people. If they work hard, you will achieve quick results. If not, the village will suffer. It is possible that you may sometimes make mistakes or stumble occasionally. We are making an effort to establish our freedom more securely by giving greater autonomy to village institutions and to ensure real panchayati raj in the villages. We hope that millions of people in the country will participate in these tasks.

There are five and a half lakh villages in India. If there is a panchayat in each village with say, ten members in each of them, we will have fifty lakh members of the panchayats alone. Then there are other people who work in the panchayats. In this way it spreads and the strength and wisdom and experience of innumerable people come into it.

I am telling you what you should do. But those of you who are actually working on land know much more than I do. What can I tell you, except how the other countries have progressed, the kind of ploughs and seeds that they

use, etc? Many of our good farmers have taken to these things.

So, in short, we have resolved that the country should progress and that is not possible by giving orders from above. The responsibility and the burden of the task should fall upon the masses, the members of the panchayat and others, who should learn what is required of them. The panchayats are going to be responsible for the administration in their own areas. They will certainly get help from government officials but the decision will be the panchayats'.

Now if you look at it another way, the progress that we want to make in agriculture and other areas, cannot be made by individuals because they do not have the capacity to do so. But if the villagers were to form a cooperative society, immediately their strength increases and the village can progress rapidly. Good ploughs and seeds, fertilizers, etc., can be bought through the society, loans can be arranged and the selling of food grains can be done through it. In this way, the middleman's profit will go to the producer. So, it is a good thing to work together. Let me tell you quite clearly that, that does not mean that you will lose the title to the land. That will remain intact. But there are innumerable tasks which the villagers can do together; like buying and selling, arranging loans, etc., which will benefit the farmers and progress, will be rapid. Soon the panchayat and the cooperative society will be able to start small industries and village industries with small machines, which will provide employment to the villagers and new wealth can be produced.

All right, now the thing that is really important is education. Without education, even agriculture cannot be done properly, because the farmers remain ignorant about the progress being made in other countries. Therefore, it is essential that our children, boys and girls, should go to school, not to become babus in cities but to serve the village and the land, and to help set up small industries, etc.

If everyone worked together towards this end, the villagers will make rapid strides. Agriculture will improve, and industries will come up, schools will be opened and adult education as well as training facilities to work in a panchayat or cooperative society will become available. Trained human beings can work better and faster than the untrained ones. So it is a revolutionary step that is being taken, of giving wider powers and autonomy to the panchayats. It will strengthen the foundations of panchayati raj in the country.

We want that there should be a panchayat, a cooperative society and a school in every village, so that it may have a strong base politically and economically. The next step is to set up small-scale industries so that the boys and girls who pass out of schools can find productive employment. This is a revolutionary step which is being taken all over the country, especially in the rural areas. Everywhere new panchayats and panchayat samitis are being set

up, land the money which comes in by way of taxes and land revenue are given to them for utilisation in their own areas. The panchayats have to decide how best to utilise the resources for the good of the villages. Mistakes may be made occasionally but the process is a democratic one. This is the way villages will progress and the people will become well-off. This is a great revolution that is taking place in India today.

You must have heard of the bridge that is being built on the Brahmaputra and the oil that has been discovered in Assam. Oil is extremely valuable today, much more so than gold or silver. But the great thing is neither a bridge nor an industry. What really counts is the kind of people there are in the country, whether they are strong, educated, trained and skilled, because it is the people who can transform the country by their effort and who run the machines, build bridges or prospect for oil. Therefore, it is the people who must be uplifted and that it is possible only when the responsibility is in their hands. You must work for the betterment of your village because that will automatically contribute to the progress of the state, of Assam, and in the process, India will progress as a nation. Please remember this because all these things are linked together.

Therefore, I am happy to see that new laws have been passed here, and perhaps the elections are to be held in a few days. You must elect the candidates in whom you repose confidence and faith, and who will be strong and capable of hard work. You will see how quickly the villages will be transformed. Roads and schools and hospitals will be built gradually and the people in the villages will no longer come running to the ministers and officials with their demands. The work will have to be done through the panchayats. The bigger projects are a different matter. But this is how we will have to go about these tasks and transform the entire country quickly. The world is passing through a revolutionary era today. There have been great revolutions in India too, peaceful revolutions, not violent or bloody revolutions. We are trying to change the social organisation of the country.

There are many things which have led to our downfall and weakened us. One is casteism which keeps the people in different compartments. We want that everyone in India should get an equal opportunity to progress. It is possible that there may be some disparity physically or intellectually. But everyone should get equal opportunities. If everyone is educated the opportunities increase. Similarly every individual in India must get enough to eat, a house to live in, healthcare, etc. After that, those who have the ability can go far. Everyone cannot be exactly alike. Some are more intelligent than the others. We cannot make everyone equal by law. But the less intelligent must get equal opportunities. Perhaps even he may go far.

Unity is another important factor. There are various religions, castes,

languages, and provinces in India. But everyone is born of the Indian soil. India is one large family to which all of us, from Madras, Bombay, or Uttar Pradesh, belong. So we must maintain our unity and advance and strengthen the country.

I have talked to you about a few things. I believe you will be here for a couple of days more to discuss your problems. Mutual discussions are a good way of finding a solution to various problems. I would like to tell you one thing. You will have to decide what you are going to do. You may have some demands to make of the Government of Assam. But basically, you will have to decide what you will do and set a target for yourselves. You must decide how much each farmer will produce from land by the end of the year. Earlier if the production was twenty maunds, you must resolve to increase it at least to thirty maunds. You may say that it depends on the monsoons and what not, and to some extent that is so. But we can resolve to increase production and achieve our target if we set our minds to it, because hardworking nations achieve their targets in the face of all odds. There are bound to be ups and downs. There was a severe earthquake in Assam and very often there are severe floods in the Brahmaputra. So there are bound to be some adversities as well as good in life. But men of strong character usually decide what they want to do and set about achieving it. It is countries where the people are like this which progress.

There is a new era beginning in Assam and the doors of opportunity are opening in all directions. If everyone takes advantage of them and works hard through the panchayats and other village bodies, you can transform the face of Assam, and I sincerely hope that you will do so.

Jai Hind!

70. In Gauhati: Public Meeting⁸⁴

बंधुओ और बहिनो और बच्चो,
चार महीने हुए मैं आपके इस सुन्दर प्रदेश में आया था। इस समय यह ब्रह्मपुत्र नदी के ऊपर जो एक बड़ा पुल बन रहा है उसके लिए आया था और शिलाँग के पहाड़ों में भी एक विशेष कार्य था। वहाँ जो बिजली पैदा करने के लिए एक नदी की योजना है, शायद उस जगह को उमियम कहते हैं। दो बड़े कार्य करने आया था मैं⁸⁵ और मुझे प्रसन्नता हुई थी कि आसाम प्रदेश की अब बड़े-बड़े कदम उठा के उन्नति हो रही है। आप जानते हैं कि ब्रह्मपुत्र के ऊपर पुल बनाना

84. Speech at the Gauhati Town Club ground, 16 April 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

Later he had an unscheduled meeting with students, see *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 17 April 1960.

85. See SWJN/SS/56/ items 28 and 29.

यह एक बड़ा कार्य है, बहुत बरसों से उसका विचार हो रहा था और उसकी कठिनाई की वजह से वो नहीं चला। अब वो बन रहा है तेज़ी से और थोड़े दिन में वो तैयार हो जायेगा और आपके दो भाग आसाम के जो नदी के इधर-उधर हैं वो जुड़ जायेंगे। दूसरा वो जो बिजली का कार्य था उमियम में, वो भी एक आवश्यक है क्योंकि आजकल का संसार दुनिया बिजली की शक्ति से चलती है।

अब फिर मैं कल यहाँ इस प्रदेश में आया। यों जब-जब मैं यहाँ आऊँ मेरा दिल मेरा मन प्रसन्न होता है क्योंकि एक सुन्दर प्रदेश है और यहाँ के लोग भी सुन्दर हैं और अच्छे हैं लेकिन मैं तो आता हूँ तो किसी विशेष कार्य से आता हूँ और इस समय मेरे सामने जो कार्य था वो कुछ हमारी फ़ौज से सम्बन्ध रखता था क्योंकि फ़ौज के नये-नये प्रबन्ध हो रहे हैं, यहाँ नयी बातें पैदा हुई हैं हमारी सीमा पर और उस फ़ौज के रहने के लिए तेज़पुर के पास प्रबन्ध करना था और जल्दी करना था क्योंकि वर्षा में कैसे वो रहें बग़ैर मकान के। अब अगर हम मामूली तरह से मकान बनवाते हैं और ठेकेदार बनाते और सब कुछ, तब तो बहुत समय लगता और बहुत खर्चा भी होता। इसलिए हमने अपने फ़ौज के अफ़सरों और जवानों से कहा कि भाई तुम खुद अपने रहने के मकान बनाओ और उन्होंने बहुत परिश्रम करके दो माह, ढाई महीने के अंदर वो बना दिया।⁸⁶ तो बहुत अच्छा काम हुआ और जो काम बड़ा काम उठाया जाता है और समय पर हो जाता है उससे खुशी होती है और अपने ऊपर विश्वास बढ़ता है।

मुझे याद है एक दफ़े जब हम स्वराज की लड़ाई लड़ते थे तो महात्मा जी ने कहा था कि हमारे काम को ऐसा होना चाहिए जैसे कलकत्ता-पंजाब मेल चलती है, समय पर चलती है, समय-समय पर स्टेशन पर रुकती है और फिर आखिरी जगह जहाँ उसको जाना है कालका या कहाँ जाती थी वहाँ समय पर पहुँच जाती थी। तो हमें इसी तरह से अपने काम भी समय पर करने हैं जोर लगा के। एक तो उस कार्य के लिए मैं आया था और मुझे खुशी होती है हमेशा अपने फ़ौज के जवानों से मिलकर, अफ़सरों से मिलकर क्योंकि वो बहुत अच्छा काम करते हैं, चालाक हैं, परिश्रमी हैं, तगड़े हैं और उनको देख के भरोसा होता है। उधर हमारे हवाई जहाज़ के नौजवान हैं, नवयुवक वो भी बहुत अच्छे हैं और उन पर आप हम लोग अच्छी तरह से भरोसा कर सकते हैं। आप आजकल अक्सर शायद देखते हों हवाई जहाज़ इधर-उधर उड़ते हैं, कभी-कभी लोग समझते हैं कि कोई विदेश से हवाई जहाज़ तो नहीं आ गया लेकिन आमतौर से जिन हवाई जहाज़ों को वो देखते हैं वो तो हमारे ही होते हैं जो कि वो अभ्यास कर रहे हैं, प्रतिदिन करते हैं।

जब मैं तेज़पुर आया कल तो मेरी इच्छा हुई कि वहाँ जो तिब्बत के शरणार्थी आये हैं उनको भी देखूँ जा के, उनके कैम्प को, शिविर को, वहाँ भी मैं गया।⁸⁷ ज़ाहिर है कि वो लोग बड़े दुखी हैं, बड़ी मुसीबत से आये हैं, बड़े सब अपना सामान छोड़कर और बड़े पहाड़ों में कठिनाई से आये हैं और हमने उनको शरण दिया और उनकी देखभाल अपने ऊपर ली, कोई तेरह हज़ार आ चुके हैं या शायद कुछ अधिक हों, थोड़े-थोड़े अब भी आते हैं। अब ये भी मीसामारी में और बक्सा

86. See item 66.

87. See item 93.

में उनको रखा था लेकिन वो कोई अच्छी जगह नहीं है और क्योंकि यह तिब्बत के लोग तो बड़े पहाड़ों के रहने वाले हैं और गर्मी में, गर्मी में वो बीमार पड़ जाते हैं, नहीं रह सकते हैं तो उनको कहीं पहाड़ों पर उनको भेजना था और उनका प्रबन्ध करना था कि वो कुछ कामकाज करें, जो बच्चे उनमें हैं, उनकी पढ़ाई-लिखाई हो, उनका समय नष्ट न हो, तो उसका प्रबन्ध हम कर रहे हैं और यहाँ भी मीसामारी से अलग भेज रहे हैं उन्हें कुछ पंजाब के पहाड़ों पर, कुछ सिक्किम के पहाड़ पर, कुछ और और पहाड़ी इलाकों में जहाँ वो कुछ खेती करें या कुछ कारीगरी करें, अपने ग्रामोद्योग करें या कोई और काम करें या पढ़ाई-लिखाई करें, यह सब करें क्योंकि मालूम तो यह होता है कि बहुत समय तक उनको यहाँ हमारे देश में रहना होगा। यह समझना कि जल्दी से वो चले जायेंगे वापिस अपने देश, यह तो कुछ सही नहीं मालूम होता।

खैर, मैं इन दो कामों से आया था और इस सिलसिले में आज मैं गोहाटी आया और पहले तो मुझे बातचीत करनी थी हमारे यहाँ राज्यपाल जी⁸⁸ से और मुख्यमंत्री जी से, वो की और आज तीसरे पहर को मैं यहाँ से कुछ दूर गया एक जगह, मुझे उसका नाम नहीं याद, कोई एक अठारह-उन्नीस मील, जहाँ एक पंचायत का सम्मेलन था पंचों का, क्या कहते हैं उसको, वो सम्मेलन का क्या नाम था? अरे नहीं पंचायत सभा, पता नहीं क्या? सोनापुर जगह का नाम था।⁸⁹ तो आप जानते हैं कि अब एक नयी बात हो रही है हमारे देश भर में और ये पंचायतें अधिक सामने आ रही हैं और उनको अधिकार दिये जा रहे हैं। असल में पंचायती राज की स्थापना हो रही है, यह बड़ी एक क्रांतिकारी चीज़ है। तो ये बातें हुई और अब मैं आपके सामने थोड़ी देर के लिए आया हूँ।

कुछ अपने मन में बातें जो हैं वो आपको बताऊँ, कुछ देश का हाल, कुछ विदेश का हाल और कल सवेरे मैं जा रहा हूँ दिल्ली वापिस और दो दिन बाद फिर चीन के प्रधानमंत्री आ रहे हैं दिल्ली, उनसे बातचीत करनी है।⁹⁰ किसलिए बातचीत करनी है यह भी आप जानते होंगे क्योंकि पिछले साल में विशेषकर, कुछ तो पहले भी, हमारी सीमा पर कई झगड़े की, बड़े झगड़े की बातें हुई हैं और हमारे भारत के कुछ पहाड़ी विभाग पर चीन की सरकार ने कब्ज़ा भी किया है, विशेषकर उधर लद्दाख की तरफ, थोड़ा सा इधर नेफ्रा की तरफ और यह एक नया झगड़ा पैदा हुआ है। अब आप समझ सकते हैं कि जब दो देशों में ऐसे झगड़े पैदा होते हैं तो बहुत गर्मागर्मी हो जाती है और उससे जनता उत्तेजित हो जाती है और ठीक है क्योंकि जो बात एक देश के अनादर करना होता है, एक देश की भूमि पर कोई दूसरा देश कब्ज़ा करे तो उससे जनता उत्तेजित होती है। तो यह सब बातें हुई हैं और हमारे देश में काफी इस बात पर लोगों को क्रोध तक आया है, फिर भी हमने सोचा कि कभी बात करने से नहीं इंकार करना चाहिए, चाहे बात करने से कोई फ़ल न भी निकले। यह सिद्धांत आज नहीं महात्मा जी के समय से हमें बताया गया है, हम अंग्रेज़ी सरकार से उस समय लड़ाई लड़ते थे स्वराज की, शांतिमय लड़ाई थी लेकिन गांधीजी हमेशा तैयार थे अंग्रेज़ी सरकार से, चाहे वायसराय हो, चाहे कोई और उनसे बातें करने

88. S.M. Shrinagesh.

89. See item 69.

90. See section I "Chou En-lai's Visit."

को। तो हमने उचित समझा कि जब चीन के प्रधानमंत्री ने मिलने की इच्छा प्रकट की तो उचित समझा कि उनको यहाँ बुलायें, निमंत्रण दें और इस तरह से बातें करें।

अब मैं तो आपसे नहीं कह सकता कि इस बातचीत का कोई फल होगा या नहीं होगा क्योंकि कठिन समस्या है और जो कोई बात करे उनसे भारत की तरफ से उसको हमेशा याद रखना है कि भारत का अनादर कोई न हो, भारत की भूमि का अनादर न हो और उसी के साथ हमेशा दूसरे से चाहे कोई क्यों न हो, उससे आदर से बात करना और श्री चाऊ एन-लाई जो आ रहे हैं यहाँ, वो चाहे हमसे उनकी नीति को कितना ही अनुचित समझें, ग़लत समझें वो हमारे निमंत्रण पर आ रहे हैं, जिसको हम निमंत्रण दे के बुलाते हैं उसका आदर करना चाहिए, यह हमारी परम्परा है, यह हमारी पुरानी संस्कृति और सभ्यता है। इसके माने नहीं हैं कि हम अपना सिद्धांत को कम करें या छोड़ दें या भारत की कोई हानि स्वीकार करें, वो बात तो ग़लत होगी। तो यह सब बातें जो हुई हैं इस पिछले साल में हमारी सीमा पर, अब वो सीमा कुछ आपके आसाम के पास है नेफ़ा में, कुछ दूर उधर काश्मीर और लद्दाख़ की है क्योंकि लम्बी हमारी सीमा है कोई ढाई हजार मील की। इन बातों ने एक नया रूप हमारी सीमा का कर दिया है।

यह सीमा पहले बहुत बरसों से एक शांत सीमा थी और उस पर कोई विशेष झगड़े-वगड़े नहीं होते थे, छोटे-मोटे कभी हो जायें, उस पहले अंग्रेज़ी समय पर जो सीमा हमारी ख़तरनाक समझी जाती थी वो तो दूसरी सीमा थी। उधर आप जानते हैं हमारे पश्चिमी, उत्तर-पश्चिमी सीमा और सारी अंग्रेज़ी फ़ौजें वगैरह-वगैरह वहाँ रहा करती थीं उसकी रक्षा करने को और झगड़े होते रहते थे और यह सीमा आसाम और नेफ़ा की तरफ यह शांत थी, कोई इसका विचार भी नहीं करता था कि इधर भी कोई भय की बात हो सकती है। अब यह एक नयी बात हुई है। इसलिए हमारे भारत के और एशिया के इतिहास में इस समय नया पन्ना लिखा गया, अच्छा पन्ना नहीं है लेकिन लिखा गया है क्योंकि नयी-नयी बातें हुई हैं।

चीन एक महान देश है और उसकी शक्ति बढ़ी है, हमारी शक्ति भी बढ़ती जाती है और जब दो बड़े देश की सीमा आ जाये तो या तो पूरेतौर से समझौता हो उनमें, प्रेम हो और शांति हो, नहीं तो वो सीमा एक झगड़े की सीमा हो जाती है। अब मैं नहीं कह सकता कि भविष्य में क्या हो लेकिन जो भी कुछ हो दो-तीन बातें हमें याद रखनी हैं। एक तो यह कि शांत सीमा जो थी अब वो शांत नहीं रही और सोती हुई सीमा जाग गयी और इसमें जाने क्या-क्या बातें नयी-नयी निकलें। इसलिए हमें होशियार रहना है, आज नहीं ख़ाली, हमेशा होशियार रहना है और आपका प्रदेश भी अब एक उस दायरे में अंतर्राष्ट्रीय राजनीति में आ गया है क्योंकि सीमा दो देशों के बीच में होती है तो हमें चौकन्ना होना है, होशियार होना है और उस चेतावनी को समझ लेना है। दूसरी बात उसी का एक भाग है वो यह कि होशियार रहने के माने क्या हैं? यह नहीं कि हम लोग बड़े-बड़े उत्साह से नारे उठायें, जुलूस निकालें, यह तो आपस की बात है, बाहर के देश पर तो इसका असर नहीं होता। इसके माने ये हैं कि असल में हमारे देश को मज़बूत होना है और तगड़ा होना है और आजकल की दुनिया में जैसे तगड़े देश होते हैं वैसे इसको बनाना है, आजकल की दुनिया में तगड़े होते हैं जब कुछ बातें देश में हों।

कौन बड़े देश हैं आजकल, मज़बूत देश? सबमें दो बड़े देश हैं अमेरिका का और रूस का, जिनकी बड़ी शक्ति है, बड़ी फ़ौजी शक्ति है, एटम बम की शक्ति है और उसके पीछे आप देखें

कैसे वो शक्ति बनी? उसके पीछे उनके उद्योग-धंधे बहुत बढ़े हैं, उनकी इंडस्ट्री बहुत बढ़ी है, उनका विज्ञान बहुत बढ़ा है, देश आजकल बढ़ते हैं, खुशहाल होते हैं और शक्तिशाली होते हैं जब उनके यहाँ विज्ञान बढ़ता है और उद्योग बढ़ता है और उद्योग भी विज्ञान से ही बढ़ता है। अमेरिका, इंग्लैंड, रूस और यूरोप के देश और उधर जापान कुछ और भी देश बड़े-बड़े हो गये हैं, मजबूत हो गये हैं कि वहाँ विज्ञान और उद्योग-धंधे बढ़े हैं, बढ़ें। तो हम भी अगर मजबूत होना चाहते हैं तो कोई और हमारे लिए रास्ता नहीं है, विज्ञान बढ़ाना और विज्ञान के साथ जो होता है टेक्नोलॉजी, मशीन वगैरह चलाना और विज्ञान के द्वारा अपनी खेती को अच्छा करना क्योंकि विज्ञान तो एक विद्या है जिससे आप अपने कामों को अच्छी तरह से कर सकते हैं, जिससे आप आजकल की जो प्रकृति की बड़ी शक्तियाँ हैं उनका उपयोग कर सकते हैं। ये बिजली आप देखते हैं यह एक पृथ्वी की एक शक्ति है, कोई छिपी शक्ति नहीं है, कोई लड़का-लड़की इसको देखकर समझ सकता है, अब इसको बढ़ाना है इस शक्ति को जैसे मैं उमियम में गया, वहाँ एक कुछ बिजली के कुछ बढ़ाने के लिए, सारे देश में हमें बढ़ाना है क्योंकि उस शक्ति से फिर उद्योग-धंधे चलते हैं, मजबूत होते हैं और तरह-तरह की कलें बनती हैं और और बड़ी शक्तियाँ प्रकृति की जिससे यूरोप, अमेरिका की ताकत बढ़ गयी। तो हमें उसी रास्ते पर चलना है और उसी रास्ते पर चलके हम अपने देश की गरीबी को भी दूर कर सकते हैं, दरिद्रता को। दो बातें मिल जाती हैं। हमने तो स्वराज आने के बाद ही यह निश्चय किया था कि इस रास्ते पर जल्दी से जल्दी चलना है लेकिन कितनी ही जल्दी चलें वो कोई जादू तो है नहीं या कोई मंत्र पढ़कर आप उस पर चलें, उस पर तो करोड़ों आदमी के परिश्रम की ज़रूरत है और यह जो देश बढ़े अमेरिका, रूस इत्यादि परिश्रम से बढ़े हैं। आप समाचार पत्रों में पढ़ते हैं, बड़ी बहस होती है उनकी नीति ऐसी, उनकी ऐसी। वो बात ठीक है लेकिन दोनों के पीछे जो बात एक है उसको आप समझें। एक तो महान परिश्रम और दूसरे विज्ञान और उद्योग-धंधों को बढ़ाना, यह एक है, उसमें कोई फ़र्क नहीं है। तो इस धोखे में आप न पड़ जाइये कि बहुत अन्तर है उनकी चाल में, हर जगह बड़ी-बड़ी मशीनें खड़ी हो रही हैं, बड़ी-छोटी, हर जगह नये तरीके खेती के निकल रहे हैं जिससे अधिक पैदा हो, तो उस रास्ते पे तो कोई बहस नहीं है, हमें उस रास्ते पर चलना है। इसके माने यह नहीं है कि हम अमेरिका की नकल करें या रूस की नकल करें या पूंजीवाद अमेरिका का लें या साम्यवाद रूस का लें। यह अलग बातें हैं। मोटी बात यह है कि हमें विज्ञान को समझना है और परिश्रम करना है और फिर जैसे हमारे देश की भावनाएँ हैं उस रास्ते पर चलना है। हम अपने देश को तो नहीं छोड़ने वाले, एक नकली देश हो जायें, हाँ और देशों से सीखना है और अपने देश के सिद्धांत रखने हैं।

अब यह कठिन बात है, कठिन इसलिए है कि बड़ा देश है और बहुत समय से, सैंकड़ों बरस से यह पिछड़ गया था। हमें अभिमान था कि हमारा देश बहुत बुद्धिमान है, ऊँचा है, बहुत ऊँचा है। वो बात किसी समय ठीक हो लेकिन कई सौ बरस से वो बात ठीक नहीं थी, हम गिर गये थे, इसलिए देश पर औरों का राज्य हुआ और क्यों गिरे यह भी आप देख सकते हैं? क्योंकि हमारे यहाँ बहुत अलग-अलग भाग देश के, अलग-अलग टुकड़े हैं, अलग-अलग जाति हैं, अलग-अलग कितनी बातें हैं— कहीं भाषा अलग, कहीं कुछ। इसमें हममें एकता नहीं पूरी होती और जातिभेद ने तो हमें बहुत गिरा दिया, कैसे? जब एक जाति दूसरी जाति को दबाये, नीच

समझे तो एकता कैसे हो सकती है और जब इस तरह से जातिभेद हो तब जो आप प्रजातंत्रवाद कहते हैं, तो कैसे हो? प्रजातंत्रवाद के माने हैं कि सारी प्रजा, प्रजा के हाथ में देश की बागडोर हो और प्रजा में बराबरी हो, एक से उनके अधिकार हों। समाजवाद की हम चर्चा करते हैं, कैसे, जातिभेद हो या वर्गभेद हो तो समाजवाद कैसे हो? कैसे अगर ऊँच-नीच बहुत हो तो कैसे हो? वो बातें नहीं हो सकती हैं यह हमें समझना है और यह समझना है कि देश हमारा गिरा कैसे कि हम छोटे लोग हो गये? वो छोटे झगड़ों में पड़े थे आपस के, कभी जाति के नाम से, कभी धर्म के नाम से झगड़ा करें, कभी अपने प्रदेश के नाम से हों, कभी अपनी भाषा के नाम से, भूल जायें कि हमारा भविष्य बंधा हुआ है सारे भारत की उन्नति से। आसाम आगे नहीं बढ़ेगा, न बम्बई बढ़ेगा, न मद्रास बढ़ेगा, न पंजाब, न उत्तर प्रदेश अलग नहीं बढ़ेगा, हम सब बंधे हुए हैं एक राष्ट्र में और वो भारत है, हिन्दुस्तान है, इंडिया है, जो कुछ आप उसको कहें, सारा भारत। भारत में स्वराज आया तो आसाम, बम्बई, मद्रास और पंजाब सबमें आया, अलग तो स्वराज नहीं आया। हम आगे बढ़ेंगे तो सब मिलकर बढ़ेंगे, नहीं तो हम गिरेंगे तो सब मिल के नष्ट होंगे, अलग नहीं हो सकते। यह पहली बात याद रखने की है।

दूसरी बात याद रखने की यह है कि आजकल में वही देश बढ़ता है जो आजकल की विद्या और विज्ञान को समझता है अच्छी तरह से और खाली नकल करके नहीं समझता बल्कि इस तरह से समझता है कि वो खुद उसको बढ़ा सकें। यह नहीं कि आप यहाँ स्कूल में, कॉलेज में, यूनिवर्सिटी में पढ़ें और आपकी कुछ किताबें, पुस्तकें, टेक्स्ट बुक वगैरह तैयार हों, उसमें थोड़ा सा आप विज्ञान सीख लें, थोड़ा सा डॉक्टरी सीख लें, थोड़ा सा आप इंजीनियरिंग सीख लें, थोड़ी बहुत बातें। अच्छा है जो कुछ आप सीख लें, इससे देश तो नहीं बढ़ता है, आपको तो देश को उस जगह पहुँचाना है कि हमारे देश में अच्छे से अच्छे वैज्ञानिक लोग हों जो कि आगे दुनिया को बढ़ायें, अच्छे से अच्छे इंजीनियर हों, अच्छे से अच्छे डॉक्टर हों जो विद्या को इल्म को बढ़ा सकें, जो अव्वल दर्जे के लोग हों, देश की उन्नति अव्वल दर्जे के लोग करते हैं चाहे वो प्रजातंत्रवादी देश हो, डेमोक्रेटिक हो, समाजवादी हो। एक महज़ भीड़ से और गिनती से नहीं हो जाते कि हम भारत में चालीस कोटि लोग रहते हैं इसलिए हमारी बड़ी शक्ति है, यह बहुत अपने को धोखा देना है, देश की शक्ति होती जब शक्तिशाली लोग हों, गिनती से नहीं, गिनती भेड़-बकरी की हुआ करती है। प्रजातंत्रवाद, समाजवाद के माने हैं कि आप किसी जगह जमा कर लीजिए बहुत सारे, बहुत सारे क्या कहूँ मूर्खों को तो वो मूर्खवाद होगा, क्या प्रजावाद होगा? आखिर में एक देश उतना ही बढ़ता है जितने उसमें अच्छा ऊँचे दर्जे के लोग हों, हर तरह के ऊँचे दर्जे के हों, एक तरफ हों। आप समझिए ऊँचे दर्जे के, हर शास्त्र में चाहे दर्शन शास्त्र में, चाहे किसी में, संत हों, ये हों, अपने दर्जे के, ऊँचे दर्जे के हों, वो तो हैं और वो देश में हमारे में होते भी हैं लेकिन आजकल की दुनिया वैज्ञानिक दुनिया है, आजकल की दुनिया में लोग कह रहे हैं हम चन्द्रमा तक पहुँचेंगे और तारों तक जायेंगे।

आप विचार करें कैसे दुनिया बदल गयी है, हम कहाँ हैं? हम पड़े हैं इस बात में अब तक बहुत लोग, अपने सारे विचार इसी बात पर हैं कि किसके साथ हम भोजन करें, किसके साथ नहीं करें, किसको छुएँ, किसे न छुएँ, हमारी जाति क्या है, दूसरे की क्या है, किसके साथ विवाह करें, किसके साथ नहीं करें। सारी हमारी शक्ति तो नष्ट हो जाती है इन्हीं विचारों में और बंधनों

में और देखते नहीं कि यहाँ तो यह हमारा संसार भी छोटा पड़ गया है। अब दूसरे संसार की तरफ, दूसरी दुनिया की तरफ बाज़ लोग देख रहे हैं और कलें बना रहे हैं चन्द्रमा को जाने के लिए और कहाँ-कहाँ। यह तो दुनिया है और यह बैठ के हमारे यहाँ कुछ नवयुवक उत्साह से प्रस्ताव पास कर दें अपने किसी संघ में, सोसाइटी में ज़ोरों का तो अच्छा है उनके उत्साह का नमूना है लेकिन उससे न उनको, न देश को कोई खास, उसकी शक्ति नहीं बढ़ जाती, शक्ति बढ़ेगी कि हम बड़े-बड़े काम करना सीखें, दरवाज़े खोलें शक्ति के इस तरह से। अब हमें मौक़ा मिला है बहुत दिन बाद।

इसलिए और यों भी लीजिए हमारी फ़ौज का मैंने आपसे कहा, फ़ौज हमारी अच्छी है, अफ़सर उसके अच्छे हैं, उसके हवाई जहाज़ हमारे अच्छे हैं, उसके नौजवान बहुत अच्छे हैं, मैंने सब माना लेकिन उनके पीछे क्या है? उनके पीछे हथियार हैं, उनके पीछे हवाई जहाज़ हैं। हवाई जहाज़ कैसे बनते हैं, वो नये हथियार? जो लोग वैज्ञानिक होते हैं वो आजकल के हवाई जहाज़ बना सकते हैं, हर एक नहीं बना सकते हैं जो कि बहुत देर तक सीखा हुआ है, समझे हैं टेक्नोलॉजी में, किस में, विज्ञान में वो बढ़ सकते हैं, देश को बढ़ा सकते हैं, भाषण देने वाले ख़ाली कितने ही ज़ोर के भाषण दें, भाषण दे के नहीं होगा। आपका ब्रह्मपुत्र का पुल बनाने वाले उसके लिए हमें अच्छे से अच्छे इंजीनियर ढूँढने पड़ते हैं भारत में और भारत में नहीं हों तो हम मंगाएँ उन्हें जर्मनी, अमेरिका, जापान, रूस से, कहीं से क्योंकि हमें काम करवाना है, हमें ख़ाली नौकरी लोगों को नहीं देनी है। हमारे सामने इस समय हमारे देश में अच्छे इंजीनियर हैं, एक शक्ति की निशानी हैं। तो हमारे ब्रह्मपुत्र के काम में कोई वैदेशिक इंजीनियर नहीं है क्योंकि देश में नहीं होते तो हमें लाना पड़ता बाहर से, हमें लाना पड़ा है, बड़े-बड़े हमारे काम हो रहे हैं देश में, वहाँ भाखड़ा-नांगल है और क्या-क्या है और दामोदर वैली और उत्तर-दक्षिण में जब हमें आवश्यकता हुई है एक अच्छे आदमी चुनने की और हमें भारत में नहीं मिला तो हमें ज़रा झिझक नहीं थी, हम जाके उसे अमेरिका और रूस से लाये।

तेल का काम इस वक़्त बढ़ रहा है आपके आपके प्रदेश में और उधर गुजरात में बड़ा काम है, हमारे लिए नया काम है। हालाँकि आपके यहाँ तेल का काम बहुत दिन से हो रहा है, डिगबोय में बाहर की कम्पनीज़ कर रही हैं, लेकिन उन्होंने इस सारे समय में बहुत कम हमारे लोगों को सिखाया, थोड़ा बहुत फ़ुटकर सीखा, अधिक नहीं, असल बात नहीं सिखाई। तो अब जब यह बोझा हमारे ऊपर पड़ा कि हम तेल का काम बढ़ाएँ यहाँ और तेल आजकल दुनिया में बड़ी आवश्यक वस्तु है तो हमारे सामने यह प्रश्न आया या तो हम वही कोई बाहरी कम्पनीज़ से कहते—आओ! भई करो और निकालो और जो कुछ इसमें लाभ होता है उसमें कुछ हम लेंगे, कुछ तुम लो। यह हम कर सकते थे और कुछ किया भी है और शायद करें भी लेकिन उससे हम नहीं सीखते पूरी तौर से और यह आवश्यक हो गया कि हम सीखें नहीं तो हम दूसरे के हाथ में हैं, हमें न तो पूरा लाभ होता है, न हम तरक्की कर सकते हैं। इसलिए हम काम सीखेंगे, हम खुद करेंगे। हाँ, फिर भी हमने उनको बुलाया, हमने रूस से बुलाया, हमने अमेरिका से बुलाया, फ़्रांस से बुलाया, अलग-अलग देशों से जो निपुण लोग थे कि आओ, यह नहीं कि हमने उनसे कह दिया कि तुम्हारी कम्पनीज़ काम करें लेकिन तुम हमें सिखाओ, हम बुलाते नहीं भाई, हम क्यों बाहर वाले को काम दें, हमारा पैसा लेता है तो हम उस काम को कर नहीं सकते ठीक-ठीक।

यह बात आप पक्की तौर से समझ लें कि जो बड़े काम हम उठा रहे हैं उसमें यह सवाल नहीं है कि हम किसको नौकरी दें ऊँचे दर्जे की— आसामी आदमी को, बम्बई वाले को, पंजाबी को, जो कर सकेगा उसको देंगे और अगर भारत में नहीं तो उसको अमेरिका से लायेंगे या रूस से लायेंगे, तब तरक्की होगी। मैं इसलिए कहता हूँ कि शिकायत होती है कि हमारे प्रदेश के लोग नहीं रखे गये। हर प्रदेश का हक है और बढ़ना चाहिए लेकिन हमें काम करना है, हमें सीखना है और जैसे जल्दी से जल्दी हम उस काम को कर सकें सीख के, उससे उस प्रदेश को भी लाभ होगा और आप फ़र्ज़ करो, आसाम प्रदेश भारत से एक अलग हो जाता है, अलग था, उसकी कोई सहायता नहीं, उसके लोगों की और दुनिया से अलग और आपके यहाँ यह तेल है और चीज़ें निकलेंगी क्या करते आप उसको? आप उसको निकाल नहीं सकते, फिर आप मजबूर होकर एक विदेशी कम्पनी के हाथ में देते जैसे पहले दिया गया था, उससे कुछ थोड़ा सा आपको पैसे का लाभ होता, कुछ फ़ुटकर नौकरी मिल जाती लेकिन असली लाभ उसका बाहर जाता किसी और के पास। यह बात समझने की है क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान में काफी सामान हमारी उन्नति का है, लोहा है, कोयला है, अब तेल भी निकल रहा है और कितने धातु हैं, सब हैं, पैसे की कमी है माना लेकिन पैसे भी कहीं न कहीं से निकल आते हैं आवश्यकता के अनुसार। जो सबमें ज़रूरी बात है वो आदमियों को, औरतों को पैदा करना सीखिए और सीखे हुए आदमी पैदा करने के माने नहीं हैं कि आपके यूनिवर्सिटीज़ में जाके वो ख़ाली थोड़ा सा पढ़-लिख लें या बी.ए. हो जायें तो सीख गये। हाँ, अच्छा है अगर वो बी.ए. हो जायें तो हों जायें लेकिन उससे अधिक सीखना है और ख़ाली डिग्री की आजकल कोई बड़ी वक़्त या क़ीमत नहीं रही और अक्सर, अक्सर मैं देखता हूँ कोई साहब बी.ए. हैं और कोई साहब उनसे कम पढ़ें हैं लेकिन उनसे ज़्यादा उनमें योग्यता है काम करने की, सीखने की और यहाँ बी.ए. हो के अपनी पढ़ाई-लिखाई छोड़ देते हैं, न किताब पढ़ें, न कुछ करें, हाथ पर हाथ रखकर बैठे रहते हैं। तो हमें इस वक़्त भारत में योग्य पुरुष पैदा करने हैं, योग्य पुरुष माने अब्बल दर्जे की योग्यता के, ख़ाली छोटे-मोटे इम्तिहान पास कर लेने के नहीं, और हैं हमारे भारत में, यानी मिल जाते हैं तलाश करने से।

तेल का ही लीजिए आप। हमने तेल का काम कोई दो, ढाई, तीन बरस हुए शुरू किया। हमारे पास कोई लोग नहीं थे सीखे हुए। हमने उनको चुना, कुछ नवयुवक थे जो हमारे ज्योलोजिकल सर्वे में कुछ काम कर रहे थे, कुछ हमने इधर-उधर देखा यूनिवर्सिटीज़ में जो उस समय साइंस में एम.एस. थे या ऐसे थे नौजवान जो पहले डिवीज़न के थे, तेज़ थे, उनकी हमने जाँच-पड़ताल की, तराजू पर तोला, जो उसमें तेज़ निकले उनको हमने चुना और चुन के फिर हमने उनको दो वर्ष तक सिखाया तेल का काम। स्कूल—खास तेल का काम सिखाने के लिए हमने नये स्कूल खोले और कुछ नहीं और स्कूल में ख़ाली नहीं उनको वहाँ मैदान में ले जाके उनसे वो काम करवाया। सिखाने वाले उनको रूसी थे या रुमानिया के थे या जर्मन थे, कोई भी हों बाहर के थे क्योंकि हम नहीं जानते, उनको सिखाया। अब दो-तीन बरस बाद वो अच्छे हो गये हैं, काम खुद कर सकते हैं। अब हल्के-हल्के बाहर वाले इंजीनियर भी थे, इंजीनियर की हमें आवश्यकता नहीं रहती, अभी है और अभी रहेगी कुछ दिन तक लेकिन हल्के-हल्के वो कम हो जाती है और हमारे लोग नवयुवक कर रहे हैं। तो ऐसे लोग गाड़ी चला सकते हैं चुने हुए लोग और इस बात को हर काम में आप लगा दीजिए और विज्ञान को लीजिए।

हमारे विज्ञान में बहुत सारे नेशनल उद्योगशालाएँ हैं, नेशनल लेबोरेट्रीज़ हैं। कौन उसमें काम कर रहे हैं? अभी एक अंग्रेज़ वैज्ञानिक आया था, वो गया था वहाँ बम्बई में जहाँ हमारी एटॉमिक एनर्जी का काम हो रहा है, ट्रॉम्बे में।⁹¹ वहाँ अक्सर लोग जा रहे हैं अमेरिकन, अंग्रेज़, रूसी, फ्रेंच लोग बहुत आते हैं देखने क्योंकि उसकी कुछ, उसका कुछ नाम हो गया है और मुल्कों में और हमारा मुल्क कोई मुक्ताबला तो कर नहीं सकता अमेरिका, रूस वगैरह का, लेकिन अपनी हैसियत से हमारा काम वहाँ बहुत अच्छा है। उस अंग्रेज़ वैज्ञानिक ने मुझसे आके कहा कि मुझे बहुत आश्चर्य हुआ कि कितना अच्छा काम वहाँ हो रहा है और विशेषकर आश्चर्य यह हुआ कि करीब-करीब जितने काम करने वाले वहाँ हैं वो सब जवान हैं, नवयुवक हैं, बूढ़े लोग नहीं हैं, सब कोई और एक ऊँचे दर्जे का काम कर रहे हैं, तीस-तीस बरस की उम्र उनकी है, तीस, बत्तीस, तैंतीस, अठारस, सत्ताईस इस उम्र के हैं क्योंकि ऐसे काम, ऐसे बड़े काम में कहीं और देश में आमतौर से इससे ज़्यादा उम्र के लोग काम कर रहे हैं। तो आप देखें, इस सब भारत के रूप को देखें कि एक अजीब चीज़ है, एक एक लड़ाई [चल] रही है लोगों की, सामान की, हर जगह उथल-पुथल है, कहीं लोहे का कारखाना बड़ा होता है, कहीं कुछ और सबमें अधिक यह कि लोग सीख रहे हैं और लोग सीख रहे हैं दो तरह से। एक तो जो मैंने आपसे कहा खास-खास काम सीख रहे हैं, खास इंजीनियरिंग, विज्ञान इत्यादि। दूसरी तरफ से पढ़ाई-लिखाई फैल रही है नीचे यानी प्राथमिक शिक्षा, प्राइमरी एजुकेशन, नये-नये बच्चे, लड़के-लड़कियाँ, नये स्कूल खुलते जाते हैं, यह आवश्यक चीज़ है क्योंकि प्राथमिक शिक्षा देश में सब लोगों को मिले तब उसमें से चुनना आसान हो जाता है कि कौन-कौन लोग और शिक्षा पायें, कौन लोग फिर बड़े कदम उठा सकते हैं, आजकल हमें मालूम नहीं कितने हमारे लड़के-लड़कियाँ गाँव में होंगे, जिनको यह मौक़ा नहीं मिलता। और मौक़ा नहीं मिलता, अगर मौक़ा मिलता शायद वो बड़े वैज्ञानिक होते, शायद वो बड़े किसी काम में बहुत ऊँचे जाते, अगर उनको मौक़ा मिले, नहीं मिलता, जिनको मिलता है उसमें अच्छे लोग निकल आते हैं, सब तो नहीं होते हैं, कुछ निकलते हैं।

मैं जानता हूँ आजकल पढ़ाई हमारी प्राथमिक और उसके बाद की सेकेंडरी बहुत अच्छी नहीं है और अच्छे स्कूल हैं, बेचारे पढ़ाने वालों को भी ठीक तनख्वाह नहीं मिलती है, परेशान रहते हैं, न स्कूल में सामान अच्छा होता है। यह सब मैं जानता हूँ, इसको हमें अच्छा करना है और कॉलेज में भी सामान पूरा अक्सर नहीं होता है यानी उसको हमें अच्छा करना है लेकिन फिर भी जो भारत में तेज़ी से शिक्षा फैल रही है यह एक बड़ी क्रांतिकारी चीज़ है, भारत के रूप को बदल रही है लड़का-लड़की। हमारी इच्छा है कि इस पाँच-छः बरस के अन्दर कोई बच्चा भारत भर में नहीं रहे, छः बरस की उम्र से लेकर ग्यारह तक जो स्कूल में न जाता हो। अब ग्यारह बरस की अवस्था बहुत नहीं है, कम है लेकिन इस समय हमारी जितनी शक्ति है उतना ही कर सकते हैं। यह भी बड़ा भारी काम है कि करोड़ों को हम इस तरह से उनके लिए स्कूल बनायें, कॉलेज बनायें, उसके बाद ग्यारह की अवस्था को हम बारह करेंगे, तेरह करेंगे, चौदह करेंगे, बढ़ते जायेंगे। तो इस तरह से एक बुनियाद पड़ जाती है देश भर में जिसमें कुछ न कुछ तो पढ़ाई बच्चों

91. In fact, Neils Bohr, the Danish scientist, visited India in January 1960. See SWJN/SS/57/ item 142 and Appendix 23.

की होती है, पहले तो प्राथमिक उसके बाद बहुत सारे चुन के जायेंगे दूसरे दर्जे के और चुन के। मेरी यह बिल्कुल इच्छा नहीं कि हमारे सब लोग भर्ती होते जायें यूनिवर्सिटीज़ में, हमारी यूनिवर्सिटीज़ कुछ गिर गयी हैं, उनके यहाँ का जो पहले दर्जा था वो कम हो गया पढ़ाई का, शिक्षा का। कसूर किसी विशेष आदमी का नहीं है, उसमें भी बहुत सारे आ जाते हैं, पढ़ाने वाले ठीक नहीं हैं, यह और वो, यह ग़लत बात है। मेरा विचार है कि यूनिवर्सिटीज़ में वहाँ तक उन्हीं लोगों को लेना चाहिए जो कि किसी क्रदर अव्वल दर्जे के हों, जिन्होंने अपने स्कूल की पढ़ाई में अव्वल दर्जे के निकलें वो, उनको लेना चाहिए, उससे यूनिवर्सिटीज़ को लाभ होगा, उनको लाभ होगा। इसके माने ये नहीं हैं कि जो लोग नहीं लिए जायें वहाँ वो घर पर रहें, उनकी भी आवश्यक पढ़ाई हो लेकिन उनकी पढ़ाई मामूली यूनिवर्सिटी के नहीं, उनका पढ़ना फिर हो उद्योगशालाओं में, उनकी पढ़ाई हो पॉलिटेक्नक्स में, ऐसी-ऐसी जगह हो क्योंकि हर एक आदमी की भावना एक तरह की पढ़ाई की नहीं होती, हर एक आदमी इंजीनियर नहीं होता, कोई कुछ करे, कोई कुछ करे।

ख़ैर, यह तो पढ़ाई का मैंने आपसे कहा क्योंकि बड़ी आवश्यक बात है और दुनिया में सबमें क्रांतिकारी बात शिक्षा है। आजकल हमारी बड़ी लड़कियाँ, बहुत सारी लड़कियाँ स्कूल जाती हैं, कॉलेज जाती हैं। पार साल मैंने हिसाब लगाया था कि बीस हज़ार लड़कियों को बी.ए. की डिग्री उनको मिली थी हमारे देश में और अब यों तो बीस हज़ार हमारे देश में बहुत नम्बर नहीं हैं लेकिन लड़कियों को बीस हज़ार की बी.ए. की डिग्री मिलना पहले से इत्ता अधिक था यह। तो मैंने सोचा कितनी क्रांतिकारी बात यह है क्योंकि घर में क्रांति आती है लड़की और स्त्री के द्वारा, जब वो पढ़-लिख के आये, पुरुष के द्वारा कम आती है और इसलिए हमेशा में स्त्रियों की और लड़कियों की शिक्षा के बहुत हक़ में हैं, देश तभी बढ़ेगा। ख़ैर, वो तो हुआ लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप याद रखिए कि शिक्षा और अच्छी शिक्षा ख़ाली एक डिग्री लेने की नहीं, यह बुनियाद है देश के बढ़ने की और आपके आसाम के बढ़ने की, ऊपर से लोग कहें हमें नौकरी यहाँ मिल जाये, यह हो, वो हो, यह ऊपर की बातें हैं, इस तरह से कोई देश बढ़ता नहीं है। हाँ, कुछ लोगों का उससे लाभ हो जाता है कुछ फ़ायदा सा थोड़ा सा, लेकिन हमारे सामने तो यह है कि देश को कैसे बढ़ना कि उसमें नौकरी भी इतनी हो जायें बेशुमार कि इससे लोग कम हों और काम अधिक हो। बढ़ते हुए देश में यह हो जाता है।

इस समय भी आप देखें कि बहुत लोगों को रोज़गार नहीं मिलता काम करने का, लेकिन आज भी कोई आदमी, कोई लड़का या लड़की इंजीनियरिंग पढ़ता है तो वो आप देखेंगे वो उसको जल्दी मिल जाता है, उसको ठहरना नहीं पड़ता क्योंकि इस ढंग का काम हमारे यहाँ हो रहा है, इंजीनियर की ज़रूरत है, इंजीनियर चाहे बड़ा हो, चाहे छोटा, चाहे मैकेनिक हो, चाहे वो जो भी कुछ हो। तो यह क्योंकि हमारे देश का रूप बदल रहा है, हमारा देश बहुत हल्के-हल्के बदल रहा था अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में, बहुत हल्के और नयी दुनिया जो है उससे दूर था, नयी दुनिया है वैज्ञानिक, नयी दुनिया है इंडस्ट्रियल, उद्योग-धंधों की, टेक्नोलॉजिकल, ऐसी नयी दुनिया है। हम पिछड़े रहे, हाँ पिछड़े होने पर भी हममें बड़े-बड़े आदमी हुए, निश्चय है लेकिन पिछड़े रहे, दो-चार आदमियों से देश नहीं बदलता, अब हमें तेज़ी से बदलना है नीचे से, शिक्षा वगैरह और ऊपर से ऐसे काम करने जिससे देश का धन बढ़े। सारे हमारा प्लानिंग कमीशन और यह सब बातें

जो हैं ये सब इसलिए हैं, तो यह हो रहा है। अब इस नक्शे को आप देखें, हमारे यहाँ अगर ठीक गाड़ी चले, चलने लगे और चलेगी वो, तब यह आप विश्वास कीजिए कि हमारे यहाँ यह रोज़गार की कमी नहीं होगी लेकिन हाँ उसके पहले हमें गाड़ी को ठीक चलाना है। हम भर्ती करते हैं महज़ लोगों को रोज़गार के लिए और काम ख़राब हो जाये तो उनका भी अन्त हो जाये और काम का भी अन्त। हमने देखा यह।

अभी स्वराज के समय आप जानते हैं पाकिस्तान अलग हो गया था, पार्टीशन हो गया और बहुत सारे बेचारे शरणार्थी आये, आपके यहाँ भी आये आसाम में, इधर से पूर्वी बंगाल से और हमारा कर्तव्य हो गया उनको हम शरण दें, उनकी हम देखभाल करें, शुरु-शुरु इस इच्छा ने कि उनको हम काम दें, नौकरी दें, वहाँ दिल्ली का मैं कह रहा हूँ आपसे, बहुत लोगों को दफ़्तरों में भर्ती किया, वो कोई बुरे लोग नहीं थे, अच्छे थे लेकिन हमने ढील दे दी थी उनको भर्ती करने में, इस बात पर विचार काफी नहीं किया था कि उस काम के वो योग्य हैं कि नहीं और वो ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा कर लिया, नतीजा क्या हुआ, वो काम ख़राब होने लगा हमारा, वो काम ख़राब होने लगा और वो भी बहुत दिन नहीं रह सके, एक नया प्रश्न उठा। तो यह महज़ एक भर्ती करना, इससे ख़ास देश नहीं चलता है। हमारे यहाँ कारख़ाने आजकल हैं, अगर वहाँ कुछ कम लोग काम करें तो अधिक अच्छा काम है। हमारे यहाँ दफ़्तर हैं अगर कम लोग काम करें और अच्छा काम करें ज़्यादा अच्छा हो क्योंकि यह अधिक अच्छा होता है कि एक आदमी काम अच्छा काम कर सके, फ़ुर्ती से, तेज़ी से चाहे वो ऊपर हो, मिनिस्टर हो, चाहे वो एक मजदूर हो, वो ज़्यादा देश की सेवा करता है। महज़ एक जो आदमी एक दिन के काम में चार दिन लगाता है वो बोझा है देश के ऊपर, चाहे वो ऊँचे ओहदे पर हो, चाहे वो छोटे ओहदे पर। जो आदमी एक घंटे का काम आधे घंटे में कर लेता है वो देश को बढ़ा देता है।

जो किसान एक मन की जगह डेढ़ मन पैदा कर देता है ज़मीन से, उसने देश की सेवा की और किसान का मैंने आपसे कहा, ज़मीन का भी हमारा यही सवाल है, बड़ा प्रश्न है कि जितने ज़मीन पर काम करने वाले होने चाहियें उससे अधिक हैं। जितनी ज़मीन पर—फ़र्ज़ करो पाँच एकड़ की ज़मीन है और पाँच एकड़ में जितने लोग लगे हैं उससे दुगुने-तिगुने हैं तो वो बोझा हो जाते हैं उस ज़मीन पर, वो ज़मीन पैदावार को, उत्पादन को, बढ़ाते नहीं हैं।

आपको मालूम है भारत की ग़रीबी का मूल कारण क्या है? बहुत सारे हैं, मूल कारण यह है कि डेढ़ सौ बरस हुए, दो सौ बरस हुए जब अंग्रेज़ इधर आये तो यहाँ के जो बहुत हमारे धंधे थे, उद्योग-धंधे थे पुराने ढंग के उनको उन्होंने रोक दिया, कुछ खुद रोक दिया, कुछ यह जो बड़ी क्रांति हुई इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन विलायत में उससे रुक गये। ग़रज़ कि रुक गये और जो लोग बहुत सारे और काम करते थे हाथ का, और उनके पास काम नहीं रहा, क्या करें, वो ज़मीन पर गये, अब भारत की ज़मीन कोई ख़ाली थोड़ी थी, ज़मीन पर बोझा बढ़ता गया क्योंकि और काम कम होते गये। अब उस ग़रीबी को आप दूर करें तो इसको इस नदी को उलटा बहाना है यानी और उद्योग-धंधे पैदा करें देश में काफी चाहे वो बड़े उद्योग-धंधे हों, बड़े कारख़ाने हों, छोटे हों, ग्रामोद्योग हों, कारीगरी हो और ज़मीन से लोगों को खींच लेना है ताकि ज़मीन पर बोझा कम हो, यह बुनियादी बात है। तो यह सब पहलू मैं आपके सामने रखता हूँ क्योंकि हमारे सामने, भारत के सामने, यह समय आया है एक ज़ोर लगा के आगे बढ़ने का और हम नहीं बढ़ सकते

अगर हम दूसरे दर्जे के देश की हैसियत से बढ़ने की कोशिश करें और दूसरे दर्जे के लोगों को हम अपनी यूनिवर्सिटीज़ में हम पैदा करें, चाहे सारे भारत को आप लें, चाहे आप किसी प्रदेश को लें, वहीं बढ़ेगा यह कोई सरकारी बात तो नहीं है, वही बढ़ेगा जहाँ से तेज़, अव्वल दर्जे के लोग सीखे हुए पढ़े हुए निकलते हैं, बढ़ेगा और कोई उपाय नहीं है। यह कोई नौकरी-चाकरी का हेर-फेर नहीं है, नौकरी-चाकरी हल्के-हल्के बढ़ती जायेगी यहाँ। मैंने भारत का आपसे कहा।

इसी तरह से यहाँ आसाम को लीजिए, कुछ ऐसे ही कारण हुए हैं कुछ हमारे आपकी कोशिश से, कुछ बजाय आपकी कोशिश के आसाम में नये-नये रास्ते, नये-नये दरवाज़े खुलते जाते हैं। यहाँ तेल अधिक निकला है। आप लोगों ने दो बरस हुए कब एक आंदोलन किया था रिफ़ाइनरी हो, रिफ़ाइनरी हो ठीक था, मुझे आंदोलन में कोई शक्ति [शक्त] नहीं, मुझे उसमें बहुत कोई विपत्ति नहीं, लेकिन उसके पीछे जो विचार थे वो निकम्मे विचार थे। अब जड़ को आप नहीं पकड़ते हैं कैसे कोई देश बढ़ता है? आप समझते हैं कारख़ाना यहाँ है आसाम में या गोहाटी में खड़ा कर दिया तो, तो आसाम चमक उठेगा या बड़ी नौकरी-चाकरी होगी, इस तरह से देश में कारख़ाना खड़ा हो, मुझे उसमें कोई आपत्ति थोड़ी है। ख़ैर, रिफ़ाइनरी तो होगी यहाँ बल्कि ज़्यादा जल्द उसको पकड़ें, किस तरह से देश उठते हैं तब आप तेज़ी से बढ़ेंगे नहीं तो आपकी सारी शक्ति एक आंदोलन में, फ़ुटकर में, यह वो इन बातों में निकल जायेगी। समय, जब समय ज़्यादा आपकी समय पुकार कहीं ज़्यादा है तो ख़ैर तेल यहाँ निकला अधिक और आशा है कि और भी निकलेगा। मैं डिगबोय के तेल को नहीं कह रहा हूँ, मैं और कह रहा हूँ। अब तेल तो एक सोने से अधिक क्रीमती चीज़ है आजकल की दुनिया में। तेल से और रिफ़ाइनरी से जो कुछ आपको लाभ हो वो तो ठीक है लेकिन असली लाभ तो उससे जाना चाहिए, वो उसके बच्चे निकलने चाहियें बहुत, उद्योग-धंधे बहुत सारे फैलें, यह जिसमें आपके हज़ारों लाखों लोग जो यूनिवर्सिटीज़ से निकलें वो उनको चला सकें, नौकरी की इतनी फ़िक्र न करें, वो चलायें अपनी-अपनी बुद्धि से अपनी जो सीखा है उन्होंने। इस तरह से देश बढ़ते हैं।

आप इस वक़्त भारत में घूमें तो अजीब बात है आप देख लें, मैं प्रदेशों का नाम नहीं लिया चाहता। आप देखें कि जहाँ के लोग खुद स्वयं कुछ करने को तैयार हैं वो बहुत नौकरी की तरफ नहीं देखते, वहाँ किस तेज़ी से तरक्की हो रही है हज़ारों...। एक प्रदेश का अभी कुछ मैंने अंदाज़ा किया था, वहाँ इस पिछले थोड़े से वर्ष में पचास हज़ार छोटे कारख़ाने शुरू हुए हैं और बिल्कुल उसने वो बहुत ही कम सरकारी मदद कुछ नहीं थोड़ा पैसा कर्ज़ा लिया, अपने परिश्रम से, अपनी बुद्धि से और हाथ-पैर चलाने की शक्ति से शुरू किया, वो बड़े बावू बन के नहीं ऊपर बैठ गये, खुद जाके काम किया एक परिवार ने दो-चार आदमी बढ़ते-बढ़ते...।

वहाँ दिल्ली के पास छोटा नगर है गाज़ियाबाद, एक पुराना शहर है, बहुत चुपचाप पड़ा था बेचारा ख़ामोश। इस दस बरस में एकदम से वो जाग उठा और वहाँ भरे हुए हैं कारख़ाने छोटे, बहुत बड़े नहीं, वो बड़े सरकारी नहीं, भरे हुए हैं, क्यों? क्योंकि लोग जाग गये, लोग आये वहाँ, नये लोग, चलते पुर्जें उन्होंने किया, आख़िर में मनुष्य बदलता है, सरकारी हुकुम से नहीं होता है, सरकार मदद कर सकती है, सही बात है। तो इस ढंग से आप देखिए कि सरकारी नौकरी की तरफ सब देखें, मुझसे पूछो सरकारी नौकरी करना कोई बुरी बात थोड़ी है, हो, लेकिन इतना मैदान है अपनी-अपनी बुद्धि से काम करने का छोटे-मोटे, एक नहीं हज़ारों लाखों आदमी करें,

उससे देश उठता है।

अब सरकार की तरफ से इसको आसान करना चाहिए, रास्ते खुलने चाहियें, उसके रास्ते खुलने ये हैं, सबमें आवश्यक चीज़ है लोहा—लोहा होना चाहिए देश में, कोयला होना चाहिए, पावर होना चाहिए, शक्ति बिजली की या कोई और थरमल। अब यह हर एक आदमी तो नहीं पैदा कर सकता। हाँ, इसलिए सरकार के काम ये हैं—हैवी-इंडस्ट्रीज़ में लोहा काफी पैदा करें, कोयला काफी पैदा करें, पावर बनायें और ऐसी चीज़ें हों जिससे फिर जो लोगों को मिल सके वो अपने काम-धंधे बहुत सारे शुरू कर सकते हैं जहाँ भी मिलता है। हाँ, मैं यह नहीं कहता कठिनाई नहीं है, कठिनाई तो होती है, सवाल ही कठिन है एक देश को उठाना लेकिन मैं आपको यह दिखा रहा हूँ किस मनोभावना से इस काम को देखना चाहिए। यह नहीं कि हम हाथ पर हाथ रख के बैठे हैं कि सरकारी कोई नौकरी मिल जाये, कहीं न कहीं सरकार की, म्युनिसिपैलिटी की कहीं, जब तक नहीं मिलती बैठे हैं। यह ग़लत बात है, यह ग़लत बात है, मानसिक विचार ऐसे ग़लत हैं, इससे अच्छा कि कुछ न कुछ आप काम करें, चाहे जाके खेत में फावड़ा लेके खोदें आपको लाभ होगा, काफी लाभ होगा, उससे आप कुछ सीखेंगे। यह क्या हाल है? यह ढंग होना चाहिए हमारे और इसलिए जो हमारी पढ़ाई है, आप यूनिवर्सिटी में पढ़ते हैं और उससे आपको लाभ होता है, पूरा लाभ उठायें क्योंकि पढ़ाई का समय आपके पास इस तरह दो दफ़े नहीं आता। यों तो हमेशा ही आदमी को पढ़ना चाहिए, उसकी कुछ उम्र, अवस्था हो, कुछ भी हो सीखना चाहिए। पढ़ाई कोई स्कूल-कॉलेज में थोड़ी उसका अंत होता है वो तो आरम्भ होता है उसका, लेकिन स्कूल-कॉलेज की पढ़ाई होती है एक ज़ोर से होनी चाहिए। दिमाग़, शरीर और मन को आप तैयार करते हैं जीवन का सामना करने के लिए बाद में और मैं देखता हूँ मुझे दुःख होता है कि कितने लोग उस समय को नष्ट कर देते हैं और फिर उनके पास वो समय नहीं आयेगा याद रखिए आप और फिर बजाय इसके कि वो अव्वल दर्जे के हों वो देश में वो दूसरे दर्जे के हो जाते हैं। तो ख़ैर आप उससे लाभ उठायें लेकिन उससे लाभ उठाने में उनकी स्कूल-कॉलेज की पढ़ाई से, अगर आपमें कुछ दम हो तो आप अपनी छुट्टी के ज़माने में आप दूसरे तरह से लाभ उठायें। आप देखें, आप जायें काम करें ज़रा खेत में, कारख़ाने में, कुछ न कुछ काम करें, सीखें बल्कि आजकल की पढ़ाई का ढंग ऐसा हो जाता है कि हर एक आदमी को किताबों से पढ़ना है, उसी के साथ हाथ-पैर चला के सीखना है तब आदमी ठीक सीखता है। रूस में, अमेरिका में, और मुल्कों में पढ़ाई रोज़-ब-रोज़ ऐसी होती जाती है। कुछ लोग फ़ैक्टरी में काम करते हैं कुछ दिन, कुछ लोग कॉलेज में काम करते हैं, हमारे यहाँ यह इस समय नहीं हो सकता, लेकिन मैं दिखा रहा हूँ आपको कि आजकल कैसे पढ़ाई होती है। अब रूस, अमेरिका में एक बड़ा मुक़ाबला है, दोनों को, दोनों को इस बात की फ़िक्र है कि वह दूसरा देश बढ़ा जाता है, दूसरे में इतने इंजीनियर पैदा होते हैं पचास हज़ार, साठ हज़ार, सत्तर हज़ार साल, हम और अधिक करेंगे, अधिक हम पढ़ाई करेंगे, बड़े ज़ोर से दिखायी जा रही है और वो जानते हैं कि ख़ाली गिनती की बात नहीं है, पढ़ाई अच्छी होनी चाहिए और उस पढ़ाई में हर जगह पढ़ाई का एक भाग बड़ा भाग हो गया है, जाके हाथ-पैर से काम करना, प्रैक्टिकल वर्क करना चाहे फ़ैक्टरी में, चाहे लेबोरेट्रीज़ में, चाहे चाहे फ़ील्ड में, चाहे खेत में, कहीं न कहीं। आप एग्रीकलचर सीखते हैं अगर कॉलेज में तो आपका आधा समय खेती करने में जाना चाहिए, किताब पढ़के नहीं। याद रखिये ये बातें

किसान से जाके सीखिए, उसके साथ काम कीजिए और आप यह न सोचिए कि एक आपको एग्रीकलचर की डिग्री हो गयी है तो आप जाके लेक्चर देंगे किसान को, आपसे अधिक फिर भी जानता होगा। हाँ, कुछ बातें आपने नयी सीखीं।

तो यह मैं चाहता हूँ जो बात आप समझें वो यह है कि आजकल भारत में ख़लबली है, किसी क्रूर दुनिया में लेकिन मुझे तो आपसे और भारत से फ़िक्र है, नयी-नयी बातें हो रही हैं चाहे किसान के घर में, चाहे नगर में, शहर में, हर जगह, उथल-पुथल बढ़ रहा है भारत तेज़ी से। पढ़ाई-लिखाई का मैं आपसे कह रहा था। मैं तो चाहूँगा कि और पढ़ाई-लिखाई बढ़े लेकिन इस समय भी मेरा विचार है मुझे ठीक मालूम नहीं कि स्कूल-कॉलेज में साढ़े चार करोड़ हमारे लड़के-लड़कियाँ पढ़ते हैं। काफी बड़ी गिनती है साढ़े चार करोड़ क्योंकि छोटे बहुत बच्चों को आप छोड़ दें, उधर आप बड़ी अवस्था में आप उनको छोड़ दें, साढ़े चार करोड़ पढ़ रहे हैं और मैं समझता हूँ कि पाँच-छः बरस के अन्दर पढ़ने वाले और पढ़ाने वाले सात करोड़ हो जायेंगे देश में। काफी बड़ी गिनती है सात करोड़ की, समझ लें कितने लोग एक पाँचवाँ हिस्सा हमारी आबादी का करीब-करीब छठा हिस्सा पढ़ने और पढ़ाने में लग जायेगा।

वो ठीक है, तो हम बढ़ रहे हैं चारों तरफ और लोग बजाय इसके देखने के कि क्या-क्या हो रहा है वो कठिनाई को देखकर परेशान हो जाते हैं, हाथ-पैर ठंडे हो जाते हैं या शिकायतें करते रहते हैं। अजीब तमाशा है कि बाहर की दुनिया से जो लोग आते हैं वो लोग प्रशंसा करते हैं कि तुम लोग तेज़ी से बढ़ रहे हो, हमारे घर में बैठे-बैठे लोग हाय-हाय किया करते हैं, थोड़े से लोग। ख़ैर, हाय-हाय करना तो अच्छा नहीं होता कभी भी, यह तो एक दुर्बलता की और कमज़ोरी की निशानी है। हाँ, कठिनाई को छिपाना नहीं चाहिए, कोई ग़लती हो तो उसको संभालना चाहिए और आगे बढ़ना चाहिए। इस वक़्त हमारे देश में एक माने में एक तरफ से तो रोज़गार की कमी है, दूसरी तरफ जो अच्छा लड़का-लड़की हो उसके लिए हज़ार रास्ते खुले हैं, हज़ार तख़्त हैं, हज़ार ऊपर बढ़ने के रास्ते हैं, अच्छे आदमी की कमी है इस समय भी देश में। अच्छे आदमी से मतलब जो असल में सीखा हुआ हो, जो ज़िम्मेदारी से, जिसकी ज़िम्मेदारी से काम सुपुर्द किया जाये उनकी कमी है इस समय भी देश में। तो अजीब बात है ना। तो इधर ध्यान आप दें इन बातों की तरफ।

अब मैं दो-चार बातें आपसे कहूँ। क्या हो? वहाँ मैंने आपसे कहा कि मैं आज गया था सोनापुर ग्राम में जहाँ पंचों की, गाँव के पंचायतों के पंच आये थे चुने हुए। अब यह भी बड़ी एक क्रांतिकारी बात है कि हम अधिकार पंचायतों को दे रहे हैं, लोगों को दे रहे हैं, असली पंचायती राज कर रहे हैं देश में, अफ़सरी राज नहीं, बड़े-बड़े ऊपर से आकर अफ़सर आयें, अफ़सर तो होते ही हैं हर देश में क्योंकि अफ़सर कौन होते हैं? अफ़सर चुने हुए लोग होते हैं जिनको हमने चुना, सिखाया और उनसे काम लेने के लिए, सेवा करने के लिए। तो वो एक ज़माना ही ऐसा था, अब भी कुछ करते हैं लेकिन वो बदल रहा है। असल में दो दुनिया नहीं होनी चाहियें एक अफ़सरों की और एक आम जनता की। यह ग़लत बात है, यह पुरानी बात है, असल में अधिकार और ज़िम्मेदारी आम जनता की होनी चाहिए। तो हम यह पंचायतों को बना रहे हैं, उनको अधिकार दे रहे हैं, यह सारा कायापलट हो रहा है देश भर में। एक नयी चीज़ निकल रही है जो अब तक नहीं थी, वो पंचायती राज उसमें बाज़ लोगों को भय है अरे यह पंच लोग कहीं गड़बड़ा न दें, हो सकता है कई हों, लेकिन यह एक क्रांतिकारी बात हो रही है जिससे हम

देश को नीचे से उठा रहे हैं, ऊपर से उठाना तो और बात है और यह बातें जितनी चलेंगी उतना ही आप देखेंगे कि एकदम से रूप भारत का बदल जाता है, बदल रहा है क्योंकि भारत का रूप आखिर में किसान का रूप है, शहर के रहने वाले का नहीं है, किसान का रूप बदलता है, उसमें अपने ऊपर भरोसा आता है काम करने की, वो ठीक-ठीक काम करता है, नये काम सीखता है और खुद निश्चय करना [करता] है क्या करें? तो रूप सारा भारत का बदल जाता है और खाली अधिकार उसको हम नहीं देते, उसको पैसा मिलता है, उसको जो ज़मीन से टैक्स की आमदनी है वो मिलती है, रेवेन्यू मिलता है। तो पैसा, अब उसको दौड़ के मेरे पास नहीं आना है या आपके मुख्यमंत्री के पास कि हमारे गाँव में यह कर दो। अब उसको खुद करना है, उसके पास शक्ति है और अगर बहुत अधिक चाहता है तो उसको टैक्स लगाने की भी शक्ति है कुछ और पैसा दे या श्रमदान करे, एकदम से बातें नहीं होती लेकिन वो गाड़ी चल गयी है उस तरफ और निकले। एक तरफ तो गाड़ी चली उसके ग्रामों की, पंचायतों की और उसी के साथ-साथ ग्रामों में कोऑपरेशन, कोऑपरेटिव सोसाइटी, सहकारी संघ जो कि आवश्यक है, हर जगह आवश्यक है मेरी राय में लेकिन खेती के लिए बिल्कुल आवश्यक है। वो चल रहा है, बढ़ रहा है। आपके यहाँ भी मैंने सुना कि काफी उसमें उन्नति हो रही है, ये दो बातें। तीसरी बात स्कूल— गाँव में तीन बातें हर ग्राम में हों और अच्छी तरह से चलें तो आपकी, आपकी बुनियाद इतनी मज़बूत हो गयी कोई उसे हिला नहीं सकता। हाँ, उसके ऊपर फिर आप भारत को बना सकते हैं बड़े ज़ोरों का।

तो एक तरफ से तो एक काम हुआ और यह बहुत आवश्यक कार्य है। दूसरी तरफ से वो बातें देखते हैं, लोहे के कारखाने और कोयले की खाने और बड़े-बड़े मशीन बनाने के कारखाने बने और तेल का बने और कितनी और बातें दूसरी तरफ से हो रही हैं। और तीसरे तरफ से इन सबके लिए लोगों को सिखाना, पढ़ाना, सिखाना, तैयार करना। मैं इस वक़्त मामूली यूनिवर्सिटी के पढ़ाई का नहीं कह रहा हूँ, वो तो अलग है लेकिन विशेषकर यह जो काम करने वाले हैं यहाँ उनके लिए खास शिक्षा दें विज्ञान की या और टेक्नोलॉजी की, पोलिटेक्निक्स हो और क्या-क्या हो, उसकी ज़रूरत है क्योंकि हम कारखाने खड़े कर दें और लोग उसको चलाना न जानें तब कारखाने क्या करेंगे। और यह भी याद रखें कारखाना दो, तीन, चार, पाँच बरस में खड़ा हो जाता है जो आदमी वहाँ काम करें, एक ज़िम्मेदारी का काम उसके सिखाने में दस बरस लग जायेंगे, पन्द्रह बरस लग जायेंगे। इसलिए हमें अभी से विचार करना होता है कि दस बरस बाद जो हमारा एक बड़ा कारखाना खड़ा होगा उसके लिए हम इस समय से लोगों को तैयार करें। इसलिए प्लानिंग होती है, योजनाएँ बनती हैं, नहीं तो गाड़ी अटक जाये। यह सब बड़े-बड़े काम हमें करने हैं, प्लानिंग है, यह है, वो है, और ऐसे समय पर इसको करना जबकि हमें हमारे पीछे, एक दुनिया की तरफ से, हज़ार दबाव हैं। दुनिया बढ़ती जाती है, तरक्की करती है, अच्छी-बुरी बढ़ती जाती है, कुछ पागलों की तरह से बढ़ रही है करीब-करीब और मैं नहीं कह सकता इस समय कि वो अपने को नष्ट कर देगी शायद पागल हो के या लाभ पहुँचायेगी, लेकिन ऐसी दुनिया में हम भी अगर तेज़ी से नहीं बढ़ें तो हम पिछड़ जाते हैं, दब जाते हैं, कुचल जाते हैं। यह हालत है तो ऐसी हालत में सारी शक्ति हमें इसमें लगानी है इन बातों में।

अब आपके इस प्रदेश के लिए विशेषकर एक एक नया अध्याय शुरू हुआ है बहुत बातों

से, वो तो होता ही है हर जगह, लेकिन विशेषकर मैं इसकी नहीं चर्चा कर रहा हूँ यहाँ तेल निकला वगैरह वो तो अच्छी बातें हैं लेकिन जो हमारी सीमा पर हुआ है उसने आसाम और नेफ़ा और उस तरफ काश्मीर की तरफ सारा रंग बदल दिया है, एक नया रूप आ गया है सीमा का और जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा जो भी कुछ हल हो चार दिन में बातें करने वाला हूँ मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टर चीन के, उससे जो कुछ हल हो, लेकिन अब यह सीमा कभी सो नहीं सकती है, यह जागती जागती सीमा हो गयी और किसी क़दर ख़तरनाक सीमा हो गयी। तो इसका असर भारत भर पे पड़ता है और हमारा कर्तव्य है कि हम इसकी रक्षा करें और रक्षा के पीछे हज़ार बातें हैं वो करें हम। रक्षा ख़ाली प्रस्ताव से नहीं होती, उसके पीछे रक्षा का सामान तैयार करो, कारख़ाने बनाओ, फ़ौज, वो हवाई जहाज़ बनाओ, हज़ार बातें आ जाती हैं जिससे हमारे ऊपर बोझ पड़ेगा, हमें क़ीमत देनी पड़ेगी अपनी-अपनी आज़ादी की, अपनी रक्षा करने की, वगैर क़ीमत के कोई बड़े काम नहीं होते। यह सब भारत के लिए हुआ लेकिन आसाम प्रदेश के लिए विशेषतौर इसका असर होगा क्योंकि आसाम में या नेफ़ा में यह सीमा है, होना ही है, सड़कें बनेंगी, एक ब्रह्मपुत्र पर पुल बनाओ, लोग कहते हैं कि भई रेल इधर से उधर ले जाओ और सड़क ले जाओ नार्थ बैंक पर, कहाँ? ख़ैर, मैं उसका जवाब आपको क्या दूँ, लेकिन बात तो यह है यह जो नये बोझ हमारे ऊपर पड़े हैं सीमा की वजह से, जो बातें आपके मन में भी नहीं थीं, वो बातें करनी पड़ रही हैं हमें यहाँ आसाम और जगह। सड़क यह और वो क्या कि नक्शा बदल गया और आसाम की उन्नति यह आवश्यक हो गयी है, आसाम का डेवलपमेंट यह आवश्यक हो गयी है और बातों के लिए जो कुछ हों, भारत की रक्षा के लिए आवश्यक हो गयी। तो यह तो बातें हो रही हैं। सवाल फिर यह होता है यह नहीं कि आप बैठके प्रस्ताव करें कि हमारी उन्नति करो, सड़क बनाओ, रेल बनाओ। सवाल तो यह है कि आप अपने को कितना तैयार कर रहे हैं क्योंकि अगर आप तैयार नहीं हैं तो अवश्य और जगह से आक्रमण करेंगे और जगह के लोग, क्योंकि हमें लोग चाहियें तैयार लोग, नौकरी में भर्ती नहीं, जो तैयार हों जो अव्वल दर्जे का है इस काम को करेगा क्योंकि जब रक्षा का मामला है उसमें ढील नहीं हो सकती। अब यह और बात है कि कुछ [अस्पष्ट] जैसे लोग कहीं भी आ जायें लेकिन जहाँ ज़िम्मेदारी का काम आया तो ज़िम्मेदार आदमी होना चाहिए, चाहे कहीं से हम उसको तलाश करें। इसलिए आप ध्यान दें इसकी तरफ और अपने को तैयार करें, अपने को, नवयुवक, बड़े-छोटे सब अपने को तैयार करें कि इस नये बदलते हुए आसाम में, बदलते हुए हिन्दुस्तान में आप अपनी जगह पूरी तौर से आ सकें, ज़ोर से आ सकें और अपनी शक्ति को नष्ट न करें यह छोटी-मोटी बातों में, छोटे-मोटे आंदोलन, झगड़े। बड़ी बातें हैं सामने हमारे देश के, तो उन बड़े कामों को आपको और हमें मिलकर करना है।

तो मैंने आपके सामने कुछ बातें रखीं कि आप उस पर विचार करें और ये सभी के लिए हैं पुरुष-स्त्री सब क्योंकि अब ज़माना गया कि पुरुष-स्त्रियाँ कुछ पिछड़ी रहें। जब देश की रक्षा का सवाल, देश की उन्नति का सवाल, देश की क्रांति का सवाल सब होता है तो सब लोगों को समझना है अपना-अपना भाग और उसको लेना है और तब देश बढ़ता है। ये बातें कोई लोकसभा के क़ानून से तो नहीं होतीं या आसाम-शिलाँग में बैठे क़ानून बन जाये, गोहाटी में या आपने कोई आंदोलन कर दिया। जब बड़े ख़तरे या बड़े कामों में लोग फंसते हैं ज़रा उनके दिल, उनका मन, ज़रा बढ़ना चाहिए, उनका शरीर भी ज़रा लम्बा हो जाना चाहिए थोड़ा सा, तब ये बातें

होती हैं।

तो यह हमारी बड़ी परीक्षा का समय है। आज खास नहीं, लेकिन यह जो बरस जो आते हैं उसमें और सारी दुनिया या कम से कम बहुत देशों की आँखें भारत की तरफ हैं कुछ प्रेम से, कुछ सहानुभूति से, कुछ द्वेष से, हर तरह की हैं, कुछ जलन से क्योंकि बात यह है जैसे आजकल की दुनिया है, भारत का असर, भारत की तरक्की का, भारत की सफलता का या भारत की असफलता का, फेल हो जाने का असर सारे एशिया पर होता है, सारी दुनिया पर होता है। फ़िक्क है लोगों को, देख रहे हैं कैसे करेंगे? चर्चा है दुनिया में कि तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना इनकी होने वाली है, कैसी होगी? इसलिए नहीं कि इसमें एक कारखाना यहाँ, एक वहाँ, मोटी बातें हैं बल्कि इसलिए कि कैसे जड़ कैसे पड़ेगी उसमें आइंदा बढ़ने के लिए, तरक्की के लिए। लोग आते हैं अमेरिका से, फ्रांस से, अंग्रेज़, रूसी आते हैं, जापानी आते हैं, सब तरफ से आ रहे हैं देखने के लिए, क्या हो रहा है? कोई अच्छी राय देते हैं, कोई बुरी राय देते हैं जैसे उनके मन की भावना होती है लेकिन फ़िक्क हर एक को है और आश्चर्य कभी-कभी यह होता है कि हमारे बहुत लोगों को इसकी बहुत कम फ़िक्क है, हमारी फ़िक्क यही है कि निन्दा करें, गवर्नमेंट की निन्दा करें, कांग्रेस की निन्दा करें, नये-नये आंदोलन करें जिससे कोई सम्बन्ध आजकल की दुनिया से नहीं है। जब फुरसत होगी आप आंदोलन उठायें। इस वक़्त छोटी बातों को उठाने की किसी को फुरसत नहीं है, बड़े काम हमारे सामने हैं और जब बड़े काम आते हैं तो बड़ी परीक्षा हो जाती है क्रौम की।

एक हमारी परीक्षा हुई बड़ी, स्वराज के आंदोलन में, बहुत कठिन सवाल था, लम्बी परीक्षा थी, चालीस-पचास बरस की ज़बरदस्त परीक्षा। आखिर में बड़ी कठिनाई के बाद हम कुछ सफल हुए। हमारे बड़े नेता थे महात्मा जी, बहुत बातें उन्होंने सिखाई। अब जो प्रश्न उठे हैं वो ज़्यादा पेचीदा हैं, किसी दूसरे से नहीं लड़ना है। हाँ, कम से कम मेरी आशा है कि दूसरे से न लड़ना हो, अपनी दुर्बलता से लड़ना, अपनी कमज़ोरियों से, अपनी फूट से, अपने जातिभेद से, अपनी इन बातों से और परिश्रम करना है। जो करेंगे हम तो कोई सदेह नहीं कि हम सफल होंगे, नहीं करेंगे तो हमारी कठिनाइयाँ बढ़ती जायेंगी। इन बातों पर आप विचार कीजिए और इस सुन्दर प्रदेश को एक मज़बूत बनाइये, ज़बरदस्त बनाइये, एक ढाल बनाइये जो कि भारत की रक्षा कर सके और भारत की रक्षा करने में आपकी उन्नति होगी और आप अपनी भी रक्षा करेंगे। एक शुभ दिन आज के दिन मैं यहाँ आया, आपके बड़े त्यौहार हैं वो भी अच्छी बात हुई, तो उसके लिए आपको मुबारिक हो।⁹²

जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Brothers and sisters and children,

I had come to this beautiful province of yours four months ago. I had come here when the big bridge on the Brahmaputra was being built. Then, there was

92. The Bohag Bihu or New Year festival, celebrated in Assam, 14-15 April.

another special task in the mountains of Shillong also, where there is a huge hydro-electric power plant coming up at a place called Umiam. So I came to perform two big tasks,⁹³ and was happy to see that Assam is also making rapid strides towards progress. As you know, the building of a bridge on the Brahmaputra is a big task. It had been thought about for years but could not be done due to various difficulties. Now it is coming up fast and soon the two parts of Assam, now divided by the river, will be connected. The other project, the hydro-electric power plant, also is an important one because the modern world functions on power.

Now, I have come again to Assam. Generally, whenever I come here, my heart is filled with happiness because it is a beautiful province and the people are good. But, I come only when there is some special occasion. At the moment, the task before me is connected with the armed forces for which some new arrangements are being made. New developments have taken place on our borders and so arrangements had to be made quickly to station the army near Tezpur. They could not live there in the rains without houses. Now, if we had let things happen in the normal course, and had the houses built through contractors, it would have taken a great deal of time and money. Therefore, we asked the officers and jawans to build houses for themselves. With tremendous effort, they have completed them within two and a half months.⁹⁴ They have done very good work and whenever tasks are taken up and completed within the time-limit, it boosts up the morale of the people.

I remember, that during the freedom struggle, Mahatmaji had once said that our speed of working should be like that of the Calcutta-Punjab Mail. It runs on time, stops at the stations and reaches its destination, Kalka or wherever it is, on time. So, we must also do our work on time. I am here for that purpose and am always happy to meet the jawans and officers in the armed forces. Because they do good work, are intelligent, hard-working and strong. They inspire confidence. Similarly, our young men in the air force are also excellent and we can easily repose our confidence in them. You often find aircraft hovering here and there these days. Sometimes, people wonder if they are foreign planes. But generally, they are ours and they practice every day.

When I came to Tezpur yesterday, I wanted to meet the refugees from Tibet in their camps. I went there.⁹⁵ It is obvious that they have had to bear great hardships, and left all their possessions behind to cross difficult

93. See fn 85 in this section.

94. See fn 86 in this section.

95. See fn 87 in this section.

mountainous terrain, to come here. We have given them shelter and taken on the task of looking after them. So far, nearly thirteen thousand or more have come and few keep trickling in even now. They have been kept in camps in Misamari and Buxa; which are not very salubrious climatically for the Tibetans, who are used to living in a colder climate on the mountains. So they fall ill due to the heat. So arrangements had to be made to send them to some hill stations, and at the same time ensure that their work and their children's education did not suffer. We are making arrangements for that. They are being sent to the hill stations in the Punjab, Sikkim and elsewhere, where they can do agriculture, carpentry or take up some handicrafts or village industries, etc. It looks as if they will have to stay in this country for a long time. It is not quite right to think that they will return to their country very soon.

Well, I came here for these two purposes, and in this connection I came to Gauhati today, first of all, to meet the Governor⁹⁶ and the Chief Minister, which I did. Then, in the afternoon, I went to a place—about eighteen-nineteen miles from here, where a panchayat conference is taking place. What was the name of the conference? The name of the place is Sonapur.⁹⁷ As you know, this is a new thing that is happening all over India today and the panchayats are being given greater autonomy. We are laying the foundations of a real panchayati raj which is a revolutionary step. After doing all this, I have now come here for a short while.

I would like to share some of my thoughts with you and tell you something about the situation in the country and the world. I am going back to Delhi in the morning and two days hence, the Prime Minister of China is coming to Delhi for talks.⁹⁸ You must be aware of what the talks are about. In the last one year, and even before that, there has been some tension on the borderland several incidents have taken place. The Chinese Government has captured some of the Indian posts in the mountain areas, particularly in the Ladakh and NEFA. This is a new development. As you can imagine, a dispute between two great countries like ours engenders great passion and heat; and justifiably so. It is humiliating when another country violates our territorial integrity. Therefore, there has been a great deal of anger over this in India. Yet we felt that we should not say no to holding talks even if the result is not very fruitful. This has been our principle, right from the time of Mahatma Gandhi. Even when we were fighting with the British for freedom, Gandhiji was always willing to hold talks with the

96. See fn 88 in this section.

97. See fn 89 in this section.

98. See fn 90 in this section.

Viceroy and others. Therefore, we felt it was proper to agree when the Prime Minister of China expressed a desire to hold talks. We felt it proper to invite him to India for the talks.

Now, I cannot tell you whether anything will come out of these talks. The problem is complicated and those who are on the Indian side in the talks must remember that they should not tolerate anything which offends the dignity of India or violates our territorial integrity. At the same time, we must be respectful to the other side. Now Shri Chou En-lai is coming here and even if we feel that the Chinese policy is wrong, we must not forget that he is coming at our invitation. We must treat our guests with honour, as has been our tradition and culture from ancient times. But, that does not mean that we should give up any of our principles or accept anything that is detrimental to India's interests.

All these developments which have taken place on our borders, in the last year, are close to Assam and near Kashmir and Ladakh. The borders are very long; ranging over nearly 2500 miles of territory. These developments have given a new aspect to our borders. For years, it has been a quiet border, with almost no incident or dispute about it. The borders which were considered dangerous during the British period were different. As you know, that was the western and north western border, where the British forces used to be stationed and very often wars used to be fought. But the Assam and NEFA borders have been quiet, and nobody even dreamed of any danger on that front. Now, this is a new development in the history of India and Asia. It is not a very good development but there it is.

China is a great and powerful country. We are also growing in strength. When two great countries have common borders, unless there is complete harmony, peace and love between them, the borders become fraught with danger. I do not know what will happen in the future. But whatever happens, we must remember two or three things. One is that, the once peaceful border, is no longer so. The sleeping borders have been awakened, and nobody knows what new developments may take place. Therefore, we must be vigilant, not only now but always vigilant. Assam also now falls within the limits of international politics. Therefore, we must be vigilant and pay heed to this warning. Another aspect of the same thing is, that being vigilant does not mean shouting slogans or taking out processions. These internal manifestations have no impact outside. What it really means is that India must become strong like the other countries in the world are strong today.

Which are the powerful countries today in the World? The two most powerful ones are the United States and the Soviet Union; which are militarily extremely powerful. They are nuclear powers. What are the factors responsible for this? You will find that they are extremely advanced industrially, and in the

field of science and technology. The United States, England, Soviet Union and other countries of Europe and Japan have become powerful due to the advance in science and industry. Therefore, if we wish to become powerful, there is no alternative except to advance in the field of science and technology and learn the use of machines, etc. Science is knowledge which can be used to improve whatever we are doing and to tap the sources of energy which are hidden in nature. Electricity is a natural source of energy, which any boy or girl can grasp. It has to be developed as it is being done in Umiyam where a hydro-electric power plant is coming up. Such projects have to be taken up all over the country, because the power thus generated can be used to set up industries, to run powerful machines, etc. We have to generate power, which has made the West rich and powerful. It is only by following the path that they have taken, that we can get rid of the poverty in India. Both these things are interlinked.

Immediately, on getting freedom we had decided to adopt this course. But however fast we may progress, there is no magical formula by which we can do all these things. What is required is the hard work of millions of people in the country. You read newspapers which publish long debates on ideology and policy, etc. But you must realise that behind any ism or ideology, there are two things. One is hard work; and two, scientific advance and industrialisation. These two things are common. Please do not be misled into thinking that there is a great difference. Everywhere you will find huge machines, new techniques of production, agriculture and other industries. There is no argument about that. That does not mean that we should copy capitalist America or communist Russia. The main thing is to grasp the advance made by science, work hard and evolve a path to suit India's needs. We must not give up our roots and copy others. We will learn from other countries and maintain our principles at the same time.

All this is extremely difficult, because India is a huge country and had become backward during the last few centuries. We were steeped in conceit about our own greatness. That may have been truest some time, but it has not been true for hundreds of years. We had fallen and become prey to foreign powers. Why did we fall? It is pretty obvious that we fell because the country is divided into various provinces, castes, languages and what not. There has never been unity among us, and the caste-system has further contributed to our downfall. How can there be unity when one caste suppresses the other? How can there be true democracy when caste-system exists? Democracy means that the people hold the reins of power in their own hands and there should be equality of rights among them. We often talk about socialism. How can we bring about socialism where there is so much disparity between the castes and classes? It is simply not possible. We must understand this and also the reasons

for our downfall. We had got into the habit of indulging in petty quarrels among ourselves in the name of religion, caste, language or province, forgetting that our future is tied up with the progress of the whole of India. Neither Assam nor Bombay, Madras, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh can progress on their own. Our fortunes are linked with that of the nation, which is Bharat, India, Hindustan—whatever you may call it. Freedom came to Assam, Bombay, Madras and Punjab, only when India became free, not to each one of them separately. Similarly, we can progress only when all of us march together. Otherwise we will fall together and be destroyed. We cannot progress separately. This has to be borne in mind.

Secondly, only those countries can progress in the modern world which can grasp science and the other modern technological advances made in the world. We cannot progress by copying others. We will have to do original research and progress. The science of medicine or engineering that is learnt in schools, colleges and universities from textbooks, etc., is not enough. You may learn the fundamentals but that does not contribute to the country's progress. We must reach a stage where there are great scientists, engineers and doctors in India who can contribute to the world's scientific knowledge. We need people of high quality because whether in a democratic country or a socialist set-up, it is the people of quality who contribute to the nation's progress. Mere numbers or crowds do not make a country great. If we think that India is very strong because these forty crores of people here, we will be deceiving ourselves. A country becomes powerful when its people are of a high quality, not by mere numbers. Democracy cannot function with a crowd of idiots. A country can go only so far as its intellectuals, philosophers, scientists and others take it. There are a number of people of high quality in India too. But today's world is dependent on science. People are planning to reach the Moon and the stars.

You can imagine how the world has changed. Where are we? We are still busy thinking about castes and kitchen rituals and all kinds of taboos. We waste all our energy in such futile thinking and bondages, without realising that the world is shrinking. People are looking beyond this planet of ours, towards the Moon and other planets. In a world such as this, if some young men pass a resolution in some debating society, it does not serve the country in any way. We can become strong only by training ourselves for the big tasks before us, and open new avenues of progress. We have got the opportunity to do so after a long time.

Our armed forces are very good. The officers, as well as the men, are excellent. I accept all that. But they need modern weapons, aeroplanes and equipment. We need scientists and engineers to produce all these things. Everyone

cannot do it. It is only people, highly trained and skilled in technology and science, who can contribute to the country's progress. Giving speeches cannot take anyone very far. We had to search for good engineers from all over the country to build the bridge on the Brahmaputra. Otherwise we would have had to bring them in from Germany, the United States, Japan and the Soviet Union, because we want results. We do not want merely to provide employment to people. The fact that we have excellent engineers today in India is a sign of strength. So, we did not have to invite any engineers from outside to construct the bridge. All kinds of things are happening in the country. River valley projects have come up in Bhakra-Nangal, Damodar valley and other places in the North, as well as the South. When we needed good people, and could not find them in India, we had no hesitation in inviting them from the Soviet Union or the United States.

The work of digging oil wells is going on in Assam as well as in Gujarat. This is something new for us, though oil was found in Digboi a long time ago. But it was some foreign company which was doing it and it did not train many Indians in all this time. So, it became a big problem for us to start digging oil wells. Oil is extremely important in today's world. Therefore, we faced once again the question, whether to invite tenders from foreign companies and to share the profits. We have done this in some cases. But it is necessary to learn the techniques ourselves, if we are to reap the full benefits. Therefore, we decided to train our own people. We called in some experts from the Soviet Union, United States, France and other countries to train them. We did not allow the foreign companies to take over the task but to train our own people. If we had hesitated to do this, we could not have achieved our goal. You must understand one thing clearly and, that is in the big tasks that we are taking up, the question is not whom we should employ, whether they should be from the Punjab, Assam, Bombay or somewhere. The jobs will go to those who are qualified, from wherever they may come, in India and if they are not available here in large numbers, from abroad too. Only then can we progress. Every state has the right to progress. But we need quick results and trained personnel. You cannot isolate Assam or any other province from India for there will be no help for the state there. Suppose you isolate yourselves from India, what will you do with the oil or other natural resources that you have? You will be unable to tap them and will be forced to let foreign companies come in, as it happened earlier. You may get a little profit out of that, and possibly some petty employment opportunities. But the real profit would go to someone else. Everyone must realise this. India has plenty of natural resources like iron ore, coal, now oil and other minerals. We do not have money, I agree, but when it is necessary, that can somehow be managed. The most important thing is to produce trained and

skilled human beings. That does not mean going to colleges and universities and getting some degrees. A B.A. degree may be a good thing but it is necessary to learn much more than that. There is no value left in a mere degree. I often find that less educated people are more skilled and capable, than a degree-holder, because the latter give up all attempts at learning after getting a degree. So, we need to produce people of high quality in the country, able and trained, and not merely people who can pass examinations.

Take the case of oil, for instance. We started drilling wells a couple of years ago. We had no trained people available. So we selected some young men working in the Geological Survey and other science graduates, first class degree-holders, etc. We interviewed them and selected the best. After that we gave them training for two years. We opened special schools to teach this science and taught them to do practical work in the field. The instructors were Russians, Romanians and Germans. Anyhow, within two or three years, they have become well trained and are able to do their work. Now, the need to get people from outside is gradually—becoming less, because our young men are becoming well-trained and capable of handling these tasks. So this has to be done in every field.

Take science. We have opened huge national science laboratories. Recently, an English scientist, who was visiting India, went to Bombay and visited the atomic energy plant there at Trombay.⁹⁹ A number of foreigners, American, English, Russians, French, etc., go to visit it, because it has become famous in other countries. We cannot compete with the United States or the Soviet Union. But in its own way, the standard of work being done there is pretty high. The British scientist who came expressed great amazement at the quality of work being done there, particularly because nearly everyone who is working there is so young. They are doing excellent works and most of them are below thirty. In other countries, generally, this work is being done by older men.

So, as you can see there is a strange upheaval in the country, with huge steel plants and so on coming up everywhere, and more important that people are getting trained in two ways. One is, as I said, in specialised tasks like engineering and science, etc. On the other hand, education is spreading, particularly primary education. It is very important that everyone in the country should get primary education, because then it becomes easier to select the people who should get higher education. Today there are thousands of boys and girls in villages who get no opportunities at all. If they did, many of them

99. See fn 91 in this section.

might become great scientists or something else. There should be equality of opportunity in the country.

I am aware that our primary and secondary education is of very poor standard. The poor teachers are very badly paid and there is no equipment available in the schools. We must try to improve the standard of education in schools and colleges also. But the rapidity with which education is spreading in India is a pretty revolutionary thing and is transforming the face of the country. We want that within the next five to six years, there may be no child in India between the ages of six to eleven who does not go to school. Now eleven years is too young. But at the moment we can only do what our strength permits. This itself is a very big task and involves building thousands of schools. We will gradually keep on increasing the age limit.

Anyhow, we are laying the foundations of primary education all over the country. I do not want that everyone should go to universities. The standard of universities in India has fallen pretty low and their former excellence is missing. No one individual is to blame. There are several factors behind it. The teachers are not good. I feel that only those who have, by and large, done extremely well in schools, must be taken into the universities. Only then will they really benefit from higher education. That does not mean that those who are not selected for higher education should sit at home. They must continue their education in other training institutions, polytechnics, etc., because after all, everybody does not have the aptitude for the same kind of education. Those who do not go in for engineering can become something else.

Well, this is about education which is very essential and the most revolutionary thing in the world. Now even our girls are going to schools and colleges. Last year, I calculated that 20,000 girls had got B.A. degrees in India, which may not be a very large number compared to our population. But the fact that so many girls have got degrees is a revolutionary thing for India. It will revolutionise the home. I am always in favour of educating girls and women because only then can the country really progress. Anyhow, I want you to remember that education is not merely the means of acquiring a degree but lays the foundation of the country's growth. The demand for employment, etc., is a superficial thing. If a few people get jobs, it may be of temporary benefit but does not contribute to the country's progress in any way. The most urgent problem is that the country should advance so fast that the employment opportunities should exceed the number of people in the country.

Just now you find that there is tremendous unemployment. But a qualified engineer, male or female, is snapped up immediately. This is the way things are happening in the country. We need engineers, big and small, mechanics, technicians, etc., because India is changing very fast. She changed very little

during the British rule and was far removed from the new world of science and technology and industrialisation. We were backward, and yet the country produced great men. However, a few individuals cannot transform the country. Now we are trying to bring about changes from the bottom rung, by education and by industrialising the country, in order to increase the wealth of the country. The Planning Commission and other organisations have been set up, with this end in view. Now if we keep moving on an even keel, which we will, then believe me, there will be no dearth of employment in India. But it is necessary to keep moving. If we give jobs to people merely to provide employment, our real work will suffer.

As you know, when we became free and Pakistan came into being, as a result of Partition, millions of refugees poured in from East Bengal and Pakistan and it was our duty to give them refuge and look after them. In the beginning, with a view to giving them employment, a number of them were absorbed in offices. They were certainly good people. But we made a mistake in taking them on without giving sufficient thought to whether they were suitable for that job or not; and moreover, we took in far more than was necessary. The result was that they did not last long in their jobs and the work suffered. So, it created a new problem. Therefore, mere employment oriented tasks cannot take the country very far. If less people were to be reunited in factories and offices, the quality of the work will improve. Each individual, whether he is at the top, a minister or a worker, should be able to give his best to the job for he serves the country better, instead of someone who takes a few days to do a simple task and becomes a burden to the country. The man who does the work of one hour in half contributes to the country's progress. The farmer who produces one and a half maunds instead of one serves his land and country better. As I was saying, even on land, the problem is that there is too much pressure on it. Each acre of land is being cultivated by twice or three times the number of people necessary to do so. Instead of increasing production in any way, they become a burden on the land.

Do you know the root cause of India's poverty? More than a 150 or 200 years ago, when the British came to India, they gradually put a stop to many of our small village industries, etc., to meet the demands of the Industrial Revolution, which was taking place in England then. The result was that those who used to earn a living by other means became dependent on land. So, the pressure on land continued to increase because other avenues of employment closed down. Now, to eradicate that poverty, we will have to reverse the trend by putting up industries, big, medium and small, village industries, etc., to lure people away from land, to lessen the pressure on it. This is the fundamental thing. I am putting all these things before you because India is on the threshold of major

changes. The time has now come to take a leap forward, which cannot be done if we try to behave like a second rate nation and produce second rate people from universities, whether you take the whole country or one of the provinces, there can be progress only when we produce intelligent, skilled and trained human beings of a high quality. There is no other alternative. Employment will gradually increase. But that is not important.

In Assam too, partly due to our efforts and partly in spite of them, new doors are opening. Oil has been discovered here. A couple of years ago, the people of Assam had launched an agitation for a refinery. I have no objection to that. But I did not like the thinking behind it. How can a country progress, if you do not grasp the root of the problem? Do you think Assam will begin to shine because some factories are put up in Gauhati or Assam? I have no objection to your having a refinery here. But the important thing is to grasp the fundamentals of a country's progress, if you want to go ahead fast. Otherwise you will fritter away all your energy in agitations and other petty things.

Anyhow, oil has been discovered here, and hopefully there will be more. I am not referring only to Digboi. Oil is even more valuable than gold in today's world. Whatever benefits you may get out of a refinery in Assam, the real benefit that you should reap is in the form of innumerable industries as the off shoot. The thousands of people who come out of universities should be able to run them and use their training in the best possible way.

If you travel in India today, you will find that the states. I shall not name them where the people do not look to the government for jobs, but work hard is progressing very fast. In one state, I have calculated that in the last one year, fifty thousand small industries have been started with almost no help from government. They work very hard and are going ahead rapidly because they can stand on their own feet. They have not aspired to white-collared jobs but work hard and each family is growing more prosperous by four of five members working.

There is a small town called Ghaziabad, near Delhi, which was a lonely neglected place. Now, in the last ten years, it has suddenly sprung to life and innumerable little industries have been started. People have woken up to a new life and learnt to adopt the new techniques which science and technology can offer. Government jobs are not bad, but the opportunities for doing things on one's own initiative are so unlimited that millions of people must avail of them, if the country is to progress.

Now the Government has to pave the way by making arrangements for the production of steel, coal, power, etc. These things cannot be done by private individuals. They can be undertaken only by the government. The setting up of heavy industries and the production of power and steel will lead to other

industries, small, medium and big, coming up. I do not say that there are no difficulties. It is an extremely difficult task to uplift an entire nation. But I am trying to show you what our attitude towards these things ought to be. It is not right to sit, waiting for government jobs to fall into your laps. The whole psychology in such thinking is wrong. It is better for an individual to go and dig a field or something. It will help him because he will learn something in the process.

Now, when you are reading in the University, you should try to take full advantage of it because this time will never come again. A man must of course continue to read and learn all his life, of course. Education does not stop in schools and colleges. It is merely the beginning. But when you are in schools and colleges, full attention should be paid to the task of preparing yourselves, physically and mentally to face the responsibilities that life may bring. I feel very sad to see people wasting this precious time of preparation because it will never come back again. If it is wasted, we will become a second rate nation. So, you must take full advantage of these years and if there is some spirit in you, the holidays should also be utilised to learn something practical. You should go to the farms or factory and try to get some practical training. In fact, the modern system of education demands that theoretical learning should be substantiated by practical experience. In the Soviet Union and the United States, etc., education is oriented towards this. People work in factories to put themselves through college. This may not be possible in India just now. But I am trying to show you what education in other countries is like.

There is great rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States because each is worried that the other will outstrip it. So, if one produces fifty, sixty thousand engineers every year, the other will try to produce more. They know that it is not mere numbers but the quality of education that counts. They also realise the importance of practical work in factories, laboratories or in the field in education. A student of agriculture has to spend half his time working in the fields, alongside the farmers because mere book-learning cannot teach everything. You must not think of a degree in agriculture as something which equips you to lecture to the farmer. He would probably know more than you in spite of your degree.

So, I want you to understand the upheaval that is taking place in India and to some extent in the world today. I am concerned with what is happening in India, in the villages and towns. There is a rapid change everywhere. I was telling you about education. I want that it should spread faster. But I think even now there are nearly four and a half crores boys and girls who go to schools and colleges today, leaving aside the very small children and the older ones. I think within the next five, six years, the number will go up to seven crores. It

is a pretty big figure, in a sense about one-fifth or one-sixth of the population.

All right, so we are progressing on all fronts, and people, instead of realising what is happening, get into a panic when there are difficulties or get cold feet and keep complaining. It is really strange that people who come from outside are full of praise for the rate at which we are progressing; while here at home people, at least some of them, keep moaning. This is, for one thing, a sign of weakness. Difficulties should not be hidden, and mistakes must be rectified. There is great unemployment in the country on the one hand. But thousands of new avenues of employment are opening up for the qualified, intelligent boys and girls. There is a dearth of qualified people in the country today, who can take on responsibilities. Isn't this strange? You must try to pay attention to these things.

Now, I would like to mention a few things. As I told you, I had been to the village of Sonapur, where the members of the panchayats from various villages had gathered together. The greater autonomy which is being given to the panchayats, is a revolutionary development and will lay the foundation of real panchayati raj instead of officials and bureaucrats running the whole show. After all, officials are selected from among the people and trained to serve. The days of officialdom are gone. As a matter of fact, the world of officers and the common man should not be divided. That is wrong. In fact, rights and responsibility should vest in the people. So we are giving greater autonomy to the panchayats; which is transforming the whole system. The panchayati raj is a new thing that is emerging. Some people are afraid that the panch may make mistakes. It is possible that they may make several mistakes. But it is a revolutionary development in the country by which we are trying to uplift the people from below. You will find that as these things take shape, immediately the face of the country will change. After all, India is mainly an agricultural country. If the farmer changes, and gains confidence, learns to use new techniques, etc., the entire face of India will be transformed. We are giving not only greater autonomy but more financial powers and revenue to the panchayats, so that they do not have to go running to the government for money. They will be able to do what their villages need. They are even being given the power to raise money by levying taxes. All this will take time but once things start moving, they will keep going on their own momentum.

So, this is a very important and necessary step that has been taken. On the other hand, we are laying the foundations of basic industries by putting up steel plants, coal factories, machine-making industries, and drilling oil wells, etc. On yet another front, we are tackling the task of educating the people and training them. I am not talking at the moment of ordinary university education; that is separate. I am talking of specialised education and training in science

and technology in the scientific institutes and polytechnics, etc. We need trained personnel. If we put up industries and do not have the trained personnel to man them, what will be the use of those industries? You must also remember that industries can be put up in a few years, while to train people to run them takes ten to fifteen years. Therefore, we have to start thinking from now onwards, so that we have the men ready at the right time. It is for this that there is planning, the five year plans, etc., as otherwise, everything will come to a standstill. We have to do all these big tasks and they have to be done at a time when there are a thousand pressures from the world. The world progresses and advances with its own good and evil consequences. It is progressing in a mad fashion. I cannot say what will happen in the future, whether it will succeed in destroying itself. But if we do not progress in such a world, we will become backward and be crushed. Therefore, in such a situation, we have to pit all our strength into the task.

Now, a new chapter has begun in the history of this State. It is happening everywhere and I am not talking especially of the oil that has been found here. I am referring to the events that have occurred on our borders, which have changed the entire complexion of Assam, NEFA and Kashmir border. As I told you, I shall be meeting the Prime Minister of China in a few days. But whatever be the outcome, this border can no longer be a quiescent one. It has become a live border, and to some extent a dangerous one. This has an impact on the whole of India and it is our duty to defend our border. That involves thousands of things, like production of military equipment, setting up defence industries, air-planes. You cannot defend the border by passing resolutions. A heavy price will have to be paid for our freedom. There is nothing that can be got without paying a price. Now all this is about India. But they will have a special impact on Assam because this border is in Assam and NEFA. Roads will have to be constructed and people want a railway line to be constructed across the river and a road to the north bank and what not. Well, what am I to say? The fact of the matter is that new burdens have been cast upon us because of the border problems and we have to do things which we never dreamed of doing. The entire picture has changed. They have become essential for the defence of India and so they have to be done. What you have to do is to prepare yourselves to meet the challenge, instead of passing resolutions demanding that there should be progress and roads and railway lines be built and what not. If you are not prepared, you will find yourselves besieged by the enemy. We want people who are prepared and trained and equipped to do first rate work. There can be no slackness when it is a question of our national defence. It is a different thing that [...] anybody can come in. But if there is responsibility to be shouldered, we will have to bring in responsible people no matter where we have to search

for them. So, I want you to pay attention towards this and prepare yourselves, the young and the old so that you can take your rightful place in this changing Assam and India, instead of wasting your energies in futile exercises like petty agitations and riots, etc. There are big challenges before the nation and we need the cooperation of everyone in the country.

So, I have placed before you some of my thoughts so that you may think about them. I want everyone, men and women, to think about them. Gone are the days when women were backward. When it is a question of the country's defence and progress, when there is a revolution in the country, everyone must understand the role that they have to play, and to do it. Only then can the country grow. These things cannot be done by passing laws in Parliament or the Assam Assembly or by agitating in Shillong and Gauhati, when danger threatens or big tasks confront the people, they should grow in mind and heart and body.

So, this is a great testing time for us, not only the present but the years to come. The eyes of the world are upon India, some with love, some with sympathy and others with hatred. There are all sorts. Some are jealous because the fact is that whether India succeeds and progresses or fails, it is bound to have a great impact on the whole world. People are worried and want to see how we fare. The world is keen to see how we implement the five year plans, not because it means setting up more industries but because it lays the foundations of future progress. People come from the United States, France, England, the Soviet Union and Japan and elsewhere, to see what is happening in India. Some are impressed; others criticise according to their attitude. But all of them are amazed that our own people are more bothered about criticising the Government and the Congress and are indulging in meaningless agitations which have no relevance to the modern world. This is not the time for such petty things. We have to do great things and this is a testing period for the entire nation.

We passed a big examination during the freedom struggle. It was a long drawn out struggle which lasted for forty, fifty years and we succeeded ultimately, after great difficulty. Our great leader Mahatma Gandhi taught us a great deal. Now, the questions that have arisen are much more complicated. Now, we have to battle not against an external enemy, at least I hope we do not have to, but against our weaknesses and disunity, caste system, etc., and work hard. There is no doubt about it that we will succeed if we work hard, and if we do not succeed our difficulties will keep on multiplying. I want you to think about these things and make this beautiful province a strong one, a kind of a protective shield for India. That will ensure your progress as well as protect you from external aggression. I have come here on this auspicious day when

you are celebrating a big festival.¹⁰⁰ You have my best wishes on this day.
Jai Hind!

71. A Naga State¹⁰¹

Observations of the Prime Minister on the Governor's Note dated 16th April 1960, on the proposals of the Third Naga People's Convention

Shortly after his arrival at Gauhati on Saturday, April 16th, 1960, the Prime Minister discussed with the Governor¹⁰² and the Chief Minister the Governor's Note¹⁰³ on the proposals of the Third Naga People's Convention.¹⁰⁴ Shri N.K. Rustomji, adviser to the Governor, and Dr. Verrier Elwin, Adviser for Tribal Affairs, were present throughout the conference, and the G.O.C., Assam, the acting Commissioner, Naga Hills Tuensang Area and the Deputy Commissioners of Kohima, Tuensang and Mokokchung were invited to be present during the concluding stages.

The Prime Minister was in general agreement with the approach indicated in the Governor's Note and made the following observations:-

1. The Nagas do not qualify for a separate State, as they have neither the necessary population nor the resources. Their population is of an average Tahsil in a District. Coorg, for instance, which is greatly advanced and has given India some of her finest soldiers, could not be given the status of a State as it was too small and did not have the necessary resources.

2. Association with the Assam State should continue in two matters—the Governor and the High Court. Although we should not constitute the Naga areas into a separate State like the other States, in practice it would function as an entity under the Governor in which the Nagas would manage their own affairs and where there would be no imposition or exploitation from outside. The Prime Minister was agreeable to the widest measure of autonomy being granted to the Nagas, subject to certain controls in respect of Law and Order and Finance.

100. See fn 92 in this section.

101. Undated and unsigned record of discussion of 16 April 1960. File No. 57/138/59-Poll (1), MHA.

102. S.M. Shrinagesh.

103. See Appendix 6 for Shrinagesh's note of 16 April

104. Held at Mokokchung from 22 to 26 October 1959; demanded a separate state.

The Ministry of Irrigation & Power have made various suggestions. Among these is the purchase of two fairly large Cutter Suction Hydraulic Dredgers which will help in the expeditious execution of this project. These dredgers can later be used for the Ganga Barrage Project.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(c) Goa and Pondicherry

75. To N.R. Pillai and M.J. Desai: World Court on Goa¹¹³

I have your two notes about Goa and the World Court Judgment on Nagar Haveli.¹¹⁴ You suggest that a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee should be held to consider these matters. I agree with you. But it is extraordinarily difficult for me to find any time during the next three or four days. There are meetings of the Cabinet and the Defence Committee of the Cabinet, Party meetings, Investitures and dinner parties. The only time I can suggest (and this will mean my cancelling some engagements) is 3 o'clock on the 28th April in Parliament House. You might ask the Home Minister and others if it suits them, and inform me.

2. There is no immediate hurry for us to come to any decision. But it would be desirable to make a statement in Parliament, if that is possible.

76. To S. Dutt: Delegation to France¹¹⁵

I am inclined to think that this is not a suitable time for a Parliamentary Delegation to go to France from India.¹¹⁶ I need not go into the reasons for this. Anyhow, this will have no effect at all on the question of Pondicherry. I suggest that the invitation might be accepted in principle, but the date might be left open. The delegation going to France would have to be very carefully chosen and should include as far as possible, at least some people knowing French.

113. Note to SG and CS, 25 April 1960.

114. See also SWJN/SS/59/item 70.

115. Note to FS, 31 May 1960. File No. 6(20)-Eur(W)/60, MEA.

116. See Appendix 19 for S.K. Banerji's note of 13 May to S. Dutt.

(d) CAG's Constitutional Role**77. To N.G. Goray¹¹⁷**

Gauhati,
April 16, 1960

My dear Goray,

Your letter of April 14th has reached me here in Gauhati today. This letter relates to the Auditor General's¹¹⁸ report on Defence.

It is certainly unfortunate that there should be controversy in such matters. Some days ago about twenty Members of Parliament came to see me about this matter.¹¹⁹ I told them that I could not enter into this controversy and advised them to consult the Speaker. I do not know if they have done so. I suggest that you and your co-signatories of the letter might also consult the Speaker.

I would, of course, gladly meet you and others. But it will be difficult for me to fix any engagements during the period when the Prime Minister of China is here for discussions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

78. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹²⁰

As suggested by you, the meeting of the DCC to be held tomorrow has been postponed and the agenda will be included in the meeting of the 26th April.

2. The Secretary of the Lok Sabha¹²¹ came to see me a little while ago about the Defence Ministry's explanations of the comments and charges made by the Auditor General. Evidently the Speaker is thinking about this matter as to what to do about it. I told him that there is no question of a point of order in this as suggested by some MPs. As an Audit Report has been placed containing some charges which had not been considered by the Public Accounts Committee, the Defence Ministry naturally wanted their explanations of these charges to be placed before the House. That is to say they will send their reply

117. Letter to Goray, PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Poona. Letter copied to Satya Narayan Sinha.

118. A.K. Chanda.

119. See SWJN/SS/59/items 71-72 and Appendix 30.

120. Note to the Defence Minister, 21 April 1960.

121. M.N. Kaul.

3. The Prime Minister was not so much concerned about the name to be given to this unit. His greater concern was that the traditional machinery of tribal self-government—the village, range and tribal councils—should be strengthened instead of introducing the elaborate paraphernalia of Governor and Ministers.

4. The Prime Minister said that he would be prepared to meet the Naga delegation in Delhi, but it could not be before two or three months, as he was otherwise fully preoccupied. He also stated that the Governor need not himself make any further approach to the Nagas (though he would naturally see those who desired to see him). We should, in the meantime, continue to act firmly while dealing with the hostiles.

(viii) Punjab

72. To R.M. Hajarnavis: Rarewala¹⁰⁵

April 19, 1960

My dear Hajarnavis,

I enclose a copy of a letter¹⁰⁶ I have received from Shri Gian Singh Rarewala.¹⁰⁷ I do not quite understand this hedging over this question of examining witnesses.¹⁰⁸ He suggests that the six persons might be called to Delhi and the evidence taken by you. I have no objection to this. It will probably mean a little more expenditure. I suppose we should not grudge that.

Can you spare the time? I suppose all the six could be dealt with in the course of an afternoon. It would be better to deal with them the same day rather than to send for them on different days.

If you will let me know how you feel about this matter, I shall send a reply to Shri Gian Singh Rarewala and also write to Sardar Partap Singh Kairon.¹⁰⁹

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

105. Letter to the Deputy Minister of Law.

106. See Appendix 5.

107. Minister of Agriculture and Forests, Punjab.

108. In the tubewell case involving Gian Singh Rarewala.

109. Chief Minister of Punjab.

73. To R.M. Hajarnavis: Rarewala¹¹⁰

April 20, 1960

My dear Hajarnavis,

Your letter of April 20 about examining the witnesses in the tubewell case of Gian Singh Rarewala.

I think it is best that you send for them here. You can send for them on any convenient date. Presumably Saturday or Sunday will be better dates than any other from every point of view.

You might yourself write to Sardar Partap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister, and tell him that you would like to examine these witnesses here. You might add that you have consulted me about it. After that, a suitable date can be fixed.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(ix) West Bengal

74. To B.C. Roy: Bhagirathi¹¹¹

May 31, 1960

My dear Bidhan,

Please refer to a letter you wrote to me on the 26th March 1960. This was about the removal of certain "humps" in the Bhagirathi. I referred this matter to our Ministry of Irrigation and Power.¹¹² I understand that that Ministry or the Minister himself will be writing to you about the technical aspects of this work. This particular work would, of course, lead up to the Ganga Barrage Project. For the present, it may be treated as flood control work and later it will be shown against the Ganga Barrage Project when the estimate for that Project is revised.

The Planning Commission have, I am told, advised the West Bengal Government that they might accept this work under the State's Annual Plans by way of internal adjustment for the present.

110. Letter.

111. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal.

112. See also SWJN/SS/58/item 35.

to the Public Accounts Committee and send a copy to the Speaker to be placed before the House. It is for the Speaker to decide what to do with them. It is only fair that since the Audit Report has been placed, the explanations should also be placed.

79. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹²²

22nd April, 1960

My dear Krishna,

Your letter of April 22nd and your note about the Audit Report. I have read it. I think that this question should be considered by the Cabinet in its broad aspects and not as particularly related to this special controversy. It would be desirable to have a bill in Parliament precisely defining the functions of the Audit and the manner it should be done. This was mentioned to me previously and I agreed. Of course the bill will have to be very carefully considered by the Cabinet.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

80. To Morarji Desai¹²³

22nd April, 1960

My dear Morarji,

Owing to Chou En-lai's visit here and other matters, I have not been able to follow the argument in Parliament about the Audit Report on Defence. Some bits of it have come to me from the press and otherwise.

I am unhappy about all this. I am anxious to preserve the independence of the Auditor-General. But even the Auditor-General cannot be a law unto himself and he is bound by the principles of the Constitution. Further, there was the Speaker's ruling referred to which apparently has not been followed by the Auditor-General. I have a feeling that there is a tendency to approach these matters with a certain bias. Any such feeling, even if it is unjustified, is not desirable.

The Government also have a certain function to perform if any such argument arises which affects them or any of their members.

122. Letter to the Union Minister of Defence.

123. Letter to the Union Minister of Finance.

You pointed out to me the other day that the Audit Code was drawn up entirely by the Auditor-General. He is the sole authority for it and that, therefore, that is binding on nobody except his own officers. Is this a correct interpretation? Any such code, even though it might be framed by the Auditor-General, must necessarily be binding, so long as it exists, on everybody including the Auditor-General. A code is a public document. It would be odd if the framer of the code himself did not follow it.

I do not know how the Speaker proposes to deal with this matter in view of his previous ruling. I am wondering if it is not desirable for us to discuss this broad position in Cabinet one day. It is important for the future and quite apart from the present controversy. Unless this is cleared up, future controversies will arise.

You mentioned to me that you propose to introduce a bill in Parliament relating to Audit. I think that it would be desirable to make precise rules on this subject and we should consider them with great care in the Cabinet and in Parliament.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Biting Dogs Do Not Bark



From right: Nehru, Morarji Desai, G.B. Pant, Congress leaders
(From *Shankar's Weekly*, 24 April 1960, p.11)

(e) Administration

(i) General

81. To K.C. Reddy: House Rent for the Congress President¹²⁴

Gauhati,

April 16, 1960

My dear Reddy,

Your letter of 15th April about rent of the house allotted to the Congress President.¹²⁵ I agree with you that this matter might be mentioned in Cabinet.¹²⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

82. To G.B. Pant: Bhopal Succession¹²⁷

April 18, 1960

My dear Pantji,

The senior Begum of Bhopal¹²⁸ has sent me a copy of a letter she has addressed to you.

This morning Begum Pataudi¹²⁹ came to see me and also complained about the delay in our decision.¹³⁰

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

124. Letter to the Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply. File No. 45(8)/57-65-PMS.

125. See Appendix 4.

126. The Cabinet considered "Allotment of Houses to Leaders of Political Parties in Parliament" on 18 April 1960.

127. Letter.

128. Begum Abida Sultana, eldest daughter of the Nawab of Bhopal.

129. Begum Sajeda Sultana of Pataudi, second daughter of the Nawab of Bhopal.

130. Nehru received a letter from Abida Sultana on 25 April 1960 which he forwarded to G.B. Pant. See also SWJN/SS/58/item 67 and Appendix 12 and SWJN/SS/59/item 76.

83. To S.N. Sinha: MPs Sub-letting Houses¹³¹

April 25, 1960

My dear Satya Narayan,

I enclose an anonymous letter that I have received and which apparently has been sent to the Speaker also. Although the letter is anonymous full particulars are given in it about the sub-letting of MPs' houses. I think you should enquire into this matter fully and taken action.¹³²

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

84. To Sham Nath: International Conferences a Waste¹³³

April 25, 1960

My dear Sham Nathji,

Your letter of the 23rd April about the Mayors' Conference in Chicago.¹³⁴

My own inclination is to advise you not to go to this conference. These conferences are meant for show only and waste a lot of time. I do not even know how it has come to be called an international conference. You have recently become Mayor here and it does not seem to me appropriate for you to go away for a month or more soon after your assuming charge.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

131. Letter to the Union Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs.

132. See Appendix 27 for Sinha's reply of 4 August.

133. Letter to the Mayor of Delhi. File No. 7(152)/58-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

134. See Appendix 11.

85. To R.M. Hajarnavis: The Nanavati Case¹³⁵

April 26, 1960

My dear Hajarnavis,

Your letter of today's date about the Nanavati's case,¹³⁶ We have already discussed this matter in the Cabinet. In view of what the Attorney-General¹³⁷ said to Lokur,¹³⁸ I think it would be desirable to ask our Solicitor-General to deal with this case before the Supreme Court.

Your sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

86. To Shiv Charan Gupta: International Conferences a Waste¹³⁹

April 28, 1960

Dear Shiv Charan,

Your letter of 28th April. As I wrote to Sham Nathji,¹⁴⁰ I do not like these conferences and our people going to them. They do no real work and, in the nature of things, conditions are different in India from the United States.

That is my view. But if Sham Nathji and the Corporation are anxious that the invitation should be accepted, it is for them to decide.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

135. Letter to the Deputy Minister of Law.

136. See SWJN/SS/58/items 120-126 and SWJN/SS/59/items 95-97.

137. M.C. Setalvad.

138. B.N. Lokur, Secretary, Law Ministry.

139. Letter to President, Delhi PCC. File No. 7(152)/58-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

140. See item 84.

87. To D.P. Karmarkar: P. V. Benjamin's WHO Conference¹⁴¹

April 29, 1960

My dear Karmarkar,

Your letter of the 29th April 1960, about Dr. P.V. Benjamin.¹⁴² Dr. Benjamin's deputation, as you remind me, has already been sanctioned by the Cabinet for a visit to the Tuberculosis Seminar to be held in Sydney.

I think the further request from W.H.O. that Dr. Benjamin should be allowed to proceed to Australia on the 7th of May instead of the 12th and further that he be allowed to visit Japan for five days and the Philippines for three days should be accepted and approved. In any event, the request from the W.H.O. should be accepted by us as it would not be right at all to reject it. Apart from this, I think that Dr. Benjamin should go to these various places.

I suggest, therefore, that you tell him to go. This is merely an extension of a deputation already agreed to, and I do not think formal permission of the Cabinet is necessary for this. Cabinet should, however, be informed.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(ii) Corruption

88. To K.N. Katju: Corruption in Chhindwara¹⁴³

April 19, 1960

My dear Kailas Nath,

Shri C. Rajagopalachari¹⁴⁴ has sent me a complaint he has received. I enclose a copy of this complaint.¹⁴⁵ The matter referred to in it dates back to August 1958. Nevertheless, I suppose it can be enquired into. You can find out from the Deputy Minister concerned as well as the Collector.

141. Letter to the Union Minister of State for Health.

142. Tuberculosis Advisor, Director General of Health Services, New Delhi.

143. Letter to the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

144. C. Rajagopalachari, Congress Chief Minister of Madras State, 1952-54; founded Swatantra Party in 1959.

145. See Appendix 29 for C.P. Banaul's undated letter from Chhindwara.

I think that as Rajaji has forwarded this to me, we should make a full enquiry. If necessary, we can enquire from the other places mentioned also.¹⁴⁶

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

89. In the Lok Sabha: Jeeps Case¹⁴⁷

Motions for Adjournment Jeeps Case

Mr Speaker: I have received notice of four adjournment motions. The subject of all the four motions is the same. One of them reads:

"The reported decision of the Indian Government waiving the claim for damages amounting to £250,000 in the 'Jeeps Case' and settling the same out of court, resulting in a loss to the Indian Exchequer, the case being due for hearing on the 2nd May, 1960, in the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of London".¹⁴⁸

They have supported this by a newspaper cutting from the *Times of India* dated 21 April 1960.

Shri Goray: This case regarding the jeeps has been popping up many times during the last ten years, and the Public Accounts Committee and the Auditor-General have also made their comments. I do not want to refer to those comments, but we were told that the Government themselves had gone to the court, and the case fixed up for hearing on 2nd May. Then we were told that because the Defence Minister was cited as a witness, the Law Minister, who is now in England, is trying to settle it out of court. Today we are told that it is being settled out of court, and that the Government are waiving their claim, which is of the order of £250,000. I would like the Prime Minister to tell us why it is that after having gone to the Court themselves, they are trying to settle it out of court, and why it is they are waiving such a big claim.

146. Nehru wrote to C. Rajagopalachari and G.B. Pant about it on the same day.

147. Speech, 21 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLIII, cols 12978-12993.

148. This refers to the supply of reconditioned jeeps from a British firm in 1948. See also SWJN/SS/16 Pt. I, pp. 263-265; SWJN/SS/17/ pp. 498-499; SWJN/SS/42/p. 314 and SWJN/SS/58/item 74.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: May I just...

Mr Speaker: Order, order. Hereafter, the practice will be, as in the case of Calling Attention notices, that only one Member will be called, and if it is disposed of, all the others will be barred. There is no meaning in allowing every hon. Member to speak on this. At this stage, I am concerned only with the admissibility.

Some Hon. Members rose—

Shri Vajpayee: When separate notices of adjournment motions are given, I fail to understand how they can be considered as one motion.

Mr Speaker: The hon. Member asks how, if several adjournment motions are given, I can dispose of one, and say the others are barred. The hon. Member will refer to the rules. If a decision is given either by the House or by an order, I need not go on with it if 100 Members give the same motion. It is not that each has to be taken up. The adjournment motion of Shri Goray is No. 132, and is the first in point of time. The substance of the others is the same. Therefore, it is a regular practice, and is also covered by the rules and procedure of this House that if a matter is disposed of, the same matter cannot be raised, the other motions are barred. Therefore, I will not give an opportunity to all the other Members to go on.

Mr. Speaker: This is the right procedure that I am adopting.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I may submit that the question of an adjournment motion, especially at this stage, does not arise, but I can well understand the desire of the House to have the facts as we know them.

It is not particularly easy for me to state all the facts fully at this stage because it has not reached a final stage yet there, and it may not be perhaps quite correct, when certain steps have not been taken in the High Court, London, for me to say much about them, but I think I can give some information which may partly at least satisfy the desire for knowledge of hon. Members.

There was a claim by the Government of India in this suit for £254,498. There was a counter claim against the Government for £270,028. Apart from this, and rather separate from this, there were two arbitration proceedings in which the claim against the Government of India—this is about the supply of certain materials—was for £20,000. Although these arbitration proceedings

have not been finalised, in fact, in the course of those proceedings, on behalf of the Government of India, this claim was admitted to the extent of £14,000. We would normally have paid this, because we had admitted the claim of goods supplied, but we did not pay it because of those other claims and counter-claims, and we tied them up with it so that we may use this as a set-off if necessary. This has been going on for some time past.

Now, for the last eight months, or may be a year, we have been approached repeatedly on behalf of the defendants in the suit for an out-of-court settlement. They have made various proposals during this period which we have not accepted, and we decided to go on with it. We did not accept those proposals, although we were advised to accept them by our counsel and solicitors there. One of the main reasons for this advice was that in the event of our success in this claim, we would not be able to get anything out of the defendants; they were in such a position that we could not get anything out of them ...

An Hon. Member: That is the main thing.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: ... and that we would have to spend a very large sum of money, I do not quite know, possibly £50,000 to £60,000 in the costs of this case, without the possibility of recovery of anything from that side.

Shri P.R. Patel:¹⁴⁹ What has been spent up till now?

Shri Yadav Narain Jadhav: At least these facts should have been taken into consideration in the beginning.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Nevertheless we thought—and I should be quite frank with this House—we should pursue it. On the pure merits of the case it was quite obvious that in view of the facts which I have mentioned, we should compromise and not spend much more money which we cannot recover from the parties concerned, there is no chance of recovery. But because this was a very old standing case in which this House and the country had taken considerable interest, we rejected any idea of compromise, lest it be thought that there was an attempt to avoid facing the Court on this issue. We made every arrangement, and in fact, when the case was booked for 2nd May, we booked the passages of our witnesses for it—I think about a dozen, ten or twelve—and the Defence Minister was to have gone there also to give evidence.

149. MJP, Lok Sabha MP from Mehsana, Bombay State.

The Defence Minister might have gone a little later, but the other witnesses were booked to go the day before, on the 19th April. Everything was fixed, and there was no question of the Law Minister going to London to do anything.

When these talks about an out-of-court settlement, these proposals, were put forward repeatedly, we had indicated at an early stage that we were not interested in any settlement, but that we might consider it on the basis of no payment on either side, of the money which we had to pay on the arbitration matter which was admitted by us being treated by us as partial damages on the part of the defendants, i.e., £14,000. They had not accepted it when we had suggested that we might consider it.

So, it went on till about five days ago. About five days ago we were informed that the defendants' solicitors had advised their clients to accept what we had said earlier—I forget, may be a year or eight months ago—that it was the least that we might consider, that is to say, that we should not pay £14,000 which was the claim admitted by us which we had to pay to the other party; we should utilise it as part payment for the damages due to us, and the claim and the counterclaim should be withdrawn. Broadly, this is the position.

When this came to us, we considered this matter. We have been considering it carefully, and more especially because of the fact that we are not likely to realise anything more from the party in view of the conditions there. So, we have decided to advise our representatives there to proceed with talks about this out-of-court settlement broadly on that basis. Three days ago, i.e., on the 13th April I think, some such settlement was initialed. It has not been finalised yet, we have not got the final copy even, but I have said what the facts are.

Thereafter, when we knew this, we had to stop almost suddenly at two days' notice all the witnesses who had booked their passages to go from here to London by air, about ten or twelve of them. And that is how the matter stands.

As soon as we get all the other papers, I shall gladly place them before the House.

Shri Hem Barua: May I seek a clarification?

Shri Braj Raj Singh: Was it not known to the Government at the time of the institution of the suit that the party against whom we were going to file a claim had broken, and the money would not be recovered from that party? Has that knowledge dawned upon the Government only now, that they shall not be able to recover anything from them?

Some Hon. Members rose —

Mr. Speaker: I shall allow one hon. Member who is a party to this adjournment motion to ask one question for elucidation.

Shri Tyagi:¹⁵⁰ On a point of order. My point of order is whether this stage is for putting questions or only to obtain a ruling from you as to whether the adjournment motion is in order or not.

Mr Speaker: The hon. Member is putting me in a very delicate situation.

If there is no purpose served in having an adjournment motion or a discussion on this matter, and if the matter can be settled by merely clarifying whatever doubts hon. Members have, and if I give an opportunity to each hon. Member to put his question and thereby the doubt is cleared, we need not unnecessarily take the time of the House either in this adjournment motion or in the discussion, and we may close it, for, the purpose will then be served. Therefore, there is no harm in allowing hon. Members to put questions to elucidate one or two points. The news has appeared in the press. This matter has been pending for a long time. About Rs 30 lakhs, if it true, are involved in this matter. Of course, it is coming up in appeal on the 2nd of May, and, therefore, if the House has to express its opinion, it has to express it before that.

These are all points which certainly I am bound to take notice of, and I would like, as far as possible, to see that the House is satisfied, if it could be satisfied, by allowing one or two questions to be put and then getting some elucidation.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether it is a fact that Mr. Soskice,¹⁵¹ whose Legal Advice was obtained by our Defence Minister Shri Krishna Menon in London, advised just a year back that the Indian claim did not have any leg to stand upon, and it comes ...

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Who advised?

Shri Hem Barua: Mr. Soskice.

Mr. Speaker: The Solicitor.

150. Mahavir Tyagi.

151. Frank Soskice, British lawyer and Labour politician.

Shri Hem Barua: He was the Legal Adviser whose advice was obtained by our Defence Minister on his way back from UNO, in London. That gentleman advised our Government, and he was of the opinion that the Indian claim — these are his words — does not have any leg to stand upon, and that much dirty linen would be washed in public, if the case comes up before the Queen's Bench, and, therefore, that case should be withdrawn. I just want to know whether this advice was given or not.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Hon. Members will kindly bear this in mind. Assuming we have a discussion, what will be the scope of the discussion? At this stage, we are not going into the question as to how this money was advanced, and how this money has become recoverable. It is not denied that so far as we are concerned, the claim is a just claim. The hon. Prime Minister says: Is it worth pursuing this matter in view of the fact that there is no chance of its recovery being possible? Also, there is a counter-claim which we have ourselves admitted. These are all the simple points. Assuming that there is a discussion, nothing more than that can be raised. We cannot go into the original case, the history of the jeeps and so on. That is absolutely irrelevant at this stage. The only point at this stage is whether it is necessary to compromise the case in view of the circumstances that have been mentioned. If hon. Members make any suggestions, we may continue or not continue. That is all the point. It is no good saying that so much of dirty linen would be washed in public and so on. That is out of place here.

Shri Goray: The point here is only this.

Mr. Speaker: The point is whether it should be settled out of court or not.

Shri Goray: The Prime Minister has just now said that there was no sense in pursuing the matter, because the party against whom we were trying to proceed was a broken party. But what I would like to point out is this. From the very beginning when the contract was entered into, it was known that this party had no more capital than £100. So, this is not a new thing that we have discovered. Knowing all this, when we proceed to a court of law, why is it that we compromise outside the court? Is it because a particular person is involved, or is it because we find now that the party is now proceeding against us?

Shri Hem Barua: On a personal explanation. Government have now decided to withdraw the case. This advice was tendered to Government by our

solicitor earlier. Therefore, I wanted to ask that question.

Shri Naushir Bharucha: As a result of this transaction, Rs. 30 lakhs have been lost.

Shri Sugandhi:¹⁵² Rs. 30 lakhs or £30 lakhs?

Shri Naushir Bharucha: Rs. 30 lakhs. I want to know whether Government intend, after the case is settled and finally finished, to hold any judicial investigation to fix the responsibility on the party as a result of whose carelessness, the nation has lost Rs. 30 lakhs.

Shri Vajpayee: There are doubts in the public mind that the case is being settled out of court, only to save the Defence Minister from being placed in an embarrassing position. I would like the Prime Minister to dispel these doubts.

Shri Khushwaqt Rai: The whole question is this. What was the basis of the counter-claim made by the defendant for £2,70,000, and did that counter-claim implicate the Defence Minister in any way?

Shri P.R. Patel: May I know whether before the filing of the suit, legal opinion was taken, and if so, what was the legal opinion? May I also know what amount has been spent up till now in proceeding with the case?

Shri Yadav Narain Jadhav: May I know whether all the relevant papers.....

Mr. Speaker: I am not going to allow any more questions. I have heard sufficiently over this matter.

Shri Yadav Narain Jadhav: May I know whether all the relevant papers in this case will be laid on the Table of the House and moreover, may I also know whether some of the documents in this case are missing?

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Prime Minister.

Shri Yadav Narain Jadhav: I am one of the members who had tabled this motion.

152. Murigappa Siddappa Sugandhi, Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Bijapur North, Mysore.

Mr. Speaker: I have allowed a sufficient number of Members already.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I thought I had given enough information to the House. We cannot, as you were pleased to say, discuss this old case, this old contract, at this stage. Shri Goray casually asked: Why was the contract taken from a man who might become bankrupt or who might not be able to pay?

Shri Goray: Who was bankrupt already.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Not at all. (Interruptions)

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Let him go on.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: May I be allowed to continue? May I just mention in passing that these people had been, for years past, dealing with various contracts and supplies to the tune of millions and millions of pounds to the Government of India. It was not a novel thing, the dealing with them. And they dealt with it. The fact that they were agents, their capital was a small one and so on had no relevance to this; they were go-between getting things done by others. However, I am not going into the merits. I merely mentioned it.

There was an original jeep contract; for a variety of reason, that contract failed. That is to say, our army people, when they got a few of these jeeps, did not approve of them; they did not think them good enough.

Shri Hem Barua: They were useless.

An Hon. Member: Unserviceable.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member seems to know more than I do.

Shri Hem Barua: It is in the papers. They were useless.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I might tell him that they are still in use, after ten years, those very jeeps.

An Hon. Member: After repairs.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: After some slight repairs, no doubt.

Shri Hem Barua: This firm had supplied conditioned jeeps. But Sir James

stepped in when this firm came into liquidation, and then they supplied brand new Jeeps. (Interruptions)

An Hon. Member: It is in the report of the Public Accounts Committee.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I know, but sometimes, even the Public Accounts Committee's account may not be wholly correct—sometimes, not always...

Shri Jaipal Singh:¹⁵³ On a point of order. The Leader of the House has been pleased to say, unwisely, I think, that sometimes, the Public Accounts Committee's statements are incorrect. It is the responsibility of the Government to provide all the facts.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I wish the hon. Member had waited for me to complete my sentences—because, they are made on insufficient information which comes up later. They can add to them. Their saying was that there was this case, and certain jeeps were ordered—I forgot how many, but it was a large number. It was rather a critical moment in our history, when the Kashmir military...

Mr. Speaker: It was 1500.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am saying that the Kashmir operations had started then, and they came. When a few of them came, they were rejected by our Defence Forces as not being good enough. Because we had already paid for 75 or 80 per cent of them, an attempt was made thereafter to get some money back. Therefore, a contract was signed for new jeeps. The other ones were old jeeps. And the present case is about the second one. The question of price arose and that was settled.

The counter claim was in regard to spares. I am broadly hinting at that. The case of the counter claim was that certain spares etc. which ought to be put to them were not taken. However, this has nothing to do with that.

It is rather an unusual thing for a Minister of a Government to give evidence in a foreign court. It is not normally done. I do not say it is not done at all. In the local courts it is a different matter. But this is a foreign court. That is why about a year ago, when the matter rather casually came before us we were not wholly agreeable. We did not rule it out. But we were not wholly agreeable to the Minister giving evidence unless it was considered absolutely necessary. It

153. Jharkhand Party, Lok Sabha MP from Ranchi, Bihar .

was because the Minister's evidence would largely be about files and papers and all that which are in the files.

Later, our Solicitors and Counsel said that the Minister's evidence was very necessary in such a case because the other party was relying on oral evidence. The factual evidence had been taken; the paper evidence, the documentary evidence was very good entirely. But under English law oral evidence can be used. When the Counsel and the Solicitors said that it was necessary, immediately we decided. The Defence Minister was cited to give it. The moment they said that we informed them that the Minister would give his evidence, we were going along, completely ready as I said. We had booked the passage and everything till about four days ago. (Interruption)

They were to have gone the day before yesterday and the Defence Minister and others would, probably, have gone in 3 or 4 days' time, when this development took place. (Interruption) The Defence Minister is not directly involved in this at all.

Shri Assar:¹⁵⁴ He is one of the parties.

Shri Hem Barua: He is the main witness.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The Defence Minister's evidence is only about what the other parties say, the allegation that some kind of an oral assurance was given to them by the High Commissioner or the Deputy High Commissioner and one or two others. That was the only point. However, the position is this.

It is perfectly true as the hon. Member hinted that, probably, we realised it about a year ago. In fact, when we put in a case, we were rather doubtful if we can get any damages out of these people. But because there had been so much discussion and talk about it we thought we better put it in. And, this has been our attitude.

And, in between, for the last 7 or 8 months, we have said that we are not going to compromise this case except we did indicate on the basis which I have said. Now, when the defendants apparently realised that this is actually coming so on, at the last moment, it was almost, say, 5 days ago, they made that proposal which had been hinted at by us some time ago. When we had already expressed ourselves in favour of the proposal, now to get out of it is difficult having regard to the fact that the Counsel's opinion is strongly in favour of it.

154. P. R. Assar, Jan Sangh, Lok Sabha MP from Ratnagiri North, Bombay.

Shri Hem Barua said something. I do not know from where he got the Counsel's opinion, from what paper or orally or documentarily out of context. I do not think it is quite fair to use a confidential document. I do not think it correct if I may say so.

Shri Hem Barua: It was in a newspaper, Sir, and then there was a supplementary which I put in the House on that occasion.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: May be. But if the Counsel's opinion was in the newspapers it was very improper for the newspapers. The Counsel's opinion is private. I have seen most of these opinions. I have no recollection at all of any such phrase. We have been living with these papers for many years and repeatedly looking at these for something or other for foreign affairs and the Cabinet discussing all that.

Shri P.R. Patel: What about the legal opinion before filing the claim?

Shri Hem Barua: It was in the newspapers.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: But these are the two facts; there was no chance at all of our getting any damages or costs and our spending a very large sum of money, Counsel's fees, witnesses going from here and the whole thing taking quite a long time. And, when they accepted something which we had suggested 6 months ago, it was rather felt that we should accept it instead of casting a further burden on our Exchequer.

These are the broad facts. For the rest, as soon as I get more facts—as I said it is not absolutely finalised yet—I shall place them on the Table of the House.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: None of the questions had been replied. How much expenditure has been incurred so far and whether it was known to Government that the other party was a broken one? None of these have been replied.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know. I do not think the expenses will be heavy till the case is taken up. I do not think much expense has been incurred. I would say it would be little—fees on opinions etc.

Shri P.R. Patel: The Prime Minister said that the other party was relying upon some assurances given by the High Commissioner. I want to know

the allegation of the other party so far as these assurances are concerned.

Mr. Speaker: It is a simple matter. So far as the adjournment motion is concerned it is simple. We are not going into it. The adjournment motion arises out of things that appeared in a newspaper relating to the pending case. If anybody should compromise a pending case it is Government that has to do so. Should we go into the question as to whether it is right to compromise this case or not, whether the House should engage itself in a discussion and give advice to the Government that it ought not to compromise is a different thing. We are not going further into other matters. (Interruptions)

Order, order. So far as that is concerned, the hon. Prime Minister has said not once but twice that the present persons against whom the claim has been put in i.e. the defendants are not worth anything. That is, the amount would not be recovered from them, whatever may be the original position. We are not going into the original contract and other matters. If money is not going to be recovered, if it is not possible to recover money—whether originally or now—the only question is whether we must proceed and then get into a position of having to pay Rs.14,000 and face a counter claim. This is the position here. We are not going into the other one. I do not think it is right(Interruptions)

Shri Braj Raj Singh: They have taken a wrong step.

Shri Hem Barua: History may not repeat itself.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. In a democratic society, in a Parliament the Cabinet is the biggest or the most powerful committee of the House. It is always open to the House to censure that in an important matter. But the point for my consideration is whether this is a matter in which I should allow it. I have come to the conclusion that so far as this compromise is concerned, any Government which fills the seat has got a right to compromise. (Interruptions)

Order, order. I am concluding. I have heard sufficiently. The only point is whether having regard to the importance of the matter and the money involved in it, Parliament should give directions or have a discussion about this matter. Notwithstanding the fact that we have heard so much about it and so much of time has been spent over it, we have not heard a word that it is possible to recover this money. It would be only a question of throwing good money after bad. In any case, an adjournment motion is

[Jeep Scandal]



From left: Nehru, V.K. Krishna Menon
(From *The Times of India*, 24 April 1960, p.1)

not the proper course of settling this matter. (Interruptions)
I am not going to allow this.¹⁵⁵

(iii) Passport

90. In the Lok Sabha: Misuse of Diplomatic Passports¹⁵⁶

Diplomatic Passports

Shri Hem Barua: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that sons of a few high officials serving in Delhi are given Diplomatic passports to enable them to prosecute studies in foreign countries?

155. See Appendix 15 for the text of the agreement on the Jeep Case. This was tabled in the Rajya Sabha on 28 April 1960.

156. Written answers to questions, 16 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLII, col. 11998.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Diplomatic passports have not been issued to the children of any official to enable them to go abroad for higher studies. Diplomatic passports are issued to Foreign Service officers and other officers holding posts with diplomatic status in our missions abroad. When the families of these officers accompany them or join them later, diplomatic passports are also issued to them. This is in accordance with international usage and custom. It happens sometimes that when officers holding diplomatic passports are posted back to headquarters, they have to leave their children behind so as not to interrupt their studies. The children are then allowed to retain their diplomatic passports, but they do not enjoy any diplomatic or other special privilege. Our regulations about the grant of diplomatic passports are in fact stricter than those of most other countries.

(f) Social Groups
(i) General

91. To Bishop R.B. Manikam: No Communal Reservation¹⁵⁷

April 17, 1960

Dear Bishop Manikam,¹⁵⁸

Thank you for your letter of April 13th. We are always anxious to encourage representatives of minorities in India and we have appointed many of them to high posts. But appointments to such high posts can hardly be considered on communal grounds.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

157. Letter.

158. The Right Reverend R.B. Manikam, Bishop of Tranquebar, Tranquebar House, Tiruchirappalli.

92. To Sampurnanand: Sikhs in the Terai¹⁵⁹

April 24, 1960

My dear Sampurnanand,

I am writing to you about a matter which has rather troubled me for some time past. In fact I wanted to speak to you about it when you came here recently.

I do not know the facts, but a number of prominent Sikhs have spoken to me and I have also seen some references in the newspapers. The Chief Minister of the Punjab, Sardar Partap Singh Kairon, also spoke to me in some distress.

The matter is about Sikh farmers in the Terai being turned out rather unceremoniously. Not only were they turned out, but they were not even allowed to wait till harvest time. Even if they had to go, it was pointed out to me, this might have been done in a better, more courteous and less harmful way than was adopted.

This has resulted in quite deep feelings among a number of Sikhs I have come across.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(ii) Tibetan Refugees

93. At Misamari: To Tibetan Refugees¹⁶⁰

Tibetan Refugees in India
Arrangements to be Made for Education
Mr. Nehru's Response to Dalai Lama's Request

Missamari (Tezpur),
April 15.

Prime Minister Nehru said here today that Government would make arrangements for the education of children as well as grown up people among Tibetan refugees in India so that they might serve the community better.

Mr. Nehru, who was addressing about 2,500 Tibetans at Missamari camp, said, "A few days ago, I received a letter from His Holiness the Dalai Lama. In

159. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

160. Report of a speech, Missamari Tibetan Camp, 15 April 1960. *The Hindu*, 17 April 1960. Nehru had come from Tezpur and spent about two hours in the camp.

this letter he asked us to make arrangements for the education of young people who had come from Tibet because he was anxious that they should take advantage of their stay here and train themselves for various kinds of good work".¹⁶¹

Mr. Nehru added, "I entirely agree with Dalai Lama in this matter. We hope to be able to make arrangements for the education not only of small children but also of grown up people among you, more especially young people who want to learn more in higher stages of education."

Mr. Nehru, who flew in here from Tezpur, spent about two hours going round the Missamari camp for Tibetan refugees.

Mr. Nehru was told that there were at present 2,800 Tibetan refugees. Of these, 650 were women and about the same number were children. They were in the process of being dispersed to cooler places. The able-bodied ones among them would be given work.

Mr. Nehru saw Tibetan girls weaving on a handloom in a training camp. He went round the camp hospital, where sick and ailing Tibetan refugees, mostly old men, are undergoing treatment.

An address of welcome, presented to him by His Holiness Phala Phala in Tibetan, thanked Mr. Nehru for affording the refugees succour. Describing him as a "friend of the friendless", the address said, Mr. Nehru had given refuge to Tibetans, who were fleeing from the "depredations of a ruthless invader."

The address said: "We are most anxious to return to our land as early as possible if our leader, His Holiness the Dalai Lama is restored to his old position and power."

In his reply to the address of welcome, Mr. Nehru said: "Friends, I thank for your good wishes and the welcome which you have extended to me here. I have been wanting to come and see this camp and meet you for some time past, because I am interested in seeing how you are being treated here in this camp and what arrangements are being made for you here in India."

Mr. Nehru said, "You have passed through difficult experiences. Now that you are here, I should like you to take advantage of your stay here to train yourselves and learn something about the new world, so that whatever the future might be, you may be prepared for it. You have come from your country to India which, as you know, is the land where the great Buddha was born, and we greatly honour and respect the Buddha, who was one of our own countrymen and we do understand and follow his message. That message teaches us peace and brotherhood and that we should remain calm and composed, whatever

161. See SWJN/SS/59/item 165.

might happen. As you came here seeking refuge, we welcomed you, because it is our duty to give asylum and refuge to rehabilitate oneself."

Value of Proper Training

"I cannot say what the future will be, but you should think more of the present than of the future and take advantage of the present to train yourself so that you can help each other," the Prime Minister added.

Mr. Nehru said that at first when a large number of refugees came here from Tibet, the Government had to look after them, arrange for some temporary camps, feed them and all that. But now the time had come when the Government should think more of rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees and giving them opportunity for education in a new world. The camp at Missamari, which was temporary was being gradually disbanded and Tibetan refugees were being sent to other parts of India, which would suit them better.

"You will have a better climate there, a cooler climate and you can do your community work", he said. "Also, I am specially interested in the arrangements being made for education. That will help you greatly. First of all, if you live in India you must learn the language of India. Secondly, you must learn something about the modern world and many things that you can do in it. You can learn many crafts and many ways of making things, which will be very useful, wherever you may live", Mr. Nehru added.

Mr. Nehru said: "I have just referred to education and I mentioned first that you should learn the language of India, more especially Hindi. Your children are learning it. Really every person in India must learn the language of India, otherwise he will be unhappy. Learning Hindi is the first step to get you in touch with the people of this country. You should really learn many more things here and know to do many things, so that you can help yourself wherever you may stay and build up the community of people, who can live their own lives."

Opportunities for Development

Mr. Nehru added: "We do not want to interfere with your ways of living, but we do want to help you to learn as much as you can, so that you can serve, your community later. We should like some of your young men to have opportunities for developing into good engineers, doctors or whatever else they want to learn and are capable of learning. It is not merely learning language, but to do work properly, whether handicrafts or anything else."

Mr. Nehru said that there was nothing in the Tibetan religion against learning these things. "In fact, you will be able to serve your religious faith better by getting education", he added.

Mr. Nehru commended manual work and said that they should not think that manual work was not good. "We want every one of our people in India, our own countrymen, to do some manual work. It is good for them. So it will be good for you to do some manual work, earn some money and thereby become self-sufficient", Mr. Nehru said. Lamas and monks among them would get the opportunity to practise their religion wherever they went for rehabilitation in India, he added.

Mr. Nehru later distributed sweets to Tibetan children, who greeted him with chants of "Nehru Chacha Zindabad".

94. In the Rajya Sabha: Dalai Lama's Adviser¹⁶²

The Dalai Lama's Representative in U.K.

Question:¹⁶³ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government are aware that one Shri Dharendra Sen is acting in the United Kingdom as "the representative and adviser" of the Dalai Lama; and
- (b) if so, whether Government have any information about the antecedents of this gentleman and about the circumstances in which he was so appointed by the Dalai Lama?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) & (b) No, Sir. It is understood that Shri D. K. Sen has not been authorised to act in the U. K. as "the representative and adviser" of the Dalai Lama. In the past the Dalai Lama had on a few occasions sought legal advice from Shri Sen in his personal capacity as a lawyer.¹⁶⁴

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Sir, I think that Shri Sen is not a lawyer and here is the statement in the papers where he himself has said to a press conference that he was the confidential private adviser to the Dalai Lama.¹⁶⁵ May I know, Sir, whether, after this statement appeared in the papers, the Government made any enquiries with regard to the circumstances in which he styled himself as the adviser to the Dalai Lama and whether any

162. Oral answers to questions, 18 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, cols 972-974.

163. By CPI MPs Bhupesh Gupta and Z. A. Ahmad.

164. See also SWJN/SS/59/item 167.

165. On 14 March 1960 in London.

communication was sent in this respect to the High Commission in India?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is as a result of the enquiries made that the answer has been given.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know, Sir, from the Prime Minister whether it is not a fact that much earlier it was pointed out to the Prime Minister—and the Prime Minister also knows his antecedents—by some people belonging to his party that this Shri D. K. Sen, also known as Sardar Sen, was at one time acting as the representative of the Government of Bhutan and was trying over the head of the Government of India to build certain relations between Bhutan and the United States of America?

Mr. Chairman: From the Dalai Lama we are going to the United States of America.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: I want to know the antecedents of this person, and what the Prime Minister knows, let him say. Will the Prime Minister be pleased to tell the House as to what he knows about the antecedents of this gentleman? Certain representations were made to him, by members belonging to his own party some time back about the activities of this gentleman.

(No reply)

Shri Jaswant Singh: I would like to ask whether there are any restrictions imposed on the Dalai Lama to have employees or advisers of his own choice or not.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There are no formal restrictions; about that he is free to take the advice of any person. General advice has been given to him not to get himself entangled in political matters and I am glad to say that he has generally carried that out.

Shri B. K. P. Sinha:¹⁶⁶ May I know if the Constitution and the laws of this country permit Government to interfere in the personal affairs of an individual, whosoever that individual may be?

(No reply)

166. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bihar.

95. To MEA: Agitating Tibetans¹⁶⁷

A telegram received by me today from some of these Tibetans in Kalimpong is objectionable in its contents and I think it was perfectly correct to stop these people from coming here.¹⁶⁸

96. In the Rajya Sabha: Education for Tibetans¹⁶⁹

Educational Institutions Opened for Tibetan Refugees in India

Shri Dayaldas Kurre:¹⁷⁰ will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government have made any arrangements for providing education to the Tibetan refugees in India; and
- (b) if so, what is the nature of the educational institutions opened for them?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) Yes, Sir.

167. Note, 20 April 1960. File No. 1(4)-EAD/60, MEA.

168. The telegram is not available; however, a note on a Short Notice Question by P.G. Deb, GNP, Lok Sabha MP from Angul, Orissa, is. P.G. Deb's full name is Badkumar Pratap Ganga Deb as listed in Parliament of India, Second Lok Sabha, *Who's Who 1957* (New Delhi: Lok Sabha Secretariat, July 1957), p. 94. It was forwarded through a Deputy Secretary of the MEA to Nehru's PS as follows: "Some 200 Tibetans of Kalimpong had wanted to come to Delhi to present a petition, and the West Bengal authorities had refused them permission to do so. Subsequently, about 70 Tibetans surreptitiously left Kalimpong and were discovered and held up at Siliguri by the West Bengal authorities with the approval of the Foreign Secretary. The reasons for their wanting to visit Delhi were not very clear. One report said that they desired to meet and speak to Mr. Chou En-lai. Another report said that they wanted to present a petition to our Prime Minister. Yet another report had it that they intended to stage public demonstrations against Mr. Chou En-lai. In any case, their prevention from coming to Delhi is not a matter of such importance as to warrant a Short Notice Question. PM may wish to say whether he will accept the Short Notice Question."

169. Oral answers to questions, 21 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, cols 1428-1430.

170. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Madhya Pradesh.

(b) There are three schools for Tibetan refugees children at Gangtok, Kalimpong and Mussoorie. The school at Mussoorie may shift to Dharamsala. Hindi is taught at the Camps in Buxa, Missamari and Dalhousie to the adult refugees.

Shri Dayaldas Kurre: May I know, Sir, whether Government have any intention of imparting vocational training to these refugees?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: Yes, Sir, vocational training is imparted.

Shri Dayaldas Kurre: May I know, Sir, the amount of money that has been allocated for their education in the current year?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: I have not got a separate break-up of the figures for education.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We are drawing up some larger schemes for education and rehabilitation of these Tibetan refugees, more especially for the young people.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know as to how the cost of this education will be met? Has any approach been made to the Dalai Lama to part with some of his fortune so that the money could be spent for the education of what he calls to be his own people?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as I know, no approach has been made to the Dalai Lama on this question, but the Dalai Lama himself wrote to me a few days ago¹⁷¹ expressing his anxiety that arrangements should be made for the proper education of the children and the young people and suggested and he would like to contribute certain sums, what, I forget at the moment.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know the reason why the Government is not placing before him in a very courteous letter as to how much would be required to meet the expenses of education and asking him as to whether it will be within his competence to meet a substantial part of it?

(No Reply)

171. See SWJN/SS/59/item 165.

97. In the Rajya Sabha: Trade with Tibet¹⁷²

Indo-Tibetan Trade

Shri Maheswar Naik:¹⁷³ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether his attention has been drawn to an article published in the *Hindustan Times* of April 14, 1960 to the effect that India's traditional trade with Tibet is being subjected to increasing difficulties and obstacles by the Chinese authorities in Tibet;
- (b) whether these reports are correct and if so, whether Government propose to take any action to improve the trade facilities in Tibet to their normal level; and
- (c) whether Government have made any assessment of the extent of the fall in the volume of trade between India and Tibet since after the Dalai Lama's escape to India from Tibet?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) As will be observed from notes published in the *White Papers*, the Government of India have already represented to the Government of China about the difficulties faced by Indian traders in Tibet.
- (c) The comparative trade statistics for the years 1958 and 1959 are given below:-

Year	Imports (Value in rupees)	Exports
1958	1,90,31,910	1,88,20,040
1959	1,04,93,048	86,68,001

98. To the Dalai Lama: Tibetan Education¹⁷⁴

April 27, 1960

Your Holiness,

I received your letter of the 7th April some time ago.¹⁷⁵ I was heavily engaged during the last two weeks and could not therefore write to you earlier.

172. Written answers to questions, 26 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, cols 1998-1999.

173. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Orissa.

174. Letter.

175. See SWJN/SS/59/item 165.

I am aware that the existing arrangements for the education of young Tibetan children in India are inadequate. In fact, even before the receipt of your letter I had asked that priority should be given to the provision of school facilities for the refugee children. Apart from the school at Mussoorie to which you refer, there are two other schools for Tibetan children at Gangtok and Kalimpong. We are now reviewing the entire position with a view to providing better educational facilities in future. We shall also consider, in that context, your suggestion for placing the school at Mussoorie on a more stable basis.

I am glad to hear that you yourself wish to contribute something like Rs.50, 000 per annum to finance schemes for the education of Tibetan boys and girls. Our officers will keep you informed of further progress in regard to our schemes.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

99. To S. Dutt: Supervise Tibetan Refugees¹⁷⁶

I met Dr. B.C. Roy this evening, and he gave me the attached bunch of papers about some trouble in Buxa Camp.

2. He asked me if these Tibetan refugees could be searched if necessity arose for this. I told him that they can certainly be searched for weapons or anything else that might be considered dangerous. But this should be done with tact and care under a sensible officer.

(g) Language

100. In the Rajya Sabha: Hindi in Diplomacy¹⁷⁷

Agreements Signed in Hindi and English

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan:¹⁷⁸ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:
(a) the number of treaties, agreements and credentials relating to the

176. Note to FS, 29 April 1960.

177. Written answers to questions, 26 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, cols 1997-1998.

178. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Uttar Pradesh.

Government of India which were put forth in Hindi last year and how many were put forth in English.

(b) the number of messages of various kinds which were sent in Hindi to foreign countries during the last year; and

(c) if they were not sent in Hindi what are the reasons therefore?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

(a) 44 credentials were issued in English and 18 in Hindi during the year 1959. As regards treaties and agreements, information is being collected and will be placed on the Table of the House.

(b) Two messages of greetings were sent in Hindi.

(c) The question does not arise.

[Official Use of Hindi]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



Under our programme for progressive use of Hindi, you don't have to show your drafts to me for correction—let them go as they are.

(From *The Times of India*, 9 May 1960, p. 1)

III. DEVELOPMENT

(a) Economy

101. To Madanmohan Ruia: Export House¹

April 21, 1960

Dear Shri Ruia,²

Thank you for your letter of the 20th April in which you have given me your tour programme. I wish you success in your foreign tour.

As for an Export House, it seem to me obvious that some such establishment would be of help here. I cannot make any suggestions in regard to it as these should come from experts who know something about such matters. I am sending your letter to our Minister of Commerce and Industry.³

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

102. Cabinet Meeting: Third Plan Allocations and Targets⁴

Cabinet considered the Planning Commissions note on "Allocations and Targets proposed under the Third Plan".

2. The Prime Minister observed that the most important limit to the size of the Plan and the projects to be included in it was set by considerations of the foreign exchange available. So far as internal resources were concerned, while, as at present advised, it was not practicable to increase the amount of additional taxation which had been proposed, other items were variable to some extent. The success of prize bonds showed that money was available with the people for investment. The problem was how it could be collected by the Government without placing too great a burden on the poorer sections of the community.

3. Referring to the project for a steel plant at Bokaro, the Prime Minister said that it was important from the point of view of both the Third Plan and the

1 Letter.

2 Industrialist and President, FICCI, 1959-60.

3 Lal Bahadur Shastri.

4 Minutes of the Cabinet meeting, Case No. 249/23/60, Thursday, 28 April 1960. File (Cabinet Meetings from March 1960 onwards), Confidential Section, Planning Commission. Paragraph 2 onwards also available in File No. 65/2/CF/60, Cabinet Secretariat.

Fourth Plan that a definite decision should be taken on this proposal immediately. Otherwise development in the future would be adversely affected. The preparation of the project report should be expedited and the appropriate phasing worked out. The implementation of the project would naturally be subject to resources being available; but the project should be definitely included in the Third Plan.

4. The Prime Minister also suggested that in presenting the Draft Outline of the Plan it would be desirable, even from the point of view of external assistance, to avoid creating an impression of excessive caution.

5. As regards the proposals of the Atomic Energy Commission for undertaking the construction of one 150,000 kW natural-uranium-based nuclear power station and a 75,000 kW enriched uranium power plant in addition to the two nuclear power stations of 150,000 kW which had been already approved, the Prime Minister said that the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission⁵ was due shortly to proceed to USSR and USA and he had asked for authority to discuss the proposals with the Atomic Energy Commissions of those countries. The Prime Minister was in favour of enabling the Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, to go ahead with those negotiations. It would be made clear that any atomic power programme to be undertaken by the Commission was strictly contingent on the necessary foreign exchange being arranged for in advance. A view was expressed that it might be desirable for the Atomic Energy Commission first to complete the installation of the two power stations of 150,000 kW each which had been already accepted and only then to take up any further programmes. Alternatively, the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission might negotiate with the USSR authorities for one of the two power stations with a capacity of 150,000 kW which had already been approved for the Ahmedabad-Bombay area. The Prime Minister suggested that the Planning Commission might discuss all these aspects with the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission; but, subject naturally to the foreign exchange being available, our aim should be that the programme for atomic power is one of continuous development.

6. In regard to oil, it was pointed out on behalf of the Department of Mines and Oil that possibilities of commercial exploitation at Cambay had been established. It was accordingly agreed that the necessary provision for developing production of crude oil and for setting up a refinery would have to be made over and above the allocation of Rs 115 crores for the oil exploration programme mentioned in paragraph 11 of the Planning Commission's paper. At the same time, it was decided that, since of the Rs 60 crores or so of foreign

5. H.J. Bhabha.

exchange required for the oil exploration programme only about Rs 33 crores had been so far arranged, any further line of foreign exchange that might be obtained would have to be utilised first for filling up the existing gap in foreign exchange.

7. Since building construction costs constituted an important element of expenditure under the Plan, the Prime Minister suggested that a strict approach should be adopted in the matter of ensuring economies in construction. It was not enough to enforce economies on the basis of present standards and specifications. It must be prescribed that, to the greatest extent possible, all new construction should consist of temporary or semi-permanent structures. There should be no air-conditioning, appropriate instructions on these lines should be drawn up and issued without delay. It was felt that as a result of these measures a substantial amount of money should become available for the financing of other projects.

8. Attention was drawn to paragraph 17 of the Planning Commission's Paper where it was suggested that the minimum desirable goal for additional employment outside agriculture during the Third Plan should be 12 million persons as against the present estimate of about 10 million persons. It was agreed that this aspect should be kept in view while working out the details of the various programmes. The effort should be to bring the Plan target for employment outside agriculture as close as possible to the level suggested in the Planning Commission's paper.

9. Regarding the question whether the programme for the construction of border roads should form part of the Third Plan, it was agreed that that programme should be kept outside the Plan.

10. In the course of the discussion, the Ministers concerned drew attention to the following points:

- (i) Inadequacy of the provision for technical education and primary education. In particular, it was suggested that increased provision should be made for technical education, as otherwise the lack of technical personnel might become a serious bottleneck in the implementation of the Plan. Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission,⁶ pointed out that the programmes relating to technical education and to free and compulsory education for the age group 6-11 years had been accepted; but the cost estimates concerning those programmes would require scrutiny;
- (ii) The need for making a provision of Rs 6 crores for printing presses to be installed by the Ministry of Works, Housing & Supply;

6. V.T. Krishnamachari.

- (iii) The need for making a provision of Rs 35 crores for the office and residential buildings to be constructed by the Ministry of Works, Housing & Supply;
- (iv) Need to give early clearance for the project for a marine diesel engine factory;
- (v) The need for making a provision for meeting the cost of land to be acquired in Delhi.

11. Subject to the suggestions referred to in paragraphs 3 and 5 to 9, Cabinet generally approved the proposals contained in the Planning Commission's note.

103. To V.T. Krishnamachari: Draft Third Plan⁷

31st May, 1960

My dear V.T.,

Thank you for your letter of May 29th.

We had a brief discussion in the Cabinet this morning as to how we should deal with the draft outline of the Third Five Year Plan. We shall continue this discussion tomorrow afternoon.

As I indicated, in the course of this discussion, I should like the Cabinet to consider this draft with some care before it is published. After some of us have come back from Poona, I hope we shall be able to devote some days to this consideration. By that time also the Planning Commission should have received the comments of the Ministers who have already received the draft.

Broadly, therefore, one may say that by the 15th June or thereabouts, the Cabinet might finish its consideration of the draft. It is difficult to give an exact date but I do not think this need go much beyond the third week of June.⁸

Even before I went away to Europe, you had been pressing me to agree to your resigning from the Deputy Chairmanship of the Planning Commission and I had reluctantly agreed.⁹ We had hoped that you would resign or take leave prior to resignation after finishing this draft outline of the Third Plan. We are now nearing this period.

The exact date when your leave should commence should be such as to suit your own convenience. I would suggest, however, that you might continue

7. Letter to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission. File No. 17(189)/60-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

8. The draft outline of the Third Plan was released on 6 July 1960.

9. See also SWJN/SS/58/items 63 and 116; and SWJN/SS/59/items 92-93.

as Deputy Chairman till the Cabinet has finished its consideration. That would really mean another week or ten days to the dates you have mentioned. But I realise that this is a very hot period in Delhi and for you to stay on during these days might cause you great inconvenience. Therefore, I would leave it to you entirely to decide on the date, myself preferring a date about the 15th June. In any event, as you have been good enough to say, we shall have the advantage of your guidance even when you are on leave.

Ever since independence came to India and even a little earlier, you have been continuously engaged in work of high importance for the State. Your work in the Constituent Assembly and in the political and financial integration of Indian States was, as everyone who was connected with it knows, of great help and importance. Then came the Fiscal Commission. But most of all you have identified [yourself] during the last ten years with the Planning Commission to which you have devoted yourself with all your great ability and experience and shaped the development of this great organisation, I have often told you how deeply grateful my colleagues and I have been for all this great record of public service. The fact, as you yourself mention, that this has been a rewarding one for you and has given you a sense of fulfillment is itself an indication of how you threw yourself into this work without regard to personnel consideration. While I thank you for all that even after resignation you will continue your deep interest in planning and give us your advice in the unfolding drama of India's life.¹⁰

With all my good wishes and regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(b) Cooperatives

104. To Partap Singh Kairon: Decentralisation¹¹

April 19, 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

On February 3rd last, in the course of a progress report which you sent me on Community Development work, you mentioned in the last paragraph that you

10. Krishnamachari replied on 1 June 1960 that there was no question of his going on leave "until the Cabinet has completed the examination of the draft outline."

11. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab.

were intending to introduce legislation on the subject of democratic decentralisation. It was proposed to do so in the Budget Session.

This subject was raised at the recent meeting of the National Development Council.¹² I forget what you or your colleague said about this then. Has this legislation been introduced?

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

105. To Bihar Pradesh Youth Congress: Training Camp¹³

I am glad to learn that the Bihar Pradesh Youth Congress is organising a training camp¹⁴ for young workers and that this will be inaugurated by my colleague, Shri S.K. Dey.¹⁵ It is becoming increasingly important for our young men and young women to receive training for community development work and more particularly in connection with manual work. It is trained people who count in the great task of remoulding India, and it is the realisation of the dignity of labour that will make a great difference to our people's outlook.

I send my good wishes to this training camp.

(c) Food and Agriculture

106. Centenary of the Forest Departments¹⁶

The Centenary of the Forest Departments in India is an event which deserves celebration. Even though these Departments have existed for a hundred years, forestry has perhaps not had as much attention paid to it as is its due. In the economy of Nature, forests are of the utmost importance. But with the spread of industrial civilisation and the rapid growth of populations, unhappily forests

12. The fifteenth Meeting of NDC was held on 17 April 1960; the summary record is available on the Planning Commission website http://planningcommission.gov.in/reports/genrep/50NDCs/vol2_15to25.pdf, accessed on 21 April 2014.

13. Message, 9 May 1960. (PIB) Shastri Bhawan, PMS.

14. From 10 May at Ramnagar, Champaran.

15. Union Minister of State for Community Development and Cooperation.

16. Message, 19 April 1960, sent through P. S. Deshmukh, Minister of State for Agriculture.

tend to disappear. We are apt to forget that in so far as this happens, we are upsetting that economy of Nature and doing injury to man. I am pained when I see a noble tree, which has taken long to grow and spread out in all its majesty, cut down by careless hands. There should be a strong feeling among our people to prevent this vandalism. If such cutting down becomes unavoidable, we should develop a convention that it should be replaced immediately by planting two trees.

I hope that the vital importance of forests will be fully realised.

107. To Vishnu Sahay: Avoid Bureaucracy in Farming¹⁷

I approve of the minutes of the Cabinet meeting held on April 28.

2. As for your note regarding the Agriculture Ministry's proposal for intensive work in some districts,¹⁸ the proposal is not perhaps as simple as it appears. Apart from the Finance Minister's criticism of it, I had a talk with the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission today, and he did not like the proposal at all. The principal reason was that this kind of concentration in some districts involving five or six village level workers in a selected area would be bad in principle and would make it all official-controlled. It would not give opportunities to the people to function in the manner we would like them to function.

3. I think, therefore, that this matter should be considered more fully by the Cabinet which can meet in my absence.

4. The Agriculture Department can certainly proceed with the working out of further details. But to assume that the proposal would be accepted in principle would not be right at present.

17. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 29 April 1960. File No. 4/5/CF/60, Cabinet Secretariat. Also available in JN Collection.

18. For Agriculture Secretary K.R. Damle's undated note, see Appendix 30.

(d) Industry**108. To A.M.M. Murugappa Chettiar: Public and Private Sectors¹⁹**

April 20, 1960

Dear Shri Chettiar,²⁰

Thank you for Your letter of the 18th April.²¹ I am glad you have written to me on this subject and given me some facts and information about investments in the private sector of industry.

I suggested to the Planning Commission a little while ago that it would be helpful to have information on this subject. I am quite sure that this controversy going on about the private and public sectors is wholly unnecessary and is rather harmful. Partly this controversy has arisen because some people interested in the private sector are constantly trying to run down the public sector.²²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(e) Labour**109. To V.K. Krishna Menon: Defence workers' Union Strike²³**

April 29, 1960

My dear Krishna,

Dr Melkote, MP,²⁴ came to see me this evening. He told me that the Defence Workers' Union associated with the AITUC had given a strike notice. He was rather worried about this matter. He was anxious to avoid the strike which is

19. Letter; this correspondence was laid on the Table of the House on 24 August 1960 in reply to a question by Bhupesh Gupta, CPI, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXX, cols 2016-2017.

20. A. M. M. Murugappa Chettiar (1902-1965); industrialist from Madras and founder of the Murugappa Group; President, FICCI, 1960-61.

21. See Appendix 7.

22. Chettiar replied on 22 April 1960 thanking Nehru.

23. Letter to the Union Minister of Defence.

24. G.S. Melkote, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Raichur, Mysore State.

[Firmness by Yielding]

(From *The Times of India*, 3 May 1960, p. 1)

You Said It

By LAXMAN



We must be very firm and not yield to demands threats
or agitation—unless we have to?

(From *The Times of India*, 3 May 1960, p. 1)

apparently in connection with the Pay Commission's recommendations.²⁵

Dr Melkote himself, as you perhaps know, is associated with the INTUC Union of Defence Workers which, according to him, has grown considerably. He gave me the figure of membership, but I forget it. Anyhow, he said that it was above the required figure. He said that if this Union was also recognised by the Defence Ministry and was called in for talks, this would create a different situation and the strike would probably be avoided. Otherwise, many of his own people will naturally drift to the strike.

I think you should see Dr Melkote and discuss this matter with him. He is a man whom I respect for his integrity and capacity for work.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

25. On 11 July 1960, All India Defence Employees Federation (AIDEF) joined the All India Railwaymen's Federation (AIRF), and Confederation of Central Government Employees and Workers, in a five-day strike. See SWJN/SS/61.

(f) Education

110. To Harekrushna Mahtab: Compulsory Primary Education²⁶

I am glad to learn that it is proposed to introduce compulsory primary education in the State of Orissa. The importance of this step has long been recognised throughout India and, indeed, is laid down in our Constitution. Unfortunately, we have not been able to give effect to it because of certain obvious difficulties. The time has now come, however, to overcome these difficulties and I am glad that Orissa is doing so. I wish this step every success.

111. To Sri Prakasa: Don't Hustle Universities²⁷

Your letter of May 25.²⁸ I am grateful to Poona University for the honour they wish to do me. On the whole I think that it would not be proper to have special convocation for this purpose arranged at the last moment. Universities are dignified bodies which should not be hustled.

(g) Culture

112. To T.E. Mahadevan: Permission to Quote from Nehru's Works²⁹

April 23, 1960

Dear Shri Mahadevan,³⁰

I have received your letter of today with the typescript.

I have no clear recollection of Shri Diwakar³¹ speaking to me about this matter, but probably he did so.

I am afraid I cannot read through all this typescript. I have glanced through it at various places. I have nothing particular to suggest.

26. Message to the Chief Minister of Orissa, Gauhati, 16 April 1960.

27. Telegram to the Governor of Bombay, 31 May 1960. File No. 8/144/60-PMS.

28. See Appendix 25.

29. Letter.

30. Joint Secretary, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Rajghat, New Delhi.

31. R.R. Diwakar, Chairman, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, and President, Gandhi Peace Foundation.

So far as I am concerned, you can go ahead with the publication of this book. But I hope you will ensure yourself against the Law of Copyright. This does not apply to my Speeches. It would apply to quotations from (i) *Glimpses of World History*, (ii) *Autobiography* and (iii) *Discovery of India*. Also, perhaps, to *Nehru on Gandhi* published by the Signet Press, Calcutta.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

113. To K.L. Shrimali: Jayaprakash Narayan's Letters³²

April 24, 1960

My dear Shrimali,

Your letter of April 22nd sending copies of letters from Jayaprakashji. If the Vice-President and the Gandhi Nidhi people are agreeable to Jayaprakashji's proposal, I shall not come in the way. I have no precise idea yet of what the proposal is. I had a talk with the Vice-President on the subject and he then said that this matter should be considered by the Gandhi Peace Foundation. I suppose anyhow that a meeting of the Foundation will be held for that purpose.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

114. To the Punjab Literary League: Pak-Hind Writers Conference³³

I am glad to learn that, under the auspices of the Punjab Literary League, a Pak-Hind Writers Conference is being organised in Lahore.³⁴ I think this is an excellent idea. Indeed I am surprised that such a conference was not held earlier. It is very necessary for the writers of these two countries to develop contacts and to cooperate in preserving our common literary and cultural heritage.

32. Letter to the Union Minister of State for Education.

33. Message, 24 April 1960. File No. 22(4)/60-Pak-I, MEA.

34. Abdullah Butt, General Secretary of the Punjab Literary League, Lahore, had asked for a message for a Pak-Hindi Writers Conference to be held from 28 to 30 April 1960.

115. To Jayaprakash Narayan: Another Gandhi Foundation³⁵

April 29, 1960

My dear Jayaprakash,

I have just received your letter of the 24th April. I am replying to you briefly and in some haste as I am leaving early tomorrow morning.

When this proposal first came before me, it was not quite clear to me why this should be something apart from the Gandhi Peace Foundation. I am yet not quite clear about this, but if the Gandhi Peace Foundation people are agreeable, then surely I can have no objection.³⁶ I suppose this matter should be put up before the Executive Committee of the Gandhi Peace Foundation of which you are a member.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(h) Health

116. To Amrit Kaur: Family Planning Research³⁷

April 18, 1960

My dear Amrit,³⁸

Your letter of April 18th. I have no objection to the All India Institute of Medical Sciences starting a Research Project on Family Planning. But, of course, it would be desirable for the institute to cooperate in this matter with the Family Planning Department of the Health Ministry.³⁹

[Yours sincerely,]
Jawaharlal Nehru

35. Letter.

36. The reference probably is to the Gandhi Vidya Sansthan, Varanasi; see SWJN/SS/59/item 129.

37. Letter. File No. 28(50)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

38. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Punjab, former Health Minister; and Chairman of the Governing Body of AIIMS.

39. Amrit Kaur replied on 20 April that this project was to be financed by the Ford Foundation and both Dr Douglas Ensminger, the Ford Foundation Representative, and Dr B.B. Dikshit, the Director of AIIMS, had been in touch with the Family Planning Department of the Health Ministry.

(i) Science and Technology

117. In the Lok Sabha: Radio-Active Minerals in UP⁴⁰

उत्तर प्रदेश में रेडियो सक्रिय खनिज

श्री सरजू पाण्डेय :⁴¹ क्या प्रधानमंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या उत्तर प्रदेश के किसी भाग में अब तक रेडियो सक्रिय खनिजों के लिये कोई सर्वेक्षण किया गया है : और

(ख) यदि हाँ, तो किस भाग में और सर्वेक्षण के क्या परिणाम निकले?

प्रधानमंत्री तथा वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री (श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू) : (क) और (ख) परमाणु ऊर्जा विभाग के परमाणु खनिज प्रभाग द्वारा यूरेनियम के ज़खीरों की खोज के लिये उत्तर प्रदेश के अलमोड़ा, नैनीताल, गढ़वाल और देहरादून ज़िलों में कई सर्वेक्षण किये जा चुके हैं। इन क्षेत्रों में कुछ स्थानों पर मामूली रेडियो सक्रियता का कहीं-कहीं पता लगाया गया है।

[Translation begins:

Shri Sarjoo Pandey: ⁴² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to inform that:

(a) Has any survey been done in Uttar Pradesh about radio-active minerals, and

(b) If yes, in which area, and what are the results of the survey?

The Prime Minister and the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):
(a) and (b) Atomic Mineral Division of the Atomic Energy Department has conducted many surveys for uranium deposits in Almora, Naini Tal, Garhwal and Dehra Dun districts of Uttar Pradesh. In some places in these areas some radio-activity has been found.

Translation ends]

40. Written answers to questions, 20 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLIII, cols 127-12718.

41. CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Basra, UP.

42. See fn 41 in this section.

118. In the Lok Sabha: Radio-Activity⁴³

Shri D. C. Sharma:⁴⁴ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether there has been any change in the highest level of radio-activity in the country as on the 31st March, 1960; and
- (b) if so, whether it constitutes any danger to public health?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) and (b). The highest level of daily fallout radioactivity detected in the air remains the same as reported to the Lok Sabha on 23rd February and 9th September 1959. It is well below the maximum permissible level for continuous exposure.

119. In the Lok Sabha: Institute of Nuclear Physics, Hyderabad⁴⁵

Shri Ram Krishan Gupta:⁴⁶ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Unstarred Question No. 812 on the 2nd December, 1959 regarding integrating the activities of the proposed Institute of Nuclear Physics, Hyderabad, and state how the matter stands at present?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Osmania University have indicated that they are not in a position to assume any responsibility beyond providing accommodation for the proposed Institute on its campus and library and workshop facilities. In the absence of adequate support for the Institute from Osmania University, the Department of Atomic Energy do not consider it advisable to participate in the setting up of an Institute with the Science Society.

43. Written answers to questions, 20 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLIII, col. 12680.

44. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Gurdaspur, Punjab.

45. Written answers to questions, 20 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLIII, col. 12690.

46. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Mohindergarh, Punjab.

120. In the Lok Sabha: Atomic Power Station⁴⁷

Question: ⁴⁸Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the scheme for the erection of India's first Atomic Power Station has been finalised;
- (b) the details of the project;
- (c) whether it is proposed to invite global tenders for the stations or whether global tenders have already been invited; and
- (d) if the reply to latter portion of part (c) above be in the affirmative, the countries that are interested in the Project?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

(a) All the technical investigations for the selection of a suitable site for the Atomic Power Station have been finalised and a decision on the location will be taken in the near future.

(b) As stated in the reply to Starred question No. 1022 on 18th December 1959, it is now proposed to set up a 300,000 kW station with two units of 150,000 kW each. It is estimated that the cost per kW of installed capacity will be about Rs 1,700.

(c) It is proposed to invite tenders for the station towards the middle of this year.

(d) The countries which are in a position to design and build nuclear power stations of large sizes are the Canada, France, USSR, UK and USA.

121. In the Rajya Sabha: Uranium Deposits⁴⁹

Russian Help for Exploitation of Uranium Deposits

Shri P.N. Rajabhoj :⁵⁰ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state :

(a) Whether it is a fact that Russia has offered to help India in the exploitation of uranium deposits including their survey, prospecting and

47. Written answers to questions, 20 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLIII, cols 12706-12707.

48. By PSP MP Hem Barua and Congress MP Ram Subhag Singh.

49. Oral answers to questions, 21 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, cols 1396-1398.

50. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay and President of Bharat Dalit Sewak Sangh.

development; and about the research into the various uses of uranium; and (b) if so, whether Government have accepted the offer?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon) : (a) and (b) Preliminary exchange of views between Russian and Indian representatives on collaboration between the two countries in the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes has taken place. An Indian Delegation will be visiting the Soviet Union shortly for further discussion and conclusion of a formal agreement.

श्री पा.ना. राजभोज : क्या मंत्री महोदय कृपा करके बतायेंगे कि क्या यह बात सच है कि पिछले महीने सोवियत एटॉमिक यूटिलाइज़ेशन बोर्ड के प्रमुख भारत आये थे? वे किस सिलसिले में आये थे?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरु : जी हाँ, वे आये थे और मैं भी उनसे मिला था।⁵¹ सिलसिला यह था कि वे यहाँ के एटॉमिक एनर्जी के काम को देखें और सलाह दें।

श्री पा.ना. राजभोज : क्या इस सिलसिले में भारत सरकार टेंडर्स मंगाने को सोच रहे हैं?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरु : किसके टेंडर, किससे टेंडर, कब टेंडर, क्यों टेंडर?

श्री पा.ना. राजभोज : सिर्फ एक सवाल और पूछना चाहता हूँ। क्या कृपा करके बतायेंगे कि इस सिलसिले में डॉ. भाभा रशिया जाने वाले हैं?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरु : जी हाँ, ग़ालिबन जायेंगे।

[Translation begins:

Shri P.N. Rajabhoj: Will the Minister be pleased to whether whether it is true that the Chief of the Soviet Atomic Utilisation Board came to India? For what purpose did he come to India?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes Sir, he came here and I also met him.⁵² The purpose was to see the work being done here on atomic energy and advise us.

51. V. S. Emelyanov, Chief of Soviet Atomic Energy Utilisation Board, met Nehru on 7 March 1960, see engagement diary entry.

52. See fn 51 in this section.

Shri P.N. Rajabhoj: Is the Government of India considering calling for tenders in this matter?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Whose tender, from whom tender, when tender, why tender?

Shri P.N. Rajabhoj: I want to ask only one more question. Could you kindly tell us whether Dr Bhabha is going to Russia?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, he is going.

Translation ends]

Shri N.M. Lingam:⁵³ May I know, Sir, if it is under contemplation to establish any atomic power plant in collaboration with the Government of the U.S.S.R?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : It is under contemplation to have a number of atomic power plants, rather of a relatively small size, and it may be that we may do so in collaboration with other countries' atomic agencies—some with one country and some with another—and it may be that one of them will be with the Soviet Atomic Agency.

Shri N. M. Lingam : May I know, Sir, if the plants are going to be uranium-based or thorium-based, because our thorium deposits are plentiful and our uranium deposits are rare?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : Sir, I do not think it will be proper for me to give any answer to this question which involves technical matters. I might perhaps make a slip some time, not being a technical man myself.

53. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Madras.

(j) Town Planning

122. To Jane B. Drew: A Capital for Gujarat⁵⁴

April 17, 1960

Dear Mrs Drew,⁵⁵

I have your letter of the 13th April.⁵⁶ I do not know of any proposals for the building of the new capital of the Gujarat State. For my part, I like your suggestion, but it is difficult for me to interfere too much in State matters. I am sending a copy of your letter to the Chief Minister-to-be of the new Gujarat State.

Yours sincerely
Jawaharlal Nehru

123. To Morarji Desai: Jane Drew on Gujarat Capital City⁵⁷

April 17, 1960

My dear Morarji,

I am sending you a copy of a letter from Mrs. Jane Drew,⁵⁸ who worked for several years as an architect at Chandigarh. I am sure this letter will interest you.⁵⁹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

54. Letter. File No. 7(210)/60-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

55. Architect and town planner; associated with the Chandigarh Project, 1951-54.

56. See Appendix 3.

57. Letter. File No. 7(210)/60-66-PMS.

58. See Appendix 3

59. For Desai's reply of 25 April, see Appendix 12.

124. To Jivraj Mehta: Capital City for Gujarat⁶⁰

April 17, 1960

My dear Jivraj,

I am sending you a copy of a letter from Mrs. Jane Drew,⁶¹ who worked for several years as an architect at Chandigarh. I am sure this letter will interest you.⁶²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

60. Letter to the Minister of Finance, Bombay. File No. 7(210)/60-66-PMS.

61. See Appendix 3.

62. For Mehta's reply of 22 April, see Appendix 10.

IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

(a) Four-Power Disarmament Summit Conference

Paris, 16 May 1960

125. To K.P.S. Menon: Explain Khrushchev's Behaviour¹

I am naturally distressed at collapse of Summit Conference.² I can understand angry reaction of Soviet Government and people at spying incident³ and more especially American statement in regard to it.⁴ Nevertheless I cannot understand why Khrushchev deliberately adopted an attitude which could only result in break up of Conference.⁵ His statement was not only strong which one could understand but also exceedingly offensive and apparently meant to humiliate. He must have known that few countries and certainly not United States would agree to suffer humiliation. Therefore he deliberately adopted attitude which not only broke up Conference but also reversed policy which he had been consistently pursuing for several years. Summit Conference was more his child than anyone else's. Why has he done so and what does he aim at now? Something has been done which cannot easily be reversed and consequences must necessarily be grave though perhaps not immediately in ultimate sense. Surely spying incident however irritating cannot by itself bring about such complete reversal of basic policy. I should like to have your appraisal. I do not propose to enter into any (word omitted – controversy ?)⁶ on this subject.

Please reply to Ankara where I am going tomorrow. From there to Istanbul on 21st.⁷

1. Telegram to Indian Ambassador to USSR, Cairo, 19 May 1960. File No. 5(28)-UN-II/60, MEA.
2. Eisenhower, Khrushchev, de Gaulle and Macmillan were to meet in Paris on 16 May 1960 to discuss disarmament, mutual inspection, atomic control and the Berlin question.
3. Francis Gary Powers's plane was shot down on 1 May 1960 in Soviet air space. See *Foreign Relations of the United States* documents at <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1953-1960/u2-incident>, accessed on 19 September 2014.
4. By the State Department on 7 May 1960; by the Secretary of State Christian A. Herter on 9 May 1960; and by President Eisenhower on 11 May 1960 at a press conference; for complete texts, see <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/primary-resources/eisenhower-u2/>, accessed on 19 September 2014.
5. On 16 May 1960, Khrushchev proposed postponing the Summit for six to eight months and also Eisenhower's visit, planned for 10-19 June 1960, "until conditions are ripe for it", according to contemporary press reports.
6. As in the original.
7. See items 157-160.

126. To K.P.S. Menon: Khrushchev's Overreaction⁸

Your telegram No. 101 20th May.⁹

I can well understand sequence of events and strong reaction to them in Russia. As a matter of fact reaction almost everywhere was against United States action and contradictory statements. But Khrushchev's attitude in Paris and, more [not clear] his amazing press conference¹⁰ and personal attacks on Eisenhower have had reverse effect and made it very difficult for fresh approaches towards peace. In this matter Khrushchev has shown common judgement of other countries. His expectation that Macmillan and de Gaulle would support him after his attacks on Eisenhower was totally unjustified.

However this damage has been done and all we can aim now is to try to minimise it and to help in reversing this process.

Last night Russian Ambassador here met me at our Ambassador's¹¹ party. He asked me if he could convey my greetings to Khrushchev. I replied that he could certainly do so and told him that I am glad that our President is going to Soviet Union.¹² Sometime later in the year I hope I shall be able to pay a visit also.

You will have seen joint statement issued by Nasser and me.¹³ Probably some similar statement will be issued from Ankara also.¹⁴ I have been pleasantly surprised to find that Turkish Government's view generally is not so rigid as we had thought. Even about recent occurrences they take a fairly realistic view which is not (not) too pessimistic.

8. Telegram sent from Indian Embassy, Istanbul, 22 May 1960. File No. 5(28)-UN/60, MEA.

9. See Appendix 22.

10. On 17 May 1960 at 9.10 a.m. an impromptu press conference outside the Soviet Embassy; and another at 1 p.m. at Pleurs-sur-Marne; and again on 18 May 1960 at the Palais de Chaillot, Paris, which was reportedly attended by over two to three thousand journalists. See *The Times*, London, 18 and 19 May 1960.

11. J.K. Atal.

12. 20 June to 5 July 1960.

13. See item 156.

14. See item 160.

127. To Dwight D. Eisenhower: Summit Failure¹⁵

Dear Mr. President,

Your letter of 21st May was sent to me from Delhi to Ankara.¹⁶ I am most grateful to you for this message. I have been deeply distressed at the various occurrences culminating in the failure of the Summit meeting. I am happy to learn that in spite of all that has happened you are firm in your resolve to pursue your objective of peace. Indeed the logic of circumstances leads inevitably to this conclusion. There is no other way except the way of conflict which the vast majority of mankind desires to avoid. I feel therefore that in spite of setbacks and outbursts, this wise approach will ultimately succeed. We in India will continue to work for peace and to cooperate with your great country in this noble endeavour.

You may have seen the joint statement issued by me with President Nasser in Cairo as also the statement issued by Prime Minister Menderes and myself. In both of these statements stress has been laid on our making every effort to avoid a deterioration of the situation and our determination to work for peaceful approaches in order to lessen world tensions and help in the progressive solution of our problems.

With my deep regards and good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

128. To Harold Macmillan: Summit Failure¹⁷

I am grateful to you for your message of May 20 which was forwarded to me from Delhi to Ankara.¹⁸ I need not tell you how distressed I have been at the various developments culminating in the complete failure of the Summit Conference. The spy incident in Russia was unfortunately followed by a number

15. Letter sent from Indian Embassy, Istanbul, 23 May 1960. File No. 5(28)-UN-II/60, MEA.
16. Eisenhower's letter was delivered to S. Dutt in New Delhi and forwarded at once to Nehru in Turkey on 20 May. Nehru seems to have written a wrong date of 21 May. See Appendix 23.
17. Message sent from Indian Embassy in Istanbul, 23 May 1960. File No. 5(28)-UN II/60, MEA.
18. Macmillan's message of 19 May was probably received in New Delhi on 20 May and was forwarded immediately. See Appendix 21.

of contradictory statements issued from authoritative quarters in Washington. These statements did not help the U.S. at all and rather played into the hands of the Soviet Government. Even so, the violent diatribes of Mr. Khrushchev in Paris were painful and not justified. There has recently been some reaction for the better. In any event there can be no question of the objective we have aimed at in order to secure peaceful solutions being changed. The logic of circumstance demands that we should pursue the path of peace through peaceful approaches even though there might be setbacks.

I have avoided saying much about these unfortunate recent incidents as I was anxious not to add to the bitterness that has been created. You may perhaps have seen the joint statement issued by President Nasser and me in Cairo as also the statement just issued by Prime Minister Menderes and me from Ankara. In both of these stress has been laid on every effort being made to prevent a deterioration of international relations and for peaceful approaches to continue. We shall gladly and fully cooperate with you in all such endeavours.

With regard and good wishes,

Jawaharlal Nehru

129. To MEA: Note on the U-2 Incident¹⁹

I attach a note I have given to our Ambassador in Cairo.²⁰ This gives a little more fully my approach to recent incidents connected with the spy plane shot down in Russia and subsequent controversies about the same. This may be kept in view to explain where necessary what our attitude is.

130. To R.K. Nehru: Repercussions of the U-2 Incident²¹

I have seen telegram No.183 of 25th May addressed to you from Dar²² from Cairo. In this telegram he mentioned the talk he had had with the Canadian Chargé d' Affaires in Cairo about the recent joint statement issued by President Nasser and me.

19. Note to N.R. Pillai, S. Dutt, M.J. Desai, Damascus, 27 May 1960. File No. 5(28)-UN-II/60, MEA.

20. For note to R.K. Nehru, see item 130.

21. Note, Damascus, 27 May 1960. File No. 5 (28)-UN-II/60, MEA.

22. A.K. Dar, Counsellor at the Indian Embassy in Cairo.

I think that it would be desirable for you to see the Canadian Chargé soon after your return to Cairo and discuss these matters with him and explain our position more fully to him.

This position basically is that the U.S. handling of the U-2 affair was exceedingly inept and at the same time Mr. Khrushchev's reaction to it, though partly justified, went too far and was unnecessarily offensive. But even though these are our views, we feel that criticism of this country or that does not at all help in easing the dangerous situation that has arisen. Therefore we are avoiding public criticism thus far and have laid stress on the necessity of not allowing the situation to worsen. It may be that in Parliament or elsewhere I may however later say something more on this subject.

It is doubtful how far international law justifies the sending of such spy planes. However that may be, it must be realised that to be caught in such an act must lead to consequences. To have sent a spy plane just on the eve of the summit conference was an act wholly lacking in wisdom. To justify it afterwards as a normal occurrence and to state that this was a deliberate policy which was going to be pursued in future was an exceedingly provocative statement. Indeed the various statements made in America within a few days of this spy plane incident are so contradictory and confusing that it is surprising for a Government to make them.

All this put the American case very much in the wrong before the world public. Mr. Khrushchev naturally took advantage of all this. But, in doing so, he went too far and perhaps lost the advantage he had gained. Because he attacked President Eisenhower personally and in very unbecoming language, sympathy naturally veered round in defence of President Eisenhower and the American attitude. But the fact remains that that American attitude was a wrong one and not easily defensible.

To argue all this in public will necessarily lead to an intensification of the cold war. Newspapers will probably carry all this argument and responsible leaders may also sometimes have to refer to it in Parliaments or other places. But on the whole it seems to us desirable that we should avoid this controversy, in so far as possible, and stress the positive side of what should be done. This was the main purpose of the joint statement that we issued in Cairo.

(b) Nuclear Power

131. To K. Ram: Suspending Nuclear Tests ²³

Yes. Please reply to this. Tell him that I regret I can find no time to answer the various questions,²⁴ but that I am certainly in agreement with the suggestion that the Big Powers should reach an agreement on suspension of nuclear test explosions. Further that India has declared repeatedly that it does not propose to produce nuclear weapons even though it might have the capacity to do so.

132. To H. J. Bhabha: Nuclear Safeguards ²⁵

May 11, 1960

My dear Homi,

I told you in Paris the other day about a talk I had with Prime Minister Macmillan on the subject of safeguards. He then said that he would send a memorandum on the subject. He has now done so.²⁶

I am enclosing his letter and memorandum. We shall have to send a carefully drafted reply to this. I hope you will let me have a draft for this purpose.

I shall probably return to Delhi about the 28th of this month.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

23. Note, London, 10 May 1960. File No. 8/132/60-PMS.

24. Not available.

25. Letter to the Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, from London. File No. U-IV/110(39)/64, MEA.

26. See Appendix 17 for Macmillan's letter of 11 May and memorandum.

133. To Harold Macmillan: Nuclear Safeguards²⁷

May 12, 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of May 11 and the memorandum attached to it about safeguards.²⁸ I shall consult my colleagues and advisers on this subject when I return to India and send you a fuller reply then.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(c) **Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference,**
London, 3-13 May 1960

134. In London: Press Conference²⁹

Nehru Arrives in London
Commonwealth Premiers Meeting on Tuesday
Apartheid: "Subject Cannot be Ignored"
(From K.S. Shelvankar)

London. May 1. As expected, the race situation in South Africa and the border problem with China figured prominently among the questions addressed to Prime Minister Nehru when he arrived in London this morning for the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference.

There were unusually crowded scenes at the airport for the Air India International's Boeing was nearly an hour late and landed just a few minutes after the arrival of Dr. Nkrumah, Ghana's Premier, with the result that the reception rooms and the open space in front of them were packed with officials, British, Indian and, Ghanaian, as well as reporters and cameramen and a large number of Indians and Ghanaians who had come to welcome their respective Prime Ministers.

It was characteristic of Mr. Nehru, that as soon as he heard that Dr. Nkrumah had just arrived, he set off in search of the African leader and caught up with

27. Letter from London. File No. U-IV/110(39)/64, MEA.

28. See Appendix 17.

29. Report of the press conference at the airport, London, 1 May 1960. *The Hindu*, 2 May 1960.

[Travel is Duty]
You Said It
By LAXMAN



Nothing like our type of dress. I feel so uncomfortable in
my old Western clothes!

(From *The Times of India*, 26 April 1960, p. 1)

him as he was about to step into his car. “You are not trying to run away from me, are you?”, was Indian Prime Minister’s jocular greeting. The two statesmen then stood together and chatted for a few moments surrounded by journalists and photographers.

After the official greetings and introductions were over, Mr. Nehru returned to the Press room, where he faced a barrage of questions with good humour, but without really adding to our knowledge of his attitude on the various points raised.

There was nothing in what he said to support the view that he might take the lead in ventilating the South African issue or pressing a “Commonwealth declaration” on race equality such as is being talked about nowadays.

While reiterating that India was absolutely and wholeheartedly opposed to racial discrimination, and that the subject was “worth discussing” and “could not be glossed over from the point of view of the Commonwealth”, Mr. Nehru

declined to commit himself on such specific questions as what form the discussion should take and whether it would be desirable or feasible to adopt a Commonwealth "bill of rights."

Some of the other Prime Ministers have also been similarly cautious in their statements, so that it looks as though they are all waiting to consult each other and know each other's minds more fully before deciding what action, if any, the Commonwealth, as a whole, could take on this controversial issue.

Problem of China

As regards China, Mr. Nehru said, the problem was important and "likely to become more important in future."

Asked about the prospects of rapprochement over the border dispute, Mr. Nehru commented: "At the moment the outlook is not hopeful". But he added: "Our practice is to try and go on trying and we will do so."³⁰

Mr. Nehru, who is staying with his sister, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, High Commissioner for India, is to have tea with Mr. Aneurin Bevan, the Labour leader, who is still convalescing after his recent illness at his farm some 30 miles out of London. On his return, Mr. Nehru will call on Lord Mountbatten at his town house. These visits are believed to be purely personal, without any political significance.

Mr. Nehru was received at the London airport by the Earl of Home, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, and Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, India's High Commissioner in Britain (adds Reuter).

Questioned by reporters at an airport Press Conference whether South Africa would be discussed at the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference, Mr. Nehru said that the problem had to be discussed. He would not mind whether it was "in purdah (in private) or in the market place. But it has to be discussed", he added.

30. En route from Bombay to London, Nehru halted in Cairo for about an hour and spoke to pressmen at the airport. He said that India's dispute with China was not an "ordinary dispute but it is a question of somebody occupying huge areas of Indian territory." He said that the frontier problem was not one of little adjustments here and there but large areas were involved. He said that he had prolonged talks with the Chinese Premier, Mr. Chou En-lai, but they did not lead to a settlement of the problem. These talks, however, helped to a better understanding of each other's points of view. In the next four months, there would be joint study of the documents in the hands of India and China by the officials of both countries in this regard, Pandit Nehru added. See *National Herald*, 3 May 1960.

Asked whether he would favour a declaration at the end of the conference condemning racial discrimination, Mr. Nehru said he could not comment on that at present.

A reporter asked whether he would favour the South African issue being put on the agenda of the conference. Mr. Nehru explained that there was no precise agenda for the conference. It dealt with broad subjects like Europe, and the situation in Asia and disarmament.³¹

When asked whether South Africa should be discussed in open plenary session, he replied: "I don't know about that. It is a question that has to be discussed."

There was nothing impossible about South Africa being considered at the formal meeting but, he added: "You may ask whether it is in keeping with the practice at Commonwealth Conferences. It is a subject which cannot be ignored."

Asked which of the three problems, Berlin, China or South Africa, he considered the greatest danger to the world today. Mr. Nehru, amidst laughter, replied, "Broadly speaking, the greatest danger has always been man's stupidity." He said that Berlin, China and South Africa were problems of entirely different types. But all seemed important in their own way.

India Opposed to Racial Discrimination

Of China, he said: "The Chinese problem is important today, but it [is] likely to be more important in the future. Geography makes it different. We (India) are near China. We think more about it than we might think of distant problems, however difficult they might be." India had a border of about 2,600 miles with China.

Asked if he felt that he was going to reach a rapprochement with Mr. Chou En-lai, Chinese Prime Minister, over the border dispute, Mr. Nehru said: "That is a very difficult question to answer. At the present moment the outlook is not hopeful. But it is our practice always to keep on trying."

31. In Cairo when asked to comment on the picketing of the United Arab Republic ship *Cleopatra* in New York, Pandit Nehru said "I am against all boycott" and pointed to the UAR Foreign Minister, Mahmoud Fawzi, sitting beside him for any further clarification. Pandit Nehru said the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference had wide topics for discussion although no specific issues as such were on the agenda. A reference to the situation in South Africa was likely to be made in the course of the discussions. See *National Herald*, 3 May 1960. A PTI report in *The Hindu* on 3 May 1960 stated that Nehru "told a questioner at the airport that he would probably raise the Algerian question in the course of his talks with General de Gualle."

A journalist asked Mr. Nehru why India was the only Commonwealth country to vote against the U.S.-Canadian joint compromise proposal at the Law of the Sea Conference which ended in failure at Geneva last Tuesday.

The U.S.-Canadian plan, which failed by one vote to get a two-thirds majority, was for a six-mile territorial sea and an adjacent fishing zone of another six miles.

Mr. Nehru explained that India "attached great importance" to the matter for a reason which had caused her to vote against the joint resolution. The reason was that India was opposed to entrance into the "outer six miles" by foreign warships without authorisation from the coastal State. "I think it is highly important", he said, "I don't see why any foreign warship should go there without authority. That is the main point", he said.

Reporters then returned to questions about South Africa and Apartheid.

Mr. Nehru was asked if he thought Apartheid was a dangerous situation with regard to newly emerging nations which might be contemplating membership of the Commonwealth.

Racialism has No Place in Commonwealth

He said the main thing was that in the Commonwealth, as it was today, one could not have a policy of racial segregation and discrimination. One could not have a first or second or third class status in the Commonwealth.

Answering questions in Urdu, Mr. Nehru said that the Commonwealth Conference did not take decisions as such. It was held to exchange views and to explain views on the big problems of Asia and Europe. He said that the discussion clarified points of view and "this benefits us and we hope our explanations benefits others."

Asked if he considered the Commonwealth a valuable and good institution, Mr. Nehru replied that if he did not think so he would not be there.

Shortly before addressing the Press Conference, Mr. Nehru who wore a brown achkan, a white Gandhi cap and had a red rose in his button hole, rushed out of the Queen's lounge looking for Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, who had landed shortly before him.

Mr. Nehru asked a reporter: "Where is Dr. Nkrumah? I must shake his hand before he goes."

The reporter rushed to Dr. Nkrumah who had got into his car about 100 yards away to give him Mr. Nehru's message.

The Indian Prime Minister, with his sister, then briskly walked towards Dr. Nkrumah who got out of his car.

Surrounded by photographers and Pressmen and officials, the two

Commonwealth statesmen warmly greeted each other with Mr. Nehru putting his right arm round Dr. Nkrumah's shoulder. They exchanged a few remarks before Mr. Nehru returned to the Press Conference room.

The two Prime Ministers made tentative arrangements to have breakfast talks during the next few days with Mrs. Pandit as hostess.

Summit Prospects

Summit conference prospects will be the outstanding topic of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, authoritative sources said today.

Mr. Harold Macmillan, the United Kingdom Prime Minister, who will be presiding over the conference, will have his eye on the Summit meeting beginning in Paris on May 16—immediately after the Commonwealth Conference.

Both he and Mr. Walter Nash, New Zealand's Prime Minister, who has just had talks with Mr. Khrushchev, will tell their colleagues of their assessment of current Soviet thinking on Summit topics.

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Indian Prime Minister, who also met Mr. Khrushchev recently, will give his own impressions, along with an appraisal of China's policies based on his talks in New Delhi with Mr. Chou En-lai, China's Prime Minister.

The Commonwealth Conference in its review of the international situation will discuss developments area by area—Europe, the Middle East, South-East Asia and the Far East.

Mr. Macmillan, who had talks with President Eisenhower at Camp David recently, will brief his Commonwealth colleagues on the stand that the West will take on these issues; (1) Berlin and German reunification, (2) Disarmament, (3) Banning of nuclear weapons tests and (4) East-West relations in general.

More than 150 demonstrators, most of them members of the anti-Apartheid movement greeted South African Foreign Minister Eric Louw with cries of "Murder" when he arrived at his hotel here today (adds AFP).

The demonstrators carried flaming torches but were kept on the other side of the street by a group of some 40 policemen.

Mr. Louw, representing Premier Hendrik Verwoerd who is recovering from an attempt of his life, had arrived at London airport half an hour earlier.

135. In London: Press Conference³²

Jawaharlal Nehru: Good Morning.

Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit:³³ Ladies and gentlemen, you are very welcome, as always, at India House. The Prime Minister will make no statement and so will you please put your questions, intimating the papers to which you belong. And may I also say that because of pressure of time we shall have to end this conference at about twenty past twelve.

Question: Does the Prime Minister think that the five principles of co-existence have been violated by recent events?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Presumably you are referring to the India-China border. I think that they have not been observed.

Question: There is a feeling Sir, that you have failed to grasp the hand of friendship extended by President Ayub Khan of Pakistan and are reluctant to talk about the problems of Kashmir. Is it a correct feeling? This was also referred to by the President himself yesterday in his speech and he said you seemed to treat China as an eternal friend of India and, on the other hand, Pakistan as an eternal enemy.³⁴ Is this correct?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I do not know what President Ayub Khan has said yesterday but I should be very sorry if he has the impression which you have just said he has. It has always been our policy, and a policy dictated not by any momentary whim but by history and geography and various other things, to be friendly with Pakistan and to develop closer cooperative relations. As a result of Partition, many frightfully difficult problems arose, not only on the political level but on various levels, which have been keeping us in a state of, well, sometimes some tension. We hope they will gradually go. I have always said that I should be very glad to meet President Ayub Khan and indeed I am meeting him here apart from the Prime Ministers' Conference and otherwise too.

32. At India House, London, 2 May 1960. The report of the press conference was released by the PMS (PIB) in New Delhi on 7 May 1960.

33. High Commissioner to the UK.

34. Addressing a mass rally at Albert Hall, London, Ayub Khan said: "If India felt that Pakistan was an eternal enemy and China was an eternal friend," she was not beginning to understand the strategic facts. See *The Hindu*, 3 May 1960.

However, as for China, and being a friend of China, if one looks at this with any kind of perspective, naturally we want to be friends with all our neighbouring countries. We can't live in a state of enmity in history. An occasion may arise, as they have arisen, when there are difficulties, there are conflicts. It is unfortunate, but one does not look forward to a state of hostility with any neighbouring countries or, indeed, with any other country for that matter.

Question: Could you say whether there is any prospect of solution of the Kashmir problem? Or will it continue, like Alsace-Lorraine and Cyprus for years and years?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, if you ask me frankly, I would say that it depends on Pakistan.

Question: Mr Prime Minister, in your view, what should the Commonwealth do about recent events in South Africa?³⁵ Should South Africa be expelled or what should be done?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Do you not think it would be rather improper for me to give my views in this rather aggressive fashion at a Press Conference. Obviously, you will appreciate that we have been entirely opposed to apartheid and racial discrimination in any part of the world. We think that the United Nations Charter itself is opposed to it and, in some form or other, we have raised this in the United Nations year after year and often the United Nations has passed the resolutions put forward. Therefore, we think that the South African Union Government is acting in a manner which is opposed to the United Nations Charter as well as the normal, if I may use the word, civilised conception of human conduct nowadays. That is one thing. Perhaps you know or you may have forgotten that because of this our relations with the South African Government have been strained for the last dozen years. We have had practically no relations at all, although we are both attached to the Commonwealth. About ten or twelve years ago, I forget, they withdrew their representative from India. We withdrew ours from South Africa.³⁶ We have no diplomatic representation in each other's country. On the economic level, you think about boycotts here, there is no question of our boycotting them because we have

35. The reference is to police firing at Sharpeville and in Langa township near Capetown in South Africa on 21 March 1960. See also SWJN/SS/58/items 240-241, and SWJN/SS/59/item 188.

36. In 1946; see SWJN/SS/2/p. 489.

stopped all economic connections with them. Nothing from South Africa has come to India for years and nothing from India goes there direct—indirectly may be via some other country. So that has been our attitude, because of this question of segregation and apartheid, which affected principally the Africans there and also affected a fairly considerable number of people of Indian and Pakistani descent. They are South African nationals but by descent they are from Pakistan and India and in this matter, of course, India and Pakistan have cooperated and pulled more or less together. So that is our attitude in regard to this question. It is a strong attitude and we fear that if this question is not properly handled the whole question of racial discrimination in Africa, the whole of Africa and more especially South Africa, this will lead to increasing trouble on a very big scale. Now, what should be done in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference? It is not courteous to the conference or to my colleagues. But since we attach so much importance to this question, I have no doubt my colleagues at this Prime Ministers' Conference, most of them must feel that way in varying degrees and would like to make the world realise that they feel that way.

Question: Could you kindly comment on the offer of joint defence between India and Pakistan by the Pakistan President?³⁷

Jawaharlal Nehru: This offer was made in the context of Chinese incursions into Indian territory. In so far as the offer was made we appreciate the spirit of the offer if I may say so, a friendly spirit. But defence as you know, is very intimately allied to foreign policy. Now Pakistan—I am not criticising Pakistan, I am stating a fact—is tied up with all kinds of military alliances, which they are entitled to do of course. Our basic policy has been not to be so tied up with any military alliance with any country, to be unaligned as they put it or uncommitted in that respect. Now it would mean a basic departure for us from that policy which is not only a policy which we pursued since we became independent, but long before Independence we talked in those terms. Its roots lie long before India became independent and you can see it in our declarations and all that. So that, for us to leave that policy, which we consider completely right even in the present circumstances, would mean an upheaval of all we have stood up for and thought of in these last many years. And so President Ayub Khan's offer of joint defence would lead us to all these complications, apart from many others too. That is the position.

37. In the same speech.

Question: Could you tell us what are the general items of importance for discussion at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, normally in conferences of this type a general survey is made of major problems on a territorial basis. There are discussions of problems such as of Europe, Asia or Far East or some other area like this, or disarmament which of course is not territorial in that sense. The fact of racial relations is obviously important which fills people's minds in the Conference and outside. How we consider it is another matter and apart from the morality of it, it is a danger to world peace also and from that point of view it has to be considered. I suppose that those most concerned with the situation in Europe, in this context, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, will tell us his views about it and about the coming Summit Conference.³⁸ So, no doubt, we may consider the situation in Asia and elsewhere, and then these are economic problems which of course are of vital importance.

Question: In the context of joint defence even though there is no question of India departing from her foreign policy, could you not envisage a kind of an Asian Scandinavia? In Scandinavia there are Sweden and Finland which are neutral, but there are other nations like Norway and Denmark that belong to NATO but are on the best of terms with each other. Could you not envisage an Asian Scandinavia like that?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I do not know. I am not clear what it involves or what it means, but I shall certainly think about these matters; in future all kinds of things might happen. There is an Asian Monroe doctrine or an Asian Scandinavia. All these things, of course, are possibilities in the future.

Question: Can you say what value the Commonwealth has other than economic?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Other than economic, did you say? It has certainly an economic value, but it seems to me that it has a much greater value in other spheres. First of all, the very conception of Commonwealth relationship which is quite unique, is a good conception that is, countries which associate with each other without any kind of bonds or conditions except that they wish to be so associated. That is rather a unique conception. We have had alliances previously between countries

38. See items 125-130.

that brought them together for military, economic or other purposes. It involved give and take—you give something and take something. The Commonwealth association does not involve any of these things. There are no conditions attached except, as I said, the desire to be there and the desire to cooperate in so far as it is consistent and possible for independent nations. That I think is a good development and worthy to be followed in larger spheres also. Of course, difficulties constantly arise. What is it based on? It is based for some countries like Australia, New Zealand, and Canada on historical cultural and other factors. In the case of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, etc.—these factors do not operate. Some other factors operate, but I suppose, two factors, one is a certain appreciation of a certain form of political organisation, a democratic form of historical organisation and the other is the lack of racial discrimination; otherwise if it is not there, then one does not know what the bond is. Now, this is important. You see, the Commonwealth association is the very reverse of what might be called the present tendency in the world for a cold war, that is a certain warmth in approach regardless of the problems. There may be differences. Nevertheless, it is a certain friendly approach to each other which is a very good thing, which helps to tone down friction and difficulties, even if they exist, and helps to some extent.

Question: To what extent do you think would be concerned by a greater commitment by Britain, both politically and economically, in Europe?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Surely, this is for Great Britain to decide. It is not for us, obviously, to criticise it except in so far as it might involve some economic consequences, which we will examine and then express our opinion. It is a question of expression of friendly opinion.

Question: How long do you think a policy such as apartheid will survive in the world?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I cannot fix dates about these matters, but it seems to me that it cannot survive for long. It can only lead to an abandonment of a bad policy or conflict on a big scale. It is a dynamic thing, this way or that way. It cannot survive as it is. Take for instance Africa. It is very rapidly developing, and there are a number of independent countries and there will be more in the course of the next year or two, and you can yourself imagine how the situation in Africa will be with a number of independent countries feeling strongly about this question of racial integration and how they fit into the larger scheme of things. By conflict I do not mean wars, but conflict in opinion, in daily

governmental activity which can lead to other conflicts. It cannot survive. I do not see how it can. It is opposed to the whole concept of modern theories. It is opposed to the United Nations Charter and the functioning of the United Nations.

Question: Sir, in view of the reported failure in your recent talks with Mr. Chou En-lai³⁹ what steps do you propose to take to dislodge the Chinese from Indian territory?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, that is a very big question. My talks with Mr. Chou En-lai disclosed completely different sets of facts on which we based our respective stands. I mean to say that sometimes there is difference in facts, a great deal of inference to be drawn from the facts. The whole basis was factually different and we decided, as you might know, that these facts might be investigated further by officials on each side and reported to each Government. I do not expect that they will arrive at any unanimous finding about the facts. That is not at all likely. But it is possible that they may limit differences factually about certain matters. They report back to our Governments and we consider the reports. Although it seems not very easy, we shall certainly strive for a peaceful solution. It is not a matter on which one jumps into, and attempts a warlike solution. At the same time, every country involved like this has to take all measures open to it and possible for it to strengthen itself in order to defend itself.

Question: Could you possibly say, in connection with this, whether an undertaking was given by Mr. Chou En-lai and or by you, in view of these completely different sets of facts, that any new complete sets of facts will not be added to the situation?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Undertaking not to add new facts? What exactly does that mean? When I was referring to facts and differences in our viewpoints, it was necessarily facts in regard to the past. Now, for instance, they claim that they have been in constructive possession of certain territories in the past and not in the recent past, in the last hundred years, or four hundred years. We claim we have been in possession actually and not in maps only of those territories. Now the question is; "Who has been in historical possession?" Of course, the difficulty arises because most of these areas are uninhabited. They are high mountainous areas where sometimes in the height of summer shepherds bring their flocks,

39. Held in New Delhi, 20-25 April 1960; see section 1 "Chou En-lai's Visit."

where in winter there is a deep freeze where nobody can go. In an inhabited area these facts will not be so different. So the question is as to who has actually been historically in possession and acknowledged to be in possession. Now you say, "Will they make any change in relation to facts?" The changes can be of two kinds. One is that an advance is made into an area which is under the control of the other side. That is one type of change. The other is internal changes in the areas occupied. I do not think the former is likely. The latter of course, it is difficult to say. But internally it may be done, internally meaning, of course, building of roads and things of that kind.

Question: Sir Oliver Franks⁴⁰ and his two colleagues who visited India recently have estimated that India would need about 22,300 million in foreign aid as sort of grants for her current Five Year Plan. Do you intend to raise this matter at the Conference, and if so what do you expect the U.K. will contribute?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think this matter will come up before this Conference in any precise form. There may be some broad reference in discussing the economic conditions of underdeveloped countries in the Commonwealth and the question might arise about our own conditions in India. I may say something about it, but we are not, I suppose, going to discuss this matter in the Conference at all. It has been discussed at various other levels and those discussions have been both bilateral and through the agency of the World Bank.

Question: Would you give your comment on the report that in the last year the Chinese have adopted a somewhat less friendly approach to the people of India and Indonesia? Could you give us your appreciation as to what has led to the change in Chinese policy since Bandung and whether you think their foreign policy now constitutes a threat to the independent nations of Asia?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, that is rather a difficult question to answer. The changes in Chinese policy in the last five years, six years since Bandung and what changes have taken place and why, I really cannot answer it adequately, lots of changes have taken place. You have as many sources of information as I have,

40. Oliver Franks, chairman of Lloyds Bank, London, led the three-member World Bank team to study economic conditions and planned development programmes in India and Pakistan. The other two members were Hermann Abs, chairman of the Deutsche Bank, Frankfurt, and Allan Sproul, former president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

perhaps more in some ways. It may be just the policy that comes about in a nation that is becoming stronger and its strength and historical background become reflected in its policies.

Question: Could you say, Sir, as to why Mr Menon, your Defence Minister, continues to make virulent statements against Pakistan especially when there is no provocation now?

Jawaharlal Nehru: You do not expect me to discuss statements made on a particular occasion, in a particular context. In a particular context you see a paragraph here and there and these things come in a certain context, in answer to a certain question in Parliament or a debate in Parliament. It is not always very fair to judge something taken out of its context.

Question: Sir, you said a few moments ago that if not properly handled the question of apartheid in South Africa will cause an increased amount of trouble in Africa. May I ask you how you would suggest it should be handled properly, and secondly, what your attitude to the Commonwealth would be if South Africa continues its present policy of racial discrimination?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The proper handling of the question would be to give up apartheid. There is no other way. If apartheid or rather the background of thought and philosophy underlying it continue, with its attendant source of conflict, there will be a bitter conflict and widespread conflict, and, therefore, when I meant proper handling, I simply meant it should be given up. In what form it should be given up. It may mean a sudden complete change. It is very desirable, but that kind of thing is not always easy for Governments. The point is the philosophy underlying it should be changed and given effect to.

Question: Did you say before Mr. Prime Minister that China was a threat to world peace?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I did say that, yes.

Question: Which problem in your opinion is the most likely to be debated at the forthcoming Summit Conference?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Do you want me to peep behind the curtains of the Summit Conference? In the final analysis I think it is a problem of having a little confidence in each other. Because it is after all a complete lack of confidence

in each other that is partly responsible for those problems of course. There are other reasons too—fear, apprehension of each other. And if by any manner or means that can be lessened somewhat it would be helpful. No one expects the Summit Conference to arrive at some magic solution. But even a little way helps if it creates that. I am convinced that every country represented in the Summit or outside is passionately desirous of removing the fear of war. There is that tremendous urge not only in the people as it is, but in Government. At the same time, apprehension and lack of confidence in the other party would not ease the fear that one might take advantage of any lessening of slackness in the other party. The problems are difficult enough but this context in which the problem subsists makes it much more difficult.

Question: Since the last Summit you have had personally unexampled [sic] opportunity to talk with principals of the Summit. Do you feel that there is a greater possibility for the meeting of minds at this one than there was at the last?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, I do think so, although I must confess quite frankly that my optimism is not quite so great as it used be some months ago. Nevertheless, I do think that they are meeting today in relatively more favourable understanding of each other. They have met each other personally. Also there is greater understanding of the basic issues involved.

Question: Do you feel that at the forthcoming Summit Conference Asian countries should be directly represented as this would enhance the value of the Conference?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The question of Asian [countries] being represented at this Summit Conference has really not arisen, so far as I know; may be some reference might have been made. What has been said is that in the future and especially in regard to some problems which affect Asia and the world generally, Asian countries should be represented, and there is obvious truth in it. But at this Conference the question does not arise. We want that; speaking for myself and my country, we would be very happy if the four countries represented in this Summit Conference make some progress towards solution. But we do not like the idea in the future that every country should depend on the decision of these four countries.

Question: Will the Prime Minister say what he thinks about the last speech of Khrushchev regarding Berlin? And what are, in the Prime Minister's

opinion, the chances of reaching a modus vivendi on this question at the Summit?

Jawaharlal Nehru: You do not expect me to perform the functions of a leader in a newspaper, to analyse and criticise speeches of statesmen. They differ so much in their context that sometimes each successive speech so lightly answers a previous speech or goes in a different direction. I cannot do that. What was the second part of your question?

Question: What do you think are the chances of arriving at a modus vivendi on the question of Berlin?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That I really honestly do not know. I imagine that probably some temporary accommodation for a future period would come out of this, so as to allow further consideration of the problem.

Question: What would you most hope to see achieved at the Summit?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, one can hardly expect everybody embracing each other there, in an excess of fraternal emotion. But, broadly put, it is what I said a little while ago, a certain greater confidence. It does not mean that a country can relax in the ultimate sense and think that all is well in this best of all possible worlds. And that there will be peace and no danger. No responsible statesman can take that view. He has to think of emergencies and to prepare for them. But there is such a thing as preparing for these emergencies while at the same time increasing the feeling of confidence. That feeling itself becomes a restraining factor for a person who might be considered an evil doer.

Question: Sir, those leader writers you spoke of, used to talk in terms of a Third Force. Do you think that a Third Force is truly developing in the world's two polarised camps that will have to be reconciled at future Summit Conferences?

Jawaharlal Nehru: You talk of a force. Nowadays force is interpreted in terms of military force.

Question: I talk of moral force.

Jawaharlal Nehru: A moral force, if you like yes, but not an organised moral force in that way, but the force of opinion in every country not in separate

countries, but in every country, whether the country is England or Russia or America. In these very countries, there is a development of that moral force, and of course in other countries too. But when you think in terms of certain countries representing that moral force against some others that is an incorrect application of it. But I would certainly agree with you that in every country involved and in countries not involved there is an increasing moral force or thinking that matters, which affects politicians, statesmen and Governments.

Question: Do you think there is any threat to world peace from China? Are you going to discuss this at the Commonwealth Conference?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Threat to peace? Where?

Question: From Communist China.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Where? In Asia?

Question: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, potentially, yes. Actually it is difficult to say. Not in the near future, I think. But you see, the thing about China is not what they say or do not say, but the fact of the tremendously explosive situation being created there by the rapid growth, industrially and of the population which will be a thousand millions in another twenty [years] or thereabouts. Now, that brings in certain explosive factors in the situation and there is no very easy answer to that question.

Question: Would it help if China was brought into the U.N.?

Jawaharlal Nehru: But that has been our opinion throughout and it continues to be so because it really verges on the absurdity to go on calling the island of Formosa or Taiwan as China. It is not. And if you discuss world problems ignoring in the U.N. the biggest and most populated country in the world it may not be the biggest in size, I am not sure, but certainly the most populated country in the world—it is unrealistic and you cannot solve the problem of disarmament, leaving China out of it as we are doing. And how you are going to get China into it? These difficulties arise. I think if China had been taken into the U.N. nine or ten years ago many of the present day problems would have been much simpler.

Question: Looking ahead at future Commonwealth Conferences, do you envisage a time with the constantly growing number of members when they will get so big as to become unmanageable?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, there is that possibility. But the Commonwealth has shown quite an astonishing degree of adaptability and I suppose it may find some way of adapting itself to the new situation.

Question: What will be the future of Tibet and its original Government?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Tibet is today very much a part of the Chinese State and I do not myself see in the foreseeable future anything happening which will change the present position there.

Question: In view of the explosive situation created by China, do you consider that your policy of neutrality is still valid?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, to begin with, my policy is not of neutralism. I have always thought a country is neutral only when there is war. If you accept the fact of a country being neutral in peacetime, presumably the other countries are belligerent. So it is not a correct description. What you perhaps mean is the policy of non-alignment in military alliances. That we feel is a very sound policy and not only were we right in following it but that it should be followed by us and I hope by other countries in the future. It is not proper for me to criticise other countries that follow other policies partly, because conditions differ in each country, and geographical conditions. But apart from that, broadly, I think that the policy of non-alignment is the most helpful policy. That does not mean a lack of looking after yourself or protecting yourself in emergencies, but you cannot, once you admit a major war is not desirable—it will mean large scale extermination of humanity—well then, the methods of war are not helpful in that. I admit there may be aggressiveness, it is possible. But military alliance while in certain contexts may perhaps have been necessary—I cannot say about that—they do not promote that atmosphere of accommodation and of settlement of problems which has become the chief aim of the great powers of the world today.

Question: Do you think non-alignment has promoted accommodation between India and China? How would China behave if there were a war, in view of her behaviour in peacetime?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Non-alignment has nothing to do with the behaviour of a particular country, just like what is referred to as the Five Principles, Panchsheel. Some people say "Do you still believe in those Five Principles?" Well, of course I do. Somebody else may break them, may not live up to them. You might as well say, "Do you believe still in truth because somebody else tells lies?" Well, I still believe in truth though the others may not act up to that. The Five Principles are to me obvious principles of international behaviour. Countries do not live up to them—that is our misfortune. What China would have done in a particular set of circumstances, I do not know. China began its career after its new regime of the twenties by using very strong and impolite language about India. I am talking about ten years ago. Well, we survived it. We did not allow ourselves to get too excited about it and then they became friendly. They again used, about a year or two ago, very impolite language. In our reply we endeavoured to be polite but firm so these things happened. But would you expect an individual or a country to behave in a rough and uncivilised way because somebody else does so? That could be bringing down the standards of individual and international behavior.

Question: Did you find Mr Chou En-lai and his advisers very much in ignorance of attitudes and institutions outside China and if so, were you able to educate them at all?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I suppose there is a measure of lack of full information on their part. Or perhaps it would be more correct to say that the information they get is not very correct. It is coloured information, that is, they see only one side of the picture about the outside world I mean.

136. First Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers⁴¹

1. OPENING OF MEETING

Mr. Macmillan,⁴² in welcoming the other delegations, expressed the hope that the discussions they would have would be helpful and constructive as they had

41. Minutes of the First Meeting held at 10 Downing Street, London, S.W. I, on Tuesday, 3 May 1960, at 11-30 a.m. The following countries participated: the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Ghana, Malaya, Rhodesia and Nyasaland.
42. Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, was in the Chair.

always been in the past. With the increasing attendance, the Cabinet room was becoming inadequate for so large a gathering; the conversion of Marlborough House, which would be much more convenient, would probably be completed in time for their next Meeting.

He was sure they all greatly regretted the absence of Dr. Verwoerd,⁴³ who had greatly looked forward to attending the Meeting, and he would send their combined wishes for his speedy recovery. He regretted also that Mr. Senanayake⁴⁴ could not be with them because of his preoccupations in Ceylon. They would all wish to join in extending a welcome to Mr. Louw⁴⁵ and Senator Cooray⁴⁶ who were attending in their place.

He extended a special welcome to Tunku Abdul Rahman⁴⁷ who was the first representative of Malaya to attend one of these Conferences. They were glad to have him both for himself and for his country, which could contribute much to the life of the Commonwealth.

Tunku Abdul Rahman said that he was both proud and happy to have the honour of replying, as the newest member of the Commonwealth, on behalf of all delegations. He came with a sense of great anticipation of the benefits which would flow from this meeting. The links of the Commonwealth brought together men of various races, colours and creeds. A new nation like Malaya felt happy and secure that she had friends to whom she could turn for help if necessary. She was making her own contribution to the benefit of the Commonwealth as the largest dollar earner in the sterling area and in making available some of her territory for Commonwealth defence forces in Asia.

The development of Malaya was now proceeding after the 12-year struggle with the Communists, which would officially come to an end on 31st July. Her victory had strengthened the forces of democracy in South-East Asia, as was demonstrated by the result of the recent election in Laos.⁴⁸ But his country would have to carry out extensive development plans for the welfare of the Malayan people if they were to repulse other forms of Communist aggression such as subversion and infiltration into political parties, trade unions and youth organisations. This was a psychological war which Malaya would fight hard. Technical aid was of great importance, and he was glad that it had a place on

43. H.F. Verwoerd, the Prime Minister of South Africa, was attacked on 9 April 1960 at Johannesburg.

44. Dudley Senanayake, the Prime Minister of Ceylon.

45. E. H. Louw, Minister of External Affairs, South Africa.

46. E. J. Cooray, Minister of Justice, Ceylon.

47. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, Prime Minister of Malaya.

48. On 24 April 1960.

the agenda.

Malaya firmly intended to remain in the Commonwealth, but there were elements in the country which were opposed to her membership. The Commonwealth must preserve its standards of conduct and its moral principles of equality of men irrespective of colour, and of justice and fair play. He felt bound to say that the policies of the Government of South Africa seemed to many people to be at variance with these principles. Indeed, he had been given a unanimous mandate by his Parliament to raise the question of apartheid in relation first to South Africa's policies within her own territories, and secondly her attitude to the non-white nations of the Commonwealth.

There was a convention that the Meeting did not discuss the domestic policies of member countries and he had no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of another country. But recent events in South Africa had exceeded the limits of purely domestic concern. If the meeting were to evade this issue, the value of their gathering would be diminished in the eyes of the world. Moreover, a cause of suspicion and distrust would remain which could only be harmful to relations within the Commonwealth. It was therefore essential that the subject should be discussed, either formally or informally. He had such great faith in the Commonwealth that he was sure discussion of this problem would not put a strain on the ties of membership but rather make them even stronger.

Finally, he expressed, on behalf of all delegations, their deep appreciation of the arrangements made by the United Kingdom Government for the Conference, and for the warm welcome and hospitality which they had extended.

2. AGENDA

Mr. Macmillan referred to the list of topics for discussion at the plenary sessions and to the provisional programme outlined in P.M.M. (60) 2.

This programme did not include the problem of race relations in South Africa which was inevitably much in the minds of all delegations. He asked how they would wish to handle this. His own view was that it would be preferable for this subject not to be discussed in plenary session. The atmosphere of formal meetings, with advisers present and a record, was not suitable. Moreover, it was a settled convention of their Meetings that they did not discuss in open session the internal affairs of any particular Commonwealth country or, for that matter, questions which were in dispute between two Commonwealth countries. There were positive disadvantages in dwelling on differences and it would be better for them to concentrate in the formal meetings on the many matters on which they could work together for the general good.

But there would be ample opportunity for informal discussion outside the

plenary sessions. The larger the Commonwealth became, the more valuable these informal discussions would be, and he thought they should become an even bigger feature of the Prime Ministers' meetings than they had been in the past.

He suggested that this question of race relations in South Africa was one which might well be discussed informally between Mr. Louw and small groups of Prime Ministers outside the plenary sessions. This would provide an opportunity for Prime Ministers to inform themselves of the problem and yet preserve an important convention. He was glad to note that Mr. Louw had himself said in the Union Parliament that he would be prepared to take part in such discussions.

*Mr. Menzies*⁴⁹ said that there had been private discussions in the past where there were matters of dispute between certain members of the Commonwealth. Such discussions did not always produce solutions but by enabling both sides of a question to be better understood they cleared the air and contributed to friendliness and goodwill. He agreed that informal discussions with Mr. Louw would be helpful, and he would like to hear from him about South African racial policies; this would be much better than a formal discussion which might lead to developments which would change the whole character of Commonwealth Meetings.

Mr. Louw expressed appreciation of the remarks made about Dr. Verwoerd, who had wished him to convey to the Conference his sincere regret at not being able to attend.

Dr. Verwoerd had recently referred to the convention which was observed at Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meetings that the internal affairs of member countries or differences between member countries were not discussed in formal session; but he had indicated that he would see no objection to taking advantage of the presence of Commonwealth Prime Ministers for the purpose of private discussions of such matters in small groups. South African racial policies were of long standing, and had never previously been discussed at a Commonwealth Meeting. There was, however, need for fuller information about this matter, and he would accordingly be glad to have private and informal discussions with small groups of Prime Ministers, when he would explain South Africa's policies and answer questions about them. The informal character of the discussions he had in mind would be preserved if there were not more than five or six Prime Ministers present at any time. If this arrangement were acceptable to the Conference he would refrain from replying now to the remarks made by Tunku Abdul Rahman.

49. R. G. Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia.

*President Ayub*⁵⁰ and *Mr. Nash*⁵¹ both suggested that it would be helpful if Mr. Louw could begin any informal discussions by a statement on South Africa's racial policies, after which Prime Ministers could ask questions.

Mr. Nehru said that Tunku Abdul Rahman had expressed the strong feelings of many people in the Commonwealth and elsewhere about recent developments in South Africa. The problem could not be ignored and they had to consider how best to deal with it.

Although there was much to be said for the convention that matters of domestic concern should not be discussed, he thought that if there were no discussion of South African racial policies, it would put some of the Prime Ministers into an extremely embarrassing position in their own countries. He thought that on the whole the suggestion for informal discussions in small groups was good and helpful; they would be better than entirely casual talks between individuals and Mr. Louw. Some additional information would help in understanding the situation even though most Prime Ministers were acquainted generally with it.

*Mr. Diefenbaker*⁵² said that he agreed that it would endanger the whole concept of the Commonwealth if the Meeting were to seek to exercise the functions of a judicial body, but that it would certainly be wise to arrange for informal discussion of this matter as soon as possible.

In the course of further discussion, it was suggested that the first informal talk with Mr. Louw could be at the end of the morning session on the following day, and this should perhaps be followed by another informal talk after the afternoon session.

3. PUBLICITY

It was agreed that Lord Home would as usual make a statement to the Press at the end of the first day of the Meeting to indicate the general pattern of the discussions, and that a final communiqué would be issued at the close of the Meeting. It was further agreed that in view of the fact that there would not be any plenary sessions on Friday, 6th May, the interim statement usually made at the end of the first week should be made on Thursday evening, 5th May.

Mr. Nash expressed the view that it might be helpful, particularly during the second week of the Meeting, if some statement, however short, were to be issued to the Press each day.

50. Mohammed Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan.

51. Walter Nash, Prime Minister of New Zealand.

52. John G. Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada.

It was agreed that the Meeting would consider at the beginning of the second week what further arrangements to make for statements to the Press.

4. WORLD POLITICAL SITUATION

Mr. Macmillan said that among the developments in the international situation in the three years since the last Meeting perhaps the most significant and immediately dangerous event had been Mr. Khrushchev's statement on Berlin at the end of 1958, which had seemed at the time to amount to an ultimatum. This could have had the gravest consequences if the situation had been allowed to drift. Accordingly he had thought it right to visit Moscow in February, 1959 to start a process of consultation which he hoped would lead to a peaceful settlement. This process of consultation had, at least, imposed a delay on Soviet action and had allowed time for valuable bilateral discussions and reciprocal visits. But although the immediate crisis had been avoided, the threat could at any time be revived. It was also important that too many hopes should not be built up about the outcome of the forthcoming Summit meeting. The problems which had to be faced were too difficult to admit of quick or easy solution. His aim would therefore be to arrange that the forthcoming Summit meeting should be the first of a series and he himself would be satisfied if there were only limited progress. Although he could not of course speak on behalf of other Commonwealth Prime Ministers at the Summit meeting he would be fortified by their advice and, he hoped, by their understanding and goodwill.

He suggested that he should first give the Conference a resumé of the world position as seen by the United Kingdom Government and some account of how he envisaged the Summit meeting itself developing. He would then welcome the views of other Prime Ministers on the general international situation. He proposed that Mr. Selwyn Lloyd⁵³ should address the Meeting on the following afternoon in greater detail about certain aspects of foreign affairs, particularly disarmament.

Russian Intentions

In the view of the United Kingdom Government the aims of the Soviet leaders remained, at any rate in theory, world domination. But Soviet methods had become more flexible, partly because the nuclear stalemate made global war more unlikely, and partly because the Russian leaders were under some pressure to improve living conditions in the Soviet Union. This did not mean

53. British Foreign Secretary.

the end of the struggle between Communism and democracy; the field of battle had merely moved from the military into the economic and political spheres. Nevertheless, limited military ventures by the Soviet Union, for example in the Middle and Far East, were still a possibility.

The transfer of the conflict into the economic and political fields was on the whole to be welcomed. It was to be hoped that a public opinion would develop in the Soviet Union over the years, and that as the Russians became more content they would become more reasonable. The important thing was to accept Soviet protestations of desire for a detente at their face value and to ensure that they were kept to their word.

In the economic field Soviet aid was not a bad thing and might provide help for under-developed countries. It was only dangerous if it dominated a large sector of the country's economy, distorted the normal pattern of trade, or enabled appreciable numbers of Soviet experts to fill important posts.

China

China was strong and would grow stronger. Her leaders were more rigidly ideological than the present Russian leaders. Although large-scale aggression by China seemed unlikely, small-scale military adventures were quite possible. Communism and self-interest at present bound Russia strongly to China, but the Russians were not entirely satisfied about long-term relationships. At the moment, however, Russian fear of China was only latent.

The Summit

The main purpose of the Summit meeting was to assist the process of *détente* by means of personal contact and discussion between the Heads of the four Governments concerned. Whilst it was apparent that the Russians regarded peaceful co-existence as allowing them to work for the overthrow of non-Communist Governments by all means short of major war, he hoped that practical arrangements between the two *blocs* could be worked out.

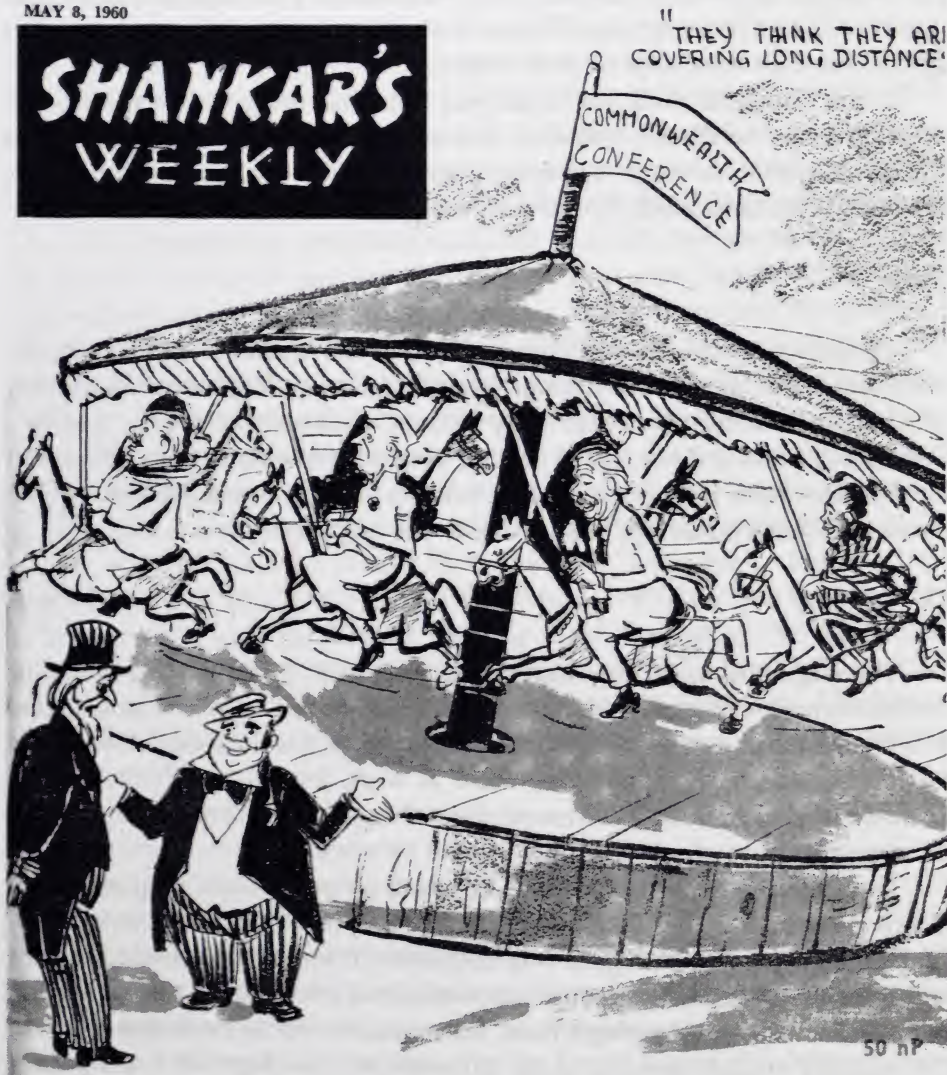
There were five particular fields in which progress might be made at the Conference. First, an agreement on disarmament would be a logical result of genuine co-existence, though it was optimistic to hope for any real progress unless the Soviet leaders accepted the principle of international inspection and control. Secondly, and perhaps most important, it was to be hoped that Mr. Khrushchev would agree to some arrangement, perhaps of a temporary character, to prevent the Berlin question poisoning East-West relations. The Western Powers could not abandon the population of West Berlin, nor could

they accept the abrogation of their rights there. Thirdly, there was the possibility of developing contacts between East and West on such matters as trade and cultural contacts. Fourthly, it would be an important objective to secure the formal agreement of all four Powers to the idea of a series of Summit meetings and, if possible, to fix the date of the next meeting. And, fifthly, there was the

[Merry Go Round]

MAY 8, 1960

**SHANKAR'S
WEEKLY**



(From *Shankar's Weekly*, 8 May 1960, cover)

question of an agreement on nuclear tests. Negotiations at Geneva amongst experts had now reached the point where decisions by Governments were needed on the major outstanding questions, i.e., the length of a moratorium on further tests, the exact composition of the control commission and the quota of inspections. In the United Kingdom's view it was of the first importance that an agreement on this question should be reached, not only because of the danger to health that could be caused if nuclear testing on a large scale were resumed, but because of the dangers which would arise if more and more countries acquired nuclear weapons. Moreover, a treaty on nuclear tests might pave the way for disarmament negotiations over a wider field.

In our relationships with Russia we must keep the balance between cynicism and naivety, between the view that, given the apparent determination of the Soviet Union to subvert and dominate the free world, any attempt to reduce tension was a waste of time, and the view that we should have confidence in Soviet protestations of goodwill and peaceful intentions. Whilst avoiding any suggestion of appeasement we should carefully explore every course that offered a chance of reducing international tension in the hope that by gradually disentangling the knot we should be able gradually to move towards a more peaceful and more stable world political situation.

*London, S.W. 1,
3rd May, 1960.*

137. Second Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers⁵⁴

1. WORLD POLITICAL SITUATION

Mr. Macmillan invited *Mr. Nehru* to resume the discussion which had begun in the first plenary session.

Mr. Nehru said that to regard the international situation as a struggle between Communist and anti-Communist countries was misleading and an oversimplification. Although it was not possible to ascertain the true intentions of the Soviet Union and China, it was clear that their attitudes to the rest of the world were completely different. The Soviet Union had undergone a great revolution 40 years ago. For many years after the revolution she had pursued aggressive policies towards the outside world, and this was perhaps natural.

54. Minutes of the Second Meeting held at 10 Downing Street, London, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, 3rd May, 1960, at 3-30 p.m. Harold Macmillan was in the Chair.

Internal dissensions and fear of external attack had prevented the Soviet Union from settling down sooner, but the process of returning to reality and a reasonable attitude to the rest of the world began about the time of Stalin's death. The Soviet people were by then weary of living at the high pitch of revolution and longed for some material improvement in their lives. In those conditions, Mr. Khrushchev's approach to the problems of his country found a ready acceptance, and he became a popular leader. The Soviet Union's growing economic and military strength made her feel more secure in the world, and she had no wish for territorial expansion. She knew that modern war would be a disaster for the whole world in which no one would be the victor. Her purpose was to demonstrate the superiority of Communism, and she was becoming increasingly confident that she could achieve this by her rapid economic growth and in particular, by her industrial and technical progress.

The situation in China was completely different. China had comparatively recently undergone a tremendous revolution, involving a vast population which was talented and even more industrious than the Russian. The Chinese had at no time looked on the Soviet Union as the real leader in world Communism and they considered themselves purer Marxists than the Russians. The tide of revolution was still in full flood and her attitude to the outside world was ideologically rigid and aggressive. Her economic achievements had made her even more rigid ideologically, but even if her successes had been exaggerated, potentially China was enormously powerful.

The aggressive attitude of China to the outside world had been considerably increased by the refusal of the United Nations to accept the People's Government of China as a member. It was a farcical situation in which the Government of Chiang Kai-shek claimed to represent China in the United Nations. It was inconceivable that any disarmament treaty could be achieved without China; and the sooner she became a member of the United Nations the better. China's aggressiveness was increased by her isolation. Chinese leaders knew little of the outside world and the language barrier made it difficult to convey other ideas and impressions to them. They were Communists, but even more they were Nationalists with aggressive and expansionist ideas. Recent Chinese actions in Tibet and elsewhere had been supported by Chinese all over the world, in Formosa and the United States as well as on the mainland.

Turning to relations between the Soviet Union and China, Mr. Nehru said that in the present situation each had need of the other. Neither at the moment would do anything to weaken the other. If world tensions lessened, however, the pressures on the Soviet Union to help China would lessen also. The Soviet Union had serious apprehensions for the future. In 20 years' time China would have a population of 1,000 million industrious and talented people, working in

a highly organised and industrial society. Unless international agreements were reached to stop nuclear tests and the manufacture of nuclear weapons China (among other countries) would acquire them over the next decade. The most terrible threat to the peace of the world during the next generation would be the emergence of China as an industrial nation of great military power, with the population and the vast spaces to have some capacity to survive even a nuclear war.

This threat could only be checked by some measure of success in international discussions, the immediate hopes for which at present lay in the Summit conferences. The initiative started by Mr. Macmillan for direct contacts between the heads of nations had been most helpful. By itself it did not solve problems, but it produced the background which helped to bring about solutions. If the Summit conferences could achieve some success in easing tensions and making a start on disarmament, the dangers of the next decade might be held in check. Otherwise the situation might become completely uncontrollable, with many countries possessing nuclear weapons. The Summit talks were of great importance and he wished them every success. Major problems could not be solved at the first attempt and he was glad that a series of talks had been proposed. But it was important that some progress should be made at the first meeting.

His last comment on the general situation was that it was altogether too negative an approach to talk in terms of Communism and anti-Communism; the problem was much wider than that. The rest of the world must have a positive contribution to make in the political and economic spheres. The under-developed countries of the world were not interested in ideologies but in their own growth and development. They were also passionately interested in the problems of racial discrimination, and their attitude to the two major groupings of the world would be largely affected by the policies of those groupings towards racial discrimination. The positive approach to world problems was by way of assistance for development and policies of racial equality.

Mr. Nehru then described his recent discussions with Mr. Chou En-lai. He had found him easy to get on with, affable and pleasant. The background to their talks had been the strong feelings in India aroused by Chinese incursions into Indian frontier territories. Although the contested area was large, it was sparsely populated and very difficult of access. For hundreds of years the frontier had been peaceful, but had suddenly become alive and dangerous. To some extent this had been inevitable, given the great political developments in India and China. During the last decade India had been trying to improve roads and communications with the area so as to link it more closely with the rest of the country. Now the Chinese had established themselves in a favourable position

on the Tibetan plateau and it would be difficult to dislodge them. On the other hand, the further they attempted to advance into India, the more difficult it would become, and the easier it would be for India to resist them. In the last resort India would be strong enough to counter an attempt at invasion.

His discussions with Mr. Chou En-lai had not resulted in any agreement. Primarily this was because Mr. Chou En-lai was unwilling to admit the facts of the situation. It had been left [felt] that the factual position in the frontier territories should be examined by officials on both sides, after which there would presumably have to be a further meeting between Mr. Chou En-lai and himself. It was unlikely that the problem would become more acute, at any rate for the rest of the year. Mr. Chou En-lai's visit had, however, enabled him to see the strength of Indian feeling on the question and had also enabled the Indian Government to gain experience of Chinese negotiating methods. Apart from the border dispute with India, the Chinese were in dispute with Burma, and Mr. Chou En-lai had offended Nepalese opinion by laying claim to Chinese ownership of Mount Everest.

*Dr. Nkrumah*⁵⁵ asked whether Mr. Nehru thought it would be easier to deal with the Chinese if they were admitted to membership of the United Nations.

Mr. Nehru said that he thought this would be so. There could be no world agreement on disarmament without China, and it was difficult to see how this could be achieved when China was not recognised in the United Nations. The present situation was of benefit only to the Chinese Government.

President Ayub said that Pakistan was faced with a gigantic problem of development, and therefore had a great desire for peace and would support Mr. Macmillan's efforts to that end. But it was important to be realistic. The present international level of armaments was due to Russia's aggressive designs not only in the military field but also on the psychological and economic fronts. The test of success in the forthcoming negotiations with Russia would be whether they were prepared to give up their aggressive aims and live at peace with the rest of the world. Unless Russian disarmament could be guaranteed it would be dangerous for the West to reduce its military potential.

He believed that the Russian leaders genuinely wanted a relaxation of tension. As a result of their greatly increased educational programme the Russian people would take a growing interest in world affairs and would expect their Government to show that they were making an attempt to remove the causes of war. But the Soviet Government would not allow more than a limited increase in the freedom and well-being of their people. It was likely that the Russians

55. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana.

would continue, under cover of the nuclear threat, to make advances in areas of weakness, particularly in the Middle East (where their aim was to drive down to the Persian Gulf) in South-East Asia and in Africa. The Russians' desire for expansion sprang from the fear that China would at some stage in the future be so large and powerful as to dominate them.

The Soviet Union could be expected to make great efforts in the economic penetration of smaller countries, particularly those in the Middle East and Africa. Russian penetration would be facilitated by local inter-racial disputes and by the setting up of weak systems of Government in newly independent territories. The fact that most of these territories were gaining their independence from Western rule would make it easier for Russian influence to develop there.

The rate of increase of population in China was extremely high and, although it might be accommodated within their existing borders for about the next decade, the Chinese would ultimately seek to expand towards the under-populated areas of South-East Asia, and could be expected to move through Burma to Malaya and Sumatra, and even to Australia, thus encircling the Indian sub-continent. This was a grim picture, with the balance of power continuing to move in favour of the Communist countries.

Failing a basic change in the policies of the Sino-Soviet bloc it was of fundamental importance that the free world should remain strong and undivided. Despite understandable apprehensions and the risks involved, he therefore supported a policy of strengthening Federal Germany and Japan. It was also important to resolve the outstanding differences between India and Pakistan, and to promote a lessening of tension between Israel and her Arab neighbours. A great deal would depend on developments in Africa. If Africans were to lose faith in the aims and policies of the white races they would quickly fall prey to Communism. If only from this aspect, the recent events in South Africa and Algeria must give rise to serious concern.

Mr. Macmillan expressed appreciation for the views which had been put forward on the general international situation, which would be discussed further at the next meeting.

2. PUBLICITY

The meeting approved the terms of the communiqué to be issued to the Press that evening.

*London, S.W. I,
3rd May, 1960.*

138. Third Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers⁵⁶

WORLD POLITICAL SITUATION

Mr. Macmillan invited *Mr. Diefenbaker* to resume the meeting's discussion.

Mr. Diefenbaker said that he had been impressed by a certain divergence of view between *Mr. Nehru* and President *Ayub* which had been revealed at the previous session. He asked whether *Mr. Nehru's* comments about the participation of China in disarmament negotiations had been made as a result of his recent discussions with *Mr. Chou En-lai*. Had *Mr. Chou En-lai* expressed a wish to participate in these negotiations? Would the fact that China was not a member of the United Nations prevent such participation? Canada had taken a strong stand as regards the admission of China to the United Nations. If recognition had been made nine or ten years ago in the early days of the Communist regime, little harm would have been done. But recognition now might well be detrimental, since it might be misinterpreted by countries, especially in Asia, which had been steadfastly opposing Communism.

He welcomed the relaxation of tension in relationships between West and East. This reinforced the Canadian feeling that everything possible should be done to work towards an agreed limitation on the production of arms. In her relations with the Soviet Union Canada sought to negotiate on a basis of mutual concession. It was greatly to be hoped that at the forthcoming Summit meeting an agreement would be reached to end nuclear tests. Although this would not of itself amount to a disarmament agreement it would be a major step forward. He agreed with *Mr. Macmillan* that it would be wrong to build up exaggerated hopes for the outcome of the meeting, and he strongly supported the concept of holding a series of meetings, so that failure to agree on many points at the first meeting need not be regarded as catastrophic. Although he agreed that representation at the first Summit meeting should necessarily be limited, he urged that other countries, particularly those which would be directly affected by any decisions, should be associated with subsequent meetings.

As regards the problem of Berlin, President *de Gaulle*, during his recent visit to Canada, had disclosed that *Mr. Khrushchev* had indicated that, while he might not insist on an immediate settlement on Berlin, he would probably set a limit of perhaps two years, by which time he would expect a final solution of this question. He said that any arrangement made should not imperil the freedom

56. Minutes of the Third Meeting held at 10 Downing Street, London, S.W.I, on Wednesday, 4th May, 1960, at 10.30 a.m. Harold Macmillan was in the Chair.

of the people of West Berlin.

In the view of the Canadian Government the forthcoming meeting symbolised a new trend in relations between East and West. Everyone in Canada hoped that the Summit would be successful, but at the same time our vigilance must not be reduced. We must maintain our defensive potential intact until a satisfactory agreement on disarmament had been negotiated and put into effect.

Mr. Nehru said that the question of the admission of China to the United Nations had not been raised in his recent talks with Mr. Chou En-lai, nor had they had discussions about disarmament. In his view however an agreement on disarmament could not be satisfactory or effective unless it embraced China, though that was not to say that he thought that China should participate in the current disarmament talks.

Mr. Macmillan said that the current Conference in Geneva on nuclear tests had been established by the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom on an ad hoc basis, while the forthcoming Summit meeting, at which disarmament would no doubt be discussed, was primarily a negotiation between the Powers who were victorious in the war against Germany, and who now shared the status of Occupying Powers. He recognised that many other countries had a direct concern in these matters. In practice, if an agreement on nuclear tests were to be reached in these discussions, it would then be necessary to ask other Powers to adhere, in particular France, Germany and China, and the question how China should be brought into an agreement would arise at that stage.

President Ayub said that the present position of China in relation to the United Nations was admittedly anomalous and her admission would not be opposed by Eastern countries. But it would be wrong to imagine that recognition of China would change that country's attitude to world problems, or that the United Nations would be able to control the behaviour of China any better than in the case of the Soviet Union. China's undoubted aim was to achieve at least as strong a position as the Soviet Union had acquired.

Mr. Nash said that he had great sympathy with the views expressed in the previous session by Mr. Nehru, which were based on the principle of the sanctity of individual personality. He also expressed appreciation of the initiative taken by Mr. Macmillan in his journeys to the Soviet Union and the United States and elsewhere in the interest of reducing international tension. In his view concentration on disarmament as a first priority would give the best chance of achieving the objective of world peace which they all shared.

He went on to refer to his visit to the Soviet Union and his useful and informative discussions with Mr. Khrushchev. He did not think that the Soviet people were much different from those in the West in their desire to avoid a

war; there was full recognition of the tragic economic cost of war and of armaments. People in the Soviet Union were far better off materially than when he had visited Russia in 1937, and there was no doubt of the Soviet Government's desire to raise internal living standards further. Although the Russian people appeared to have no desires in relation to territories beyond their immediate satellites, they were completely convinced of the superiority of Communism, socially, economically and politically. Even if an agreement were to be reached on disarmament, it was therefore unlikely that there would be any abatement of Soviet political propaganda, especially in Asia and Africa. There remained in Russia an inherent mistrust of the West, especially of Germany, and there was a genuine fear of the United States.

Referring to his meeting with Mr. Khrushchev on 20th April, Mr. Nash said that the Russian leaders had now reversed the priority measures for disarmament. Although in his speech at the United Nations Assembly last year Mr. Khrushchev had proposed a reduction in conventional arms before a reduction in nuclear weapons, he was now putting all the emphasis on an immediate agreement for nuclear disarmament. The Russians also wished to concentrate on the abolition of the means of delivery of nuclear weapons, since they considered that if the means of delivery were destroyed the weapons themselves were harmless. Mr. Khrushchev maintained that an agreement for a reduction in conventional weapons was now less urgent in view of the Soviet Union's unilateral reduction in her forces. Mr. Khrushchev purported to believe that the West were more concerned to secure an agreement which would provide for inspection and control than to make any real reduction in armaments, and that their representatives at the Geneva talks were obstructing the conclusion of a satisfactory agreement. Mr. Khrushchev had said that unless the West were prepared to follow the line of the United Nations resolution on disarmament, negotiations would be useless. If no progress were made at the Summit, he would pursue the matter at the next session of the General Assembly.

On Germany and Berlin Mr. Nash said that Mr. Khrushchev had been even more uncompromising. Unification, he had said, was a problem to be solved by the Germans. The East German Government had agreed that the present system in West Berlin could be preserved and were prepared to leave West Berlin a free city. If the Soviet Union's proposals were not accepted they would sign a peace treaty with East Germany; the Western occupation would thus come to an end and East Germany would assume complete control of its own territory. The people of West Berlin would be free to decide whether to leave or stay but no plebiscite on the disposition of West Berlin would be acceptable because the people of West Berlin had no right to dispose of territory belonging to East Germany. If the Western allies were to attempt to uphold their position

with force, they would be met with force.

Mr. Nash said that he was certain that Mr. Khrushchev did not want war; but he would be willing to take risks, for instance over West Berlin. Mr. Khrushchev had said so and Mr. Nash did not think he was bluffing. There was a dangerous unreality about Western thinking on West Berlin. In any case, was the city defensible? The West were faced by a dilemma in that they could not betray the people of West Berlin but could not effectively defend them.

Mr. Nash said that the most urgent need was for some agreement on disarmament with as unrestricted a system of controls as possible. But disarmament could not be secured without Chinese participation. New Zealand had been and was willing to recognise Communist China; but it had been realised that such action, which might encourage other countries to take a similarly realistic attitude, could also adversely affect the interests and stability of friendly countries in South-East Asia which had large Chinese populations. Disarmament would result in a great increase in the potential prosperity of the world. This would enable the unduly low standard of living in many areas of the world to be improved. Vast problems would remain, not least the overwhelming rate of increase in the populations of China and India.

Mr. Menzies said that he thought that the problem of the recognition of China posed a serious dilemma for the West; on the one hand it would be futile to make any agreement about armaments without Chinese participation, but on the other hand recognition of Communist China seemed to involve acceding to the demand that Formosa should be ceded to Communist China. Australia could not agree to hand over to the Communists several million people who had deliberately chosen not to live under Communist rule. But it was possible to reach agreement with China, as had been shown by the Geneva negotiations on Indo-China in which representatives of both the United States and China had taken part.

Mr. Menzies said that it would be wrong to think that a reduction of armaments would in itself pacify the world; armaments were the results of tension, and not its cause. The true cause of tension all over the world was the behaviour of the Soviet Union. In Western Europe, for instance, the Soviet Union had committed deliberate aggression in the knowledge that the West would at a certain point give way because they did not want war. Mr. Khrushchev was a most talented propagandist; he had successfully exploited anti-colonial feeling, even though the Soviet Union had brought into colonial subjection since 1945 "colonialist" treatment of many central European nations of great traditions, national character and quality. The same trend was evident in the Middle East and in Africa; he himself had said to Dr. Nkrumah that Ghana would have an historic mission in Africa to resist the forces of Communist expansion. The

West would be at a serious disadvantage if a cessation of tests or a reduction of armaments were regarded in themselves by the Western world as steps towards peace; the Soviet strategy and danger would not thereby be altered.

It had to be remembered that parliamentary democracy, which had slowly matured in the United Kingdom and which was now practised by many members of the Commonwealth, was not necessarily the best form of government for newly independent countries. In a time of rapid development, for instance with the achievement of independence, there was a greater need for strong central government. These conditions of change and rapid development provided a great opportunity for the Communists, who would take unscrupulous advantage, either by threat of arms or subversion, or by means of economic expansion or political propaganda. Moreover, acute differences within or between countries became a source of weakness, of which the Communists would make use. It was, for instance, a tragedy that India and Pakistan should feel it necessary to maintain defences on account of their differences over Kashmir.

In conclusion Mr. Menzies said that he felt a year ago that the West was being driven into a false position and that the Soviet Union was monopolising propaganda for peace, the effectiveness of which it was wise for the West not to underrate. He had said then that Mr. Macmillan's visit was the first step in regaining the initiative from the Russians, and he wished him success at the first of the series of conferences which it was hoped would be held. A successful outcome on one single issue would pave the way for further conferences in the future. It was essential for the West to make positive proposals and for it to be clear to everyone that if the conference failed in any way it would not be through a lack of generous intelligence on the part of the Western leaders.

Mr. Louw agreed that closer contact had developed between the West and the Soviet Union recently. But nevertheless the basic differences remained. He wished to add his tribute to Mr. Macmillan's efforts in preparing for the Summit conference, and to assure the Meeting that the West could always count on South Africa's support in the struggle against Communism. South Africa would continue to play her part, which was of great strategic importance, as long as she were permitted to do so. He thought that at present China was devoting her energies to economic expansion and consolidation, but that there were signs of a growing consciousness of her potential external power. The Soviet Union was already showing signs of regarding her as an unpredictable ally. This was a situation which required continuing vigilance from the West. He referred to the problem of Berlin as a legacy from the Second World War. It seemed unlikely that an early solution could be found to it on the basis of the reunification of Germany. Any attempt to use force for this purpose would increase rather

than decrease tension; it would be unwise to press the issue.

There was no doubt that Africa was being subjected to an intensification of communistic interest and activity. Only in the last six weeks there had been ample evidence in South Africa of underground activity, which was also carried on daily by radio propaganda. It was also undeniable that the Communists had taken advantage of the racial problem with which South Africa was faced. It was hard for anyone whose home was not in South Africa, which State differed from most African States in that it had a population of three million Europeans who had been there for over 300 years, to speak of these matters with experience. The question of economic aid from the Soviet Union to newly independent countries raised important considerations. These countries obviously had to satisfy their need for assistance, but it should be borne in mind that Soviet aid was never given for altruistic reasons. Furthermore, there was developing a keen competition between the West and the Soviet Union in assisting the emergent African States; the West was beginning to realise the danger of Communist influence and accordingly increasing its financial aid to secure the alliance of uncommitted States. It would be unfortunate if the result were that the greatest help was given to those countries who remained neutral.

As regards disarmament, it was perhaps unrealistic to contemplate a comprehensive agreement, in view of the mutual mistrust between East and West. If any agreement were to be reached it was essential that it should be secure; there should at any rate be no question of unilateral disarmament which would make the West more vulnerable than ever. The same applied to the cessation of nuclear tests. South Africa would continue to hope for progress on both of these matters, the responsibility for which must inevitably lie primarily with the major Powers. He joined with the other Members of the Meeting in wishing Mr. Macmillan success at the Summit conference.

Dr. Nkrumah said that the newly independent countries had a vital interest in world peace. The lowering of tension and disarmament would make it possible for them to develop more rapidly and so raise the standards of living of their peoples. Mr. Menzies had spoken of the new colonialism—the domination of one Power over others—and of Communist penetration into Africa. He would have something to say about this, and particularly about Russian economic penetration, when the Meeting came to consider regional problems. Meanwhile, he would comment only on Mr. Menzies' statement that the Soviet Union seized every opportunity to further the aim of world Communism by exploiting and magnifying dissensions in the rest of the world. The biggest cause of dissension in Africa at the present time was the racial question. Russian propaganda was being directed to this, and was taking advantage of the domination of twelve million coloured people by three million Europeans in South Africa and of the

undoubted suffering there. If it was true that the Russians took advantage of troubled waters of this sort in order to further their own ends, then the Commonwealth Prime Ministers should examine the causes of dissension and see whether it was possible to remove them. It had been arranged that there should be private and informal discussions about South Africa's racial policies; this was all to the good but, unless some action which would improve the position were decided upon, the Soviet Union would continue to take advantage of the situation in Africa.

It was agreed that the Meeting's general discussion should be resumed at the next session.

*London, S.W. 1,
4th May, 1960.*

139. Fourth Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers⁵⁷

1. WORLD POLITICAL SITUATION

Resuming the general discussion, *Senator Cooray* said that Ceylon was a small country with little influence on world affairs. They had accordingly decided to pursue a policy of non-alignment, but as a member of the Commonwealth Ceylon would be glad to help the Commonwealth as a whole to play its part as the most important influence in the world for peace. Ceylon, as an under-developed country, had a vested interest in peace, as Dr. Nkrumah had said of Ghana, and was therefore grateful to Mr. Macmillan for his part in promoting world peace. He referred to the part that the International Court of Justice could play in the cause of peace if every nation were willing to use it for the pacific settlement of disputes. There was a convention that members of the Commonwealth should not use the International Court, on the grounds that internal disputes should be settled between themselves. There seemed a need for a forum to assist this purpose, and he proposed to raise later in the Meeting the question of the creation of a Commonwealth Court.

Tunku Abdul Rahman thanked Mr. Macmillan and the other leaders of delegations for their expositions of the world situation. Malaya, like Ceylon, was a small country but would always be willing to contribute its share in the

57. Minutes of the Fourth Meeting held at 10 Downing Street, London, S.W. 1, on Wednesday, 4th May, 1960, at 3-30 p.m. Harold Macmillan was in the Chair.

cause of peace. A recurring theme in the discussion was the Communist menace, brought about either by direct military aggression or by subversion in the form of economic and commercial penetration and psychological warfare. To guard against the former danger Malaya sincerely hoped for a reduction in armaments as a result of the Summit meeting. Their experience of 12 years of war against Communism led them to feel that a reduction in armaments would also reduce the danger of Chinese aggression. It had been suggested already that the newly independent African States were particularly liable to become victims of Communist infiltration, but experience in Malaya proved that this was wrong. Malaya, within two years of achieving independence, was able to declare the war against Communism won. There was no doubt that the willingness of the United Kingdom to grant independence to these new States helped to overcome the danger of subversion and Communist infiltration. Malaya was composed of many races and was particularly exposed to the danger of racial disharmony; but she was able to tackle this problem satisfactorily. It was her hope that every effort would be made to remove the danger of racial disharmony everywhere, particularly as the only beneficiaries of it were the Communists.

The main external danger to Malaya was from China, but the Russians, too, had recently shown signs of attempting infiltration in the area; for instance, the head of the largest rubber buying agency in Moscow had recently visited Singapore to try and penetrate markets there. It was clear that there could be no effective disarmament without Chinese participation. Malaya's attitude to the recognition of Communist China was changing; although they had refused recognition in the past they felt that members of the Commonwealth must not ignore the reality of the growth of Chinese power and should be prepared to reconsider their attitudes. He suggested that it might be possible to find a way out of the dilemma by recognising Formosa as an independent State. By doing so it would be possible to recognise Communist China without surrendering millions of anti-Communist Chinese in Formosa to the Communists.

In answer to questions by Dr. Nkrumah and Tunku Abdul Rahman, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd recalled that the United Kingdom had for some time recognised the Chinese Communist Government. It would admittedly accord with the principles of the United Nations Charter for that Government, as the *de facto* Government of China, to occupy the Chinese seat at the United Nations. But, for practical reasons, the United Kingdom had supported the policy of not raising this issue because of the likely effects on other countries remaining in the United Nations. The United Kingdom Government hoped, however, that a solution to this problem would ultimately be found.

In discussion it was suggested that if Communist China were willing to participate in a general agreement on nuclear tests and disarmament, this might

help to resolve the problem of her representation at the United Nations. It was also pointed out that, at the time of the negotiations concerning Matsu and Quemoy, the United States Government had appeared willing to contemplate the possibility that Formosa might assume a separate identity from continental China.

It was also suggested that China might well make it a condition of entering into disarmament negotiations that she should be admitted to membership of the United Nations, and that Formosa should be restored to the control of the Government on the mainland. Nevertheless, it was generally felt that there could not be any effective agreement for disarmament without Chinese participation.

Mr. Nehru said that a particular example of the way dissensions in some parts of Africa could only assist the cause of Communism was the war in Algeria, which was of great injury, moral and material, to France as well as to Algeria. These dissensions would have to be alleviated if greater international stability were to be achieved. Moreover, it had to be realised that major international differences could not be solved by force. Armaments were felt to be necessary, not in order to solve problems, but to prevent the other side from taking an advantage. Mutual fears would have to be removed. The Soviet Union were afraid of the revival of a united and militant Germany. The Eastern European countries shared this fear and preferred subjection to the Soviet Union as a means of protection. China also felt exposed to the threat of encirclement by the West. All these problems were therefore related to that of disarmament, and the best hope of progress would lie in gradually removing mutual fears at the same time as reducing armaments, taking care to avoid a vacuum in which either side would be put at a great disadvantage.

2. DISARMAMENT AND NUCLEAR TESTS

Mr. Macmillan invited *Mr. Diefenbaker* to open the discussion.

Mr. Diefenbaker said that the need for disarmament was of great importance, both because of the natural desire of people everywhere to see an easing of tension in the world and because of the tremendous burden which defence expenditure laid upon them.

Similar reasons had led to various disarmament proposals between the wars. The burden of armaments was immensely greater today; since 1945 Canada alone had spent \$20 billions on defence. The pace of technological development had become so rapid that weapons had to be discarded before they reached the stage of planned production. The Canadians had had costly experience of this, which had given rise to the saying "If it works, it's obsolete."

Other countries also had experience of developing weapons at great cost only to find that they were useless by the time they came into production.

Canada's views on disarmament could be summarised as follows. First, she believed that countries should agree upon the greatest possible controlled disarmament and reduction of armed forces which could be achieved without damage to their security. This should be the first task of the Summit Conference, to which even the problem of Berlin should be secondary. Secondly, there should be agreement on the abolition by stages of weapons of mass destruction. Thirdly, countries should agree to ban the manufacture and use of biological and chemical weapons. Fourthly, outer space should be preserved for peaceful purposes and the mounting of weapons on satellites outlawed. Finally, there should be agreement on the banning by stages of the production of fissile material for weapons, and on the conversion of existing stocks to peaceful uses. Inspection and control and progress by stages were essential features of any disarmament plan. Mr. Khrushchev's plan was grandiose and plausible and had had a great propaganda effect on people everywhere. The test of its sincerity, however, was how far the Soviet Union would accept control. There had been allegations in the United Nations some years ago that preparations were being made in the northern territories of Canada for aggressive action against the Soviet Union. He had written twice in 1958 to Mr. Khrushchev giving his unqualified assurance that Canada would be prepared to accept any internationally agreed control arrangements and to permit inspection of the whole or any part of her territories on a basis of reciprocity. Mr. Khrushchev had evaded replying to this offer.

If the forthcoming Summit Conference led to agreement on the ending of nuclear tests that would be of the first importance. The improved atmosphere which would result should make it possible to make progress in other directions. One further step worthy of consideration would be to try to get the Soviet Union and all Communist countries to accept the rule of law in international affairs and the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice as, in general, Commonwealth countries had already done. A revision of the law relating to outer space should also be considered; this was still governed by a Convention of 1919 and would certainly have to be changed if any progress were to be made in banning the use of outer space for launching weapons.

Finally, he hoped that, in the event of agreement being reached at the Summit Conference to end nuclear tests, each member of the Commonwealth individually would undertake immediately to become a party to that agreement. This would help to mobilise world public opinion in support of the agreement and would be of great value in preventing the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd then described the history of the negotiations relating to nuclear tests. In 1957 he had himself suggested that experts should meet to see whether it was feasible to control nuclear tests. The Russians had eventually agreed to this proposal, and since then no nuclear tests had in fact taken place. It had now been agreed that it was practicable to control all tests in the atmosphere and under the water and also large underground tests, but it had not so far proved practicable to control underground tests of a seismic magnitude less than 4.75. To deal with this problem the United Kingdom had proposed a moratorium on smaller underground tests during which there would be combined research on the practicability of improving the control system and extending it to these smaller tests. The proposed treaty would cover all other nuclear tests. This approach had been accepted by the United States following *Mr. Macmillan's* visit in March 1960 and had now been accepted by Russia also.

Comparatively few, though important, matters of difference on this problem between the three countries were now left. These were the length of the moratorium (on which the United Kingdom took the view that it should be linked with the research programme and therefore could not be less than two years), the number of inspections to be carried out annually, and the composition of the control commission and the teams manning the control stations. There was reasonable hope that these points of difference would be settled at the Summit Conference. The drafting of the treaty should then take only a few weeks. It was envisaged that a preparatory commission would be set up as soon as agreement was reached and that other countries would then be invited to accede to the convention. When a sufficient number had done so the control commission would be elected and the other measures of control brought into effect. The plan provided for some control stations to be situated outside the territories of the three countries which were signatories of the convention and it would therefore be essential to secure the co-operation of other countries. Agreement on the ending of nuclear tests would bring great prizes. It would avoid the danger to health that could be caused if nuclear testing on a large scale were resumed. It would result in the Soviet Union accepting international controls for the first time. And it would be of great psychological importance for a wider disarmament agreement.

In his view, the Soviet Union wanted a disarmament agreement. *Mr. Khrushchev* had promised that the Soviet Union would overtake the economic capacity of the United States by 1970. He would find this objective much more difficult to attain if the Soviet Union had to continue to match the enormous defence expenditure of the United States. *Mr. Khrushchev* was a superb propagandist; although the United Kingdom had put forward this year, as in 1954, a plan for comprehensive disarmament, *Mr. Khrushchev* had secured

the initiative when he presented his own plan to the United Nations. In fact his plan had serious defects; there was no clear indication of how effective control of disarmament was to be maintained; nor was there any provision for machinery to enforce the peace, either through a United Nations Committee or, as the United Kingdom favoured, through an International Police Force under control of the United Nations. Moreover, the period of four years in which total disarmament would be attained was no more than propaganda, since the plan required every country in the world to agree on the level of armaments before the plan could begin to operate. The United Kingdom welcomed Mr. Khrushchev's plan as a statement of intention, but the Western plan seemed far more practical. The primary task was to convince the Soviet Union that effective control would have to be accepted. In view of the complexity of the subject it would be bound to be difficult to make great progress on it at the Summit. It would be best to work for an agreement on a statement of principles, to dispose of the Soviet allegation that the West were not in favour of disarmament. It would then be desirable to reach agreement on the issue of specific directives on certain practical matters, such as the prohibition of the launching into space of weapons of mass destruction. There were many other subjects besides this on which the initiation of studies immediately would provide essential information for agreement in the future; among these were the cessation of production of fissile material, the problem of the reconversion of warlike material to peaceful uses, the control of the means of delivering missiles, the withdrawal of arms from circulation, aerial inspection and the prevention of surprise attack, and the relationship between the United Nations and any organisation for the control of disarmament.

*Sir Roy Welensky*⁵⁸ referred to the dangers to which the present Soviet bloc policy of selling arms to foreign countries in Africa could give rise. He quoted as an example the current sale of Czech arms to tribes in the Belgian Congo and asked whether the United Kingdom Government had given any thought to this problem. Mr. Selwyn Lloyd said that this matter had been considered by the United Kingdom Government and might be raised at the Summit Meeting. There were, however, practical difficulties; an embargo on arms to a particular area was apt to be resented by the countries in that area, who were thereby deprived; and it was in any case by no means easy to make an embargo effective. It might, however, be possible to arrange a system of notification of the intention to supply arms and possibly to agree to a measure of restraint on the part of supplying countries.

58. Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Mr. Nash asked what were the views of the United Kingdom Government on Mr. Khrushchev's statement that if the West would agree to disarmament the Soviet Union would agree to control. Mr. Selwyn Lloyd explained that it was impossible to avoid the problem of whether control would be effective, and Mr. Menzies expressed the opinion that it would be profitless to discuss the principle of disarmament without considering the machinery of inspection and control. In further discussion of this point, Mr. Macmillan pointed out that a major advance had been made in that the Soviet Government had been brought to face the problem of control in connexion with the suspension of nuclear tests. They had also accepted the need for foreign experts to be stationed in their territory for this purpose. It was to be hoped that this might serve as an example of what could be achieved in the wider field of disarmament.

In answer to a question by Dr. Nkrumah, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd said that although the French Government had announced that they intended to continue to develop nuclear weapons, he had no knowledge of any specific intention on the part of the French to carry out a further nuclear test in the Sahara.

Mr. Menzies said that an agreement on nuclear tests would only touch a part of the problem of disarmament. Although it might reduce the danger of a major war, it would perhaps increase the danger of limited wars with conventional weapons. It was therefore important that the limitation of conventional arms should be considered as part of any comprehensive plan for disarmament.

Mr. Macmillan said that the Meeting's discussion would be of value to him in the forthcoming Summit negotiations. He suggested that the Meeting should proceed to discuss economic matters at the sessions on the following day. In the meantime the informal talks which had begun after the morning session might now be continued.⁵⁹

*London, S. W. I,
4th May, 1960.*

59. The minutes of Fifth to Ninth Meetings are not available in either the JN or the JNMF Collections. The conference did not meet from 6 to 8 May, resuming only on 9 May. For the minutes of Tenth, Eleventh and Twelfth Meetings, see items 148-150.

140. Meeting with Ayub Khan⁶⁰

Nehru Meets Ayub Talks with Pak-President
(From K.S. Shelvankar)

London. May 4. Prime Minister Nehru and Field Marshal Ayub Khan met privately today and had a brief talk at the Pakistan High Commissioner's⁶¹ residence in London. The talk is reported to have lasted between 15 and 20 minutes.⁶² No one else was present.

[Ayub in the Pocket]



(From *The Times of India*, 22 May 1960, p.1)

60. Report of a meeting, 4 May 1960. *The Hindu*, 5 May 1960.

61. Lieutenant General Mohamad Yousuf.

62. No record of this talk is available with us.

The opportunity for this meeting was provided by a small luncheon party given by the Pakistan High Commissioner. Following the luncheon, the two leaders withdrew to an adjoining room.⁶³

Nothing has been disclosed about points covered in the conversation, but according to some sources the atmosphere was friendly and cordial throughout.

The other guests who attended the luncheon were the Pakistan Foreign Minister, the Pakistan Minister for Finance and the Pakistan Foreign Secretary and on the Indian side, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit and Mr. N.R. Pillai.

It is learnt here that Dr. Willy Brandt, the Mayor of West Berlin, will be coming to London to meet Mr. Nehru and discuss the German and Berlin problems with him.

Since Germany is not on the Indian Prime Minister's itinerary, Mr. Brandt is understood to have requested a meeting in London. He has, accordingly, been invited to lunch with Mr. Nehru on May 6.⁶⁴

[Nehru-Ayub Meeting]



(From *Shankar's Weekly*, 8 May 1960, p. 10)

63. On 13 May 1960, Ayub Khan said at a press conference in London in reply to a question on Kashmir: "Our stand is clear. Let the United Nations resolution on Kashmir be implemented. Let the people of Kashmir decide." He said he had mentioned the matter to Nehru, with whom he had had lunch, but no arrangement had been made for a further meeting. On his proposal for joint defence with India, he said: "I discussed it with Mr. Nehru but the suggestion went unnoticed. India gets very annoyed with it. We have tried our best but no further progress can be made in view of India's attitude."

64. See item 141.

Mr. Louw of South Africa held a press conference here today. It was described as an international press conference but Asian and African correspondences, as well as some Americans, were excluded on the pretext that there was shortage of accommodation.

141. Meeting with Willy Brandt⁶⁵

Brandt Confers with Nehru
Berlin Question Discussed

London, May 6. Herr Willy Brandt, Lord Mayor of West Berlin, said that lunch talks he had here today with Mr. Nehru, Indian Prime Minister, were a "moral encouragement" in his task in Berlin.

Herr Brandt lunched as guest of Mr. Nehru at the residence of Mrs. Pandit, Indian High Commissioner in London. She was the only other person present at the lunch.

A statement issued afterwards by a spokesman for Herr Brandt said: "Mr. Nehru asked his visitor a number of questions which showed that in his view a solution of the German problem was of a decisive importance for the preservation of world peace."

The two had an exchange of views on the international situation and on Berlin, which is expected to be an important topic at the Summit Conference starting in ten days.

The statement said "The Lord Mayor had the opportunity to inform the Prime Minister in detail about the situation in Berlin, about the relationship of Berlin and West Germany, and about the problem relating to the division of Germany."

142. To the India League: Foreign Policy in General⁶⁶

India's Handling of Goa Problem Proof of Her Desire for Peace.

London, May.7—Prime Minister Nehru stated here yesterday that India's handling of the Goa problem demonstrated "our desire to solve problems peacefully, without recourse to violence, even though it greatly irritates and may take some time."

65. Report of the meeting, London, 6 May 1960. *The Hindu*, 7 May 1960.

66. Reuter's report of the address, London, 6 May 1960. *National Herald*, 8 May 1960.

The reference to Goa and the Portuguese colony of Angola in Africa came in the course of the Prime Minister's address to the India League on apartheid and racial discrimination.

After dealing with apartheid and its possible effect on the Commonwealth, Pandit Nehru turned to the Portuguese Angola which he described as "a strange dark spot from which normally no news emerges."

Amid laughter, Pandit Nehru said: "There is Angola, a Portuguese colony." With a smile he added: "Of course, the Portuguese don't have any colonies at all. They are all provinces of Portugal.⁶⁷ I don't suppose any newspaper dares to send its correspondent there. They would not be allowed to enter. It is a peculiarly dark spot, one of the worst in Africa."

There was further laughter when he said: "I am not saying this because of any animus against Portugal because of Goa."

The Indian Prime Minister referred to the peaceful, successful and civilised talk his Government had with France about the future of French possessions in the subcontinent following the attainment of independence by India in 1947.

Referring to Goa, Pandit Nehru said that at first India had sent a polite note stating that conditions had changed in India (with the transfer of power by Britain) and it was only fitting that the little Portuguese empire in India should also end. (Laughter and applause) "They refused to accept that—even to talk about it. Informally, they told us that their rights to Goa stemmed from the Papal Bull of the fifteenth or sixteenth century—I am not quite sure which. Those of you who have studied history may remember that the then Pope generously allotted half of the world to Spain and the other half to Portugal."

"I confess I found it a little difficult to argue on this basis."

Impatience in India

He added: "And so the problem still remains and many of our people criticise us for that and are naturally impatient.

"I think this Goa problem has demonstrated our desire to solve problems peacefully, without recourse to violence, even though it greatly irritates and may take some time.

"It is obvious to everyone, including the Portuguese Government, that Goa should become not only physically part of India, as it is, but constitutionally and otherwise also.

67. See SWJN/SS/48/items 54 and 55.

“But we have preferred to follow the way of peace in this world of armaments and warfare and not to take step which may lead to other evil consequences.”

Dispute with China

After Pandit Nehru had spoken at some length on the internal situation in India, there were cries of “what about China?”

“I was not avoiding the subject of China,” replied the Prime Minister amid a burst of laughter and applause.

“I have had long talks with Mr. Chou En-lai (Prime Minister of China). They were quite friendly talks (laughter and applause) but they revealed a complete difference, a difference in our ideas and on even the basic facts of the situation. Ultimately we decided that at least we should collate the facts to know where we are.

“Indian officials would be having talks with their Chinese counterparts and within perhaps four months would be reporting back.

“We think sifting the fact may make it a little easier to reach an agreement.”

The Indian leader’s speech was listened to by more than 2,000 Indians, Africans and Britons.

Present on the dais at Westminster Hall, where he spoke, were Lord Attlee; Lady Cripps; Dame Sybil Thorndike; Sir Frank Soskice; Professor J.D. Bernal; Professor P.M.S. Blackett; Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Labour Secretary of State for India until shortly before the transfer of power; and several Ambassadors and other diplomats.

Mr. Reginald Sorensen, MP, presided, and welcomed the Prime Minister and Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Indian High Commissioner in London.

143. To the India League: Apartheid⁶⁸

Apartheid a Danger to Commonwealth—Nehru

London, May 7.-Prime Minister Nehru said here last night that apartheid and racial discrimination “might well shake the very foundation of the Commonwealth.”

68. Reuter’s report of the speech. London, 6 May 1960. *National Herald*, 8 May 1960.

He was addressing a public meeting of the India League at which Earl Attlee, former British Labour Prime Minister, was present.

Pandit Nehru said that this issue affected "our general feelings about liberty and our dislike of racialism."

He added that it affected each person of the African and Asian countries apart from the South African people themselves.

Pandit Nehru said that racial discrimination was irritating to an individual but "far more irritating and insulting to a national community."

Stating that he did not know what the future would bring, he added: "I want to lay stress on the dangers and explosive character of this situation."

Pandit Nehru said that he did not expect a sudden solution by some kind of magic of this problem. But if a beginning was not made in reaching a solution, it would "go to some form of big disaster."

He stressed that a move must be made in the direction of a solution. "Nobody is going to accept that this kind of thing will continue. If it does, there is bound to be friction on a bigger scale."

Pandit Nehru said that the problem must have far-reaching effects on the Commonwealth. Whether it was discussed formally or informally, the question continued to remain and one could not put an end to it by merely looking away from it, by thinking it was not a fit subject for "drawing room talk."

The fact was that the Commonwealth was facing difficult problems—basic problems, he said. The question came up whether this Commonwealth "is not becoming too vague to be identified as anything at all."

Pandit Nehru said that it had always been difficult to define, but its virtues were that it was both flexible and dynamic. But he added: "There is the danger it is becoming too cloudy to have any shape or form."

Pandit Nehru declared that either there was the acceptance of the fact of different races living together, cooperating, respecting each other and no one looking down upon another or there would be conflict. Such conflict would be "conflict of the worst type, worse even than national conflicts."

Pandit Nehru then traced at length post-independence India's attitude towards apartheid and racial discrimination.

Gandhi and Africa

He explained that the origins of the Indian national movement so far as Mahatma Gandhi was concerned originated in South Africa.

"He started his long pilgrimage to jail in South Africa. He experienced with his unique techniques there before he brought them to India."

Pandit Nehru then outlined the action that India had taken over apartheid at

the United Nations since she became independent in August, 1947.

Prime Minister Nehru said that as a result of South Africa's refusal to accept what he described as a moderate United Nations resolution calling for talks, India had many years ago withdrawn her diplomatic representative from the Union. There were no diplomatic relations between the two Governments and on a government level India had also nearly ten years ago stopped exporting to and importing from South Africa.

Indians in Africa

Referring to his government's overall policy towards Indians in the African continent, Pandit Nehru said that he had made it absolutely clear that Indians who went to Africa must remember that the primary interests were those of the people they go to.

"We will not support any demands of Indians which go counter to any African rights or their freedom."

Amid applause, he declared: "In the ultimate analysis, Indians will stay there only if the Africans want them there."

"We welcome and rejoice at the freedom coming to a number of African states. Yet in spite of these happy developments, we have found this strange 'other worldly' outlook which has no relationship to modern ideals anywhere, certainly not to the Charter of the United Nations."

Without mentioning South Africa, Pandit Nehru added: "We have seen treason trails going on for years and a large number of people imprisoned by the thousand. I have seen some reliable evidence to show that conditions in prisons there are very bad. All this is bound to happen with the background of fierce anti-racialism.

"How can the world persist in separate racial compartments without bringing about racial conflict? That in South Africa is the question."

Pandit Nehru said South Africans were good people to meet as individuals—as good as anybody else. "It is not a question of their being vicious or not decent as individuals, but somehow this policy brings out the worst in an individual. The good in him is rather overshadowed. I hope the good will see the light of day."

144. To Indian Journalists: On the Commonwealth Conference⁶⁹

Unfortunate, Says Nehru

London, May 7.—Prime Minister Nehru today described the incident of the shooting down of an American aircraft over Russian territory as “unfortunate” and said it had somewhat vitiated the psychological atmosphere for the forthcoming summit meeting in Paris.

Replying to a question at a meeting with Indian journalists, Pandit Nehru said that there was no such thing as a Commonwealth approach at the summit conference and, in fact, there was no such suggestion.

Of course, he said, the Commonwealth leaders were all in favour of peace, relaxation of tension, disarmament and abandonment of nuclear tests, “but the moment you come to discuss details it is a different thing.”

No Talk with Louw

Pandit Nehru said that he had not talked to Mr. Louw, South African Minister for External Affairs but was present for about fifteen minutes at the meeting on Wednesday of some of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers with Mr. Louw, while there he had only listened. He left early as he had an audience with the Queen and was not there when the Malayan Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, walked out of the meeting.⁷⁰

Asked whether any more informal meetings with Mr. Louw were planned, Pandit Nehru said that as far as he knew no further meeting was scheduled to take place.

Replying to another question, he said he had no objection to meet Mr. Louw or anybody at any time. His attitude was not to say “no” to any talk or discussion.

He declined to say that the Commonwealth Conference was going to do or say about South Africa. He said it would be improper for him to say anything just now.

69. Report of the meeting by PTI and Reuters, London, 7 May 1960. *National Herald*, 8 May 1960.

70. On 5 May 1960, Tunku Abdul Rahman refused to participate in the discussion in the meeting as a protest against Louw’s press conference on 4 May afternoon where Louw emphasised that there would be no change in the South African Government’s apartheid policy.

[The Shipwreck]
Not So Little Rock



*The South African issue almost wrecked the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting
 (From Shankar's Weekly, 15 May 1960, p. 5)*

On his meeting yesterday with the Mayor of West Berlin, Herr Willy Brandt, Pandit Nehru said that they had a general talk and Herr Brandt explained to him the general situation about Germany according to his way of thinking. Herr Brandt was "obviously an important personality" and he (Pandit Nehru) was interested to know his views.

China

Pandit Nehru said it was conceivable that he would meet the Chinese Premier, Mr. Chou En-lai, again.

Any such meeting, however, would have to wait till the Indian and Chinese officials, who are to meet to study historical data about Sino-Indian border submit their report, he added.

He said there were references, to the Sino-Indian dispute at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference but there was no discussion as such on the subject.

Asked what could be the reasons for the change in China's attitude towards India, Pandit Nehru said that a reply to this question could be partly guess work only.

He added: "We have to deal with a country which is still ideologically and otherwise in a deep revolution, internal and external, and I suppose the events in Tibet had something to do with their attitude."

Pandit Nehru met the Indian journalists shortly before he left for Chequers, the country residence of the British Prime Minister, for talks with Mr. Macmillan.

Meeting with Ayub

Asked about his lunch meeting with President Ayub Khan of Pakistan on Wednesday, Pandit Nehru said that it was "not meant for long serious talks. At the same time, it was not a purely social affair. I do not know if I would meet him again here. Nothing has been fixed and meanwhile days get filled up with engagements."

Pandit Nehru was asked whether at his meeting in Paris with President de Gaulle tomorrow the question of de jure transfer of Pondicherry would be raised.

He replied: "I suppose it is quite possible there will be some reference to it."

145. In Paris: Nehru-de Gaulle Meeting⁷¹

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ENTRETIENS ENTRE LE PRÉSIDENT DE
LA RÉPUBLIQUEET LE PREMIER MINISTRE DE L'INDE
*Le dimanche 8 mai 1960 à l'Elysée,
de 12 h 15 à 13 h 15 et de 14 h 45 à
15h 35^{TM A}*Meetings between the President of
the French Republic
AND THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA
Sunday, 8 May 1960 at the Elysée
from 12:15 hrs to 13:15 hrs and
from 14:45 hrs to 15:35 hrs^a

C.R. Très secret.

Le général de Gaulle exprime son plaisir de rencontrer un homme dont il a entendu parler depuis tant d'années et qui représente un pays qui a l'avenir devant lui et qui exerce un si grand attrait.

Après l'avoir remercié, *M. Nehru* déclare que lui aussi est heureux de rencontrer le général de Gaulle dont l'influence et le poids jouent en faveur de la paix dans le monde. L'avenir de l'Inde dépend étroitement de celle-ci et de la coopération pacifique. En effet, aucun pays ne peut plus subsister seul,

Classification: Top Secret

General de Gaulle expresses his pleasure on meeting a man he has heard being spoken of since so many years and who represents a country with its future ahead of it and exerts such a great attraction.

After thanking him, Mr Nehru declares that he too is delighted to meet General de Gaulle, whose influence and importance works in favour of peace in the world. India's future closely depends on this and peaceful cooperation. In fact, no country can survive alone; the world's problems

71. Minutes of meeting of 8 May 1960 at the Elysée Palace, Paris.

Reproduced from *Documents diplomatiques français, série Documents diplomatiques français – depuis 1954*, sous la direction du Pr Maurice Vaisse, vol. 17, 1960, tome I. Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Commission de publication des documents diplomatiques français, Paris, 1995, document no. 206, pp. 575-582. Official translation supplied by Embassy of France, New Delhi.

Page numbers in the text, for example "Page 575", indicate the beginning of the page of that number in the original French document. Footnotes of the original document have been renumbered A-L; those of the translation appear as a-l.

- A. Le Premier ministre indien avait été invité par le général de Gaulle à lui rendre une visite privée le 8 mai, à l'occasion du séjour que le Pandit devait effectuer à Londres dans la première quinzaine de mai afin d'assister à une conférence du Commonwealth.
- a. The Prime Minister of India had been invited by General de Gaulle for a private visit on 8 May, on the occasion of the London trip Pandit Nehru was to undertake in the first fortnight of May to attend a Commonwealth conference.

les problèmes du monde affectent toutes les nations.

Le général de Gaulle en convient. Il en va de même pour la France encore que pour des raisons un peu différentes. Celle-ci, depuis bien longtemps, ne veut pas la guerre, elle n'a aucune ambition impérialiste. Si elle était restée relativement très grande, elle en aurait peut-être nourri comme d'autres le font. Mais, telle qu'elle est actuellement, elle désire la paix générale et elle fera pour l'assurer tout ce qu'elle pourra. Or, le problème de la guerre ou de la paix se pose entre deux camps. Aucun sans doute ne veut la guerre. Mais les hommes ne sont pas toujours maîtres de leur destin. La loi de leur espèce les porte peut-être à la destruction. S'il y a une guerre entre le camp des hommes libres et l'autre, la France sera dans celui des hommes libres, même si elle devait périr. Elle estime, cependant, qu'il faut accorder les deux camps, ou tout au moins s'efforcer de le faire. C'est là l'essentiel de toute la politique française.

La France est en Europe, tout en étant aussi, dans une certaine mesure, africaine. Or, l'Europe est déchirée. L'avenir de la paix dépend de la réconciliation en Europe. C'est chose faite à l'Ouest, il faut qu'il en soit de même entre l'Est et l'Ouest. Pour cela, il faudrait trouver un *modus vivendi* entre l'Est communiste et l'Ouest démocratique (y compris l'Allemagne).

affect all nations.

General de Gaulle agrees with this. This is true for France, though for somewhat different reasons. Since a very long time, France does not desire war, she has no imperialist ambitions. If she had remained relatively very large, she might have nurtured such ambitions as others do. But as she currently is, she desires comprehensive peace and will do her utmost to ensure it. However, the problem of war or peace lies between two camps. Most probably neither wants war. But men are not always masters of their destiny. Their kind of law probably leads to destruction. If there is a war between the side of free men and the other, France will be on the side of free men, even if it destroys her. However, she considers that the two sides must be brought into harmony, or at least we must endeavour to do so. This is the very crux of France's entire policy.

France is in Europe, while also being, to a certain extent, African. But Europe has been torn asunder. The future of peace depends on reconciliation in Europe. This is a given in the West, and it should be so between the East and the West. To this end, a *modus vivendi* between the Communist East and the Democratic West (including Germany) must be found.

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La deuxième tâche dans l'ordre d'importance consiste à aider les pays insuffisamment développés. S'ils deviennent plus prospères, la paix se développera en même temps qu'eux. Sinon, quand même il y aurait un accord de coexistence entre l'Est et l'Ouest, la guerre serait, à échéance, inévitable. En outre, entre les doctrines qui divisent le monde, les hommes, quand ils seront moins misérables, préféreront sans doute la liberté. Le général de Gaulle sait tout ce que l'Inde, et en particulier M. Nehru, ont déjà fait pour la conciliation. Ce n'est pas pour eux chose facile, compte tenu de leur voisin, énorme, très dur et très ambitieux. La paix certes est nécessaire, mais pas à n'importe quel prix.

M. Nehru apprécie ce que vient de dire le président de la République. Certes, venant d'Asie, il considère le monde d'un point de vue différent. Une chose est essentielle : la question de la guerre ou de la paix, dont la solution dépend en très grande partie de l'Europe, encore que d'autres pays deviennent de plus en plus importants à cet égard. Il y a un danger : si cette question n'est pas bientôt réglée en Europe, la Chine et peut-être d'autres pays deviendront de plus en plus puissants et de moins en moins faciles à contrôler. Il est donc indispensable d'assurer la détente entre l'Est et l'Ouest européen.

Le général de Gaulle pose le problème de l'Allemagne. Celle-ci est coupée en deux, la Russie ayant

The second task, in order of importance, consists of providing aid to less developed countries. If these countries become more prosperous, peace will simultaneously develop along with them. Otherwise, even if there were to be an agreement of coexistence between the East and the West, war would be inevitable in the long run. Further, between the doctrines that divide the world, men, when they are less poverty-stricken, will surely prefer freedom. General de Gaulle is aware of all that India, and especially Mr Nehru, has already done for conciliation. This is not an easy matter for them, taking into consideration their vast, very tough and very ambitious neighbour. Peace is, of course, necessary, but not regardless of the cost.

Mr Nehru appreciates what the President of the Republic has said. Of course, hailing from Asia, he regards the world from a different point of view. One thing is essential: the question of war or peace, the solution for which depends very largely on Europe, although other countries are becoming increasingly important in this regard. There is a danger: if this issue is not settled soon in Europe, China, and perhaps other countries, will become increasingly powerful and increasingly less easy to control. It is therefore indispensable that a détente between East and West Europe be achieved.

General de Gaulle raises the issue of Germany. This country has been split in two, Russia having occupied

occupé la Prusse et la Saxe, tandis qu'Adenauer a organisé la République fédérale. Il y aussi Berlin. Pour le moment, la division demeure et elle demeurera long-temps encore. Cette situation n'est pas satisfaisante, mais elle est supportable. La question de Berlin, par contre, reste actuelle. Berlin-Ouest est libre et ne doit pas cesser de l'être. Si Berlin était livrée, l'Occident perdrait sans doute l'Allemagne, car celle-ci n'aurait plus confiance en l'Occident et s'arrangerait avec les Russes. Néanmoins, si l'Allemagne reste divisée, il ne faut pas déclarer qu'elle l'est pour toujours. Il ne faut surtout pas de traité qui le consacrerait. Pour le moment, la meilleure solution est le *statu quo* et que Berlin reste libre. À cela pourraient s'ajouter quelques arrangements pratiques entre les deux Allemagnes, sur les transports, la monnaie, les voyages, etc. Il y en a déjà quelques-uns. Ils sont utiles pour ne pas rompre définitivement l'Allemagne. Le général de Gaulle a dit à M. Khrouchtchev : « Il ne faut pas que l'Allemagne se tourne vers l'Est. Si elle le fait, la France sera menacée et elle devra se lier très étroitement avec les Etats-Unis, autrement dit se subordonner à eux. Dès lors, il n'y aura pas de paix possible. Si vous, Khrouchtchev, êtes l'homme de la détente, laissez les choses en l'état. »^B Khrouchtchev n'a pas dit non, mais il

Prussia and Saxony, while Adenauer has organised the Federal Republic. There is Berlin, too. For the moment, the division remains and will continue for a long time to come. This is not a satisfactory situation, but it is tolerable. On the other hand, Berlin remains a current issue. West Berlin is free and should not cease being so. If Berlin were handed over, the West would most probably lose Germany as it no longer reposes any trust in the West and would come to an agreement with the Russians. Nonetheless, if Germany remains divided, it must not be stated that she will be so forever. Above all, there should be no treaty to sanction it. For the moment, the best solution is a status quo and that Berlin remains free. To this could be added a few practical arrangements between the two Germanys on transport, currency, travels, etc. Some already exist. They are useful for not making Germany's split final. General de Gaulle had said to Mr Khrushchev: "Germany must not turn towards the East. If she does so, France will be threatened and she will need to have very close ties with the United States; in other words, she will have to be subject to her. Thereafter, peace will not be possible. If you, Mr Khrushchev are a man of détente, let things stand as they are."^b Khrushchev did not say no, but he wants everything at once: détente and a treaty with East Germany, the

B. Sur les récents entretiens de Gaulle-Khrouchtchev, voir ci-dessus les nos 146, 151.

b. On the recent de Gaulle-Khrushchev meetings, see below no. 146, 151.

veut tout à la fois : la détente et un traité avec l'Allemagne de l'Est, l'isolement de Berlin-Ouest et le retrait des troupes occidentales. Malheureusement, on ne peut pas avoir confiance dans les garanties de Khrouchchev. Le général de Gaulle lui a dit aussi que pour assurer la paix, il fallait l'équilibre en Europe, seul moyen d'obtenir un accord entre l'Ouest et l'Est de l'ancien continent, ce qui implique que l'Allemagne reste avec l'Occident. Khrouchchev, encore une fois, n'avait pas dit non.

Le général de Gaulle expose ensuite à M. Nehru ce qu'il pense de l'Afrique. Il rappelle l'œuvre de la France qui est en Afrique depuis des siècles et qui y entretient de réelles amitiés, ce qui est un fait humain important. Néanmoins, les temps sont changés et chacun tend à la libre disposition. Le général de Gaulle n'y est pas opposé. Ce processus a commencé, en fait, depuis la guerre. Si les États d'Afrique noire veulent l'indépendance, ils peuvent l'obtenir et certains l'ont déjà obtenue. Il en fut de même pour le Maroc et pour la Tunisie. Reste l'Algérie, dont la situation est très différente et très difficile. Il y a neuf millions de musulmans et plus d'un million de Français algériens. Les Français sont, pour la plupart, de petites gens. Ils ont leur place, leur vie, en Algérie. En outre, 400000 Algériens travaillent en France et nourrissent deux millions et demi de personnes en Algérie. Chaque année, leur nombre s'accroît de trente

isolation of West Berlin and the withdrawal of western troops. Unfortunately, one cannot trust Khrushchev's guarantees. General de Gaulle also told him that to bring about peace, a balanced Europe was necessary, which was the only way to reach an agreement between the West and the East of the Old Continent, which implies that Germany will remain with the West. Once again, Khrushchev did not say no.

Next, General de Gaulle elaborates on his ideas on Africa to Mr Nehru. He recalls the work of France, which has been present in Africa for centuries and that she continues to maintain true friendships, which is an important fact of people-to-people connection. Nevertheless, times have changed and everyone desires self-determination. General de Gaulle is not opposed to it. This process, in fact, began after the war. If the States of Black Africa desire independence, they can obtain it and some have already obtained it. This is true of Morocco and Tunisia. There remains Algeria, where the situation is very different and very tough. There are nine million Muslims and more than one million Algerian French people. The French are mostly people of limited means. They have their place, their life, in Algeria. Apart from this, 400,000 Algerians work in France and feed two and half million people in Algeria. Each year, their number goes up by thirty thousand

mille et ce chiffre tend à s'élever. Dans quinze ans, il y aura en France un million de musulmans qui nourriront quatre à cinq millions de personnes. Ils commencent d'ailleurs à faire venir leurs familles dans la métropole.

Si la France se retirait de l'Algérie, celle-ci connaîtrait une misère inouïe, car elle n'a ni sources suffisantes de richesses, ni cadres. Le général de Gaulle expose alors les trois

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solutions imaginables pour l'avenir de l'Algérie. Il les propose aux Algériens avec une sincérité entière, car la France n'aurait aucun intérêt à garder des gens qui ne voudraient pas rester avec elle. Les Algériens seront consultés et ils choisiront librement. Néanmoins, l'insurrection se prolonge, menée par des gens qui se prétendent être l'Algérie, ce qu'ils ne sont pas, à eux seuls. Ils se disent le gouvernement algérien. Mais il n'y a jamais eu d'État algérien. Ferhat Abbas le sait bien. Il s'agit, en vérité, de permettre à dix millions d'Algériens de se déterminer librement et non pas de leur imposer une solution *a priori*. Il n'en reste pas moins que la France est prête à négocier avec Ferhat Abbas, à Paris, sur un cessez-le-feu, première condition de la consultation. Avant celle-ci, il serait inconcevable de dire à Ferhat Abbas : « Vous êtes l'Algérie ! » ni de négocier avec lui de l'Algérie, comme s'il l'était. Ceci dit, une fois le cessez-le-feu acquis, il est évident que

and this figure tends to rise. In fifteen years, there will be one million Muslims in France who will feed between four and five million persons. They are, moreover, starting to bring their families over to metropolitan France.

If France were to withdraw from Algeria, the latter would face unprecedented poverty as she does not possess sufficient wealth or people to lead them. General de Gaulle then goes on to elaborate the three conceivable solutions for Algeria's future. He suggests these with utmost sincerity to the Algerians, because France has no interest in keeping people who do not wish to remain with her. The Algerians will be consulted and they will choose freely. Nonetheless, the insurrection is getting protracted, led by people who pretend to be Algeria, which they are not, just by themselves. They claim to be the Algerian government. But there's never been an Algerian State; Ferhat Abbas knows that very well. In truth, this is about letting ten million Algerians decide freely for themselves and not impose a predetermined solution on them. Nevertheless, France is prepared to negotiate a ceasefire with Ferhat Abbas in Paris, the first condition of the consultation. It would be inconceivable to tell Ferhat Abbas before this, "You are Algeria!", or negotiate Algeria with him, as if he were Algeria. Having said that, once the ceasefire is reached, it is obvious that the insurgents will have to be

les insurgés devront être consultés, eux aussi et avec d'autres, sur les conditions dans lesquelles se fera la consultation.

M. Nehru estime lui aussi que le problème immédiat est de mettre fin au conflit. Il prend acte du fait que le général de Gaulle ne veut pas traiter avec Ferhat Abbas de l'avenir politique de l'Algérie, mais qu'il est prêt à s'entendre avec lui pour mettre fin à la tuerie. D'autre part, pour élargir le cercle de la consultation, d'autres Algériens, et pas seulement le groupe de Ferhat Abbas, pourraient être invités à participer à la préparation du référendum. Cette consultation avec différents groupes ne pourra évidemment pas avoir lieu avant que le feu ne cesse.

Le général de Gaulle le confirme et fait ressortir les difficultés de telles conversations en rappelant la tentative d'assassinat dont a été l'objet le député Abdesselam.^c Les chefs de l'insurrection, qui ne sont d'ailleurs pas en Algérie, cherchent par la terreur et par des procédés totalitaires à s'imposer comme le gouvernement algérien. Ils espèrent aussi lasser la France et l'obliger à traiter avec eux seuls.

M. Nehru estime que ce que le général de Gaulle dit de l'avenir de l'Algérie est si raisonnable qu'il est vraiment dommage qu'un cessez-le-

consulted, too, along with others, on the conditions under which the consultations will be held.

Mr Nehru, too, considers that the immediate problem is to end the conflict. He takes note of the fact that General de Gaulle does not want to discuss Algeria's political future with Ferhat Abbas, but is prepared to come to an understanding with him to end the slaughter. On the other hand, to expand the circle of consultation, other Algerians, and not solely the Ferhat Abbas group, could be invited to participate in the preparation of the referendum. Obviously, this consultation with different groups could not take place before the ceasefire.

General de Gaulle affirms this and highlights the difficulties of such conversations, recalling the assassination attempt on the parliamentarian Abdesselam.^c The insurrection leaders, who are not, in fact, in Algeria, are seeking to establish themselves as the Algerian government through terror and totalitarian actions. They are also hoping to tire out France and force her to deal only with them.

Mr Nehru considers that what General de Gaulle is saying about Algeria's future is so reasonable that it is a real pity that the ceasefire is not

C. Le 4 mai, M. Robert Abdesselam, député d'Alger, avait été blessé par des terroristes, à quelques pas de son domicile.

c. On 4 May, Mr Robert Abdesselam, Member of Parliament from Algiers, was injured by terrorists a few steps from his residence.

feu n'intervienne pas. Il devrait être possible de trouver un moyen pour surmonter les obstacles actuels et faire cesser la tuerie. Il doit y avoir en Algérie des gens capables de comprendre l'urgence de cette mesure positive. D'ailleurs, dans une insurrection dont les groupes sont dispersés, le contrôle d'en haut ne s'exerce pas toujours d'une façon très efficace. Il est clair qu'il ne faut pas traiter avec les chefs de l'insurrection comme avec les représentants d'un gouvernement, mais il doit y avoir, en Algérie, un certain nombre de personnalités, y compris Ferhat Abbas et ses opposants, qui peuvent se fonder sur les déclarations du général de Gaulle pour en appliquer les principes.

Le général de Gaulle précise qu'il est efforcé de trouver des gens capables de prendre des responsabilités. Tel a été le but des élections législatives, des élections municipales. Tel est celui des élections départementales projetées.^D Mais les Algériens sont sous la terreur et ne peuvent parler librement. Les insurgés égorgent dix fois plus de musulmans que de Français. Il ne faut pas méconnaître non plus que la présence et l'action de l'armée française, nécessaires tant qu'il y a des combats, rendent difficile l'exercice entier des libertés. C'est bien pourquoi le cessez-le-feu est le préalable de toute solution politique.

D. Des élections cantonales devaient avoir lieu du 27 au 29 mai : *Année politique* 1960, p. 294-295.

being reached. It should be possible to find a way to overcome the current obstacles and bring an end to the slaughter. There must be people in Algeria who are capable of understanding the urgency of this positive measure. Moreover, in an insurrection by scattered groups, control from the top is not always effectively exercised. It is clear that one must not treat the insurrection leaders as representatives of a government, but in Algeria there must be a number of persons, including Ferhat Abbas and his opponents, who can base themselves on General de Gaulle's declarations to apply their principles.

General de Gaulle makes it clear that he has taken pains to seek people capable of assuming responsibilities. Such was the aim of the legislative elections, the municipal elections. It is so for the planned departmental elections.^d But all the Algerians are terrorised and cannot speak freely. The insurgents are slitting the throats of ten times more Muslims than French. It should not be overlooked either that the presence and action of the French army, which is necessary as long as conflicts continue, make the full exercise of freedoms difficult. That is the very reason for which ceasefire is a precondition for any political solution.

d. Cantonal elections were scheduled from 27 to 29 May: *Année politique* 1960, pp. 294-295.

M. Nehru souhaite ardemment que celle-ci intervienne. Il mentionne les jugements défavorables qu'inspire la situation aux peuples d'Asie et d'Afrique. Ceux-ci en éprouvent une sorte d'obsession dont il est difficile de les débarrasser. La France leur apparaît comme l'incarnation de traditions révolutionnaires de liberté et comme un haut lieu de culture. *M. Nehru* ne voudrait pas que ce grand nom parût taché. Dans le nouveau monde en construction, les peuples d'Asie s'attendent à ce que la France joue un rôle important.

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Le général de Gaulle déclare qu'il s'y efforce. Pour en finir en Algérie, il demande à *M. Nehru* de supposer que depuis cent trente ans, quarante millions de Britanniques soient installés en Inde et trente millions d'Indiens au Royaume Uni, nourrissant quel-que cent cinquante millions de membres de leurs familles. La question de l'Inde n'aurait pas été réglée exactement de la façon dont elle l'a été.

M. Nehru l'entend bien. Les Français d'Algérie méritent protection et leurs intérêts ne doivent pas être sacrifiés. Il est pourtant troublé par la continuation du conflit, mais il est sûr que le Président saura trouver les moyens raisonnables de régler le problème. Quelles que soient les responsabilités en cause, l'amertume croît parmi les populations d'Asie et d'Afrique. Elles éprouvent de plus en plus le vif souci de voir cesser les combats et se forger un avenir d'entente et de coopération. Au

Mr Nehru earnestly wishes that this will happen. He mentions the unfavourable opinions that this situation has given rise to among the peoples of Asia and Africa. This, for them, is an obsession that is difficult to rid them of. France appears to them as an incarnation of revolutionary traditions of liberty and a mecca for culture. *Mr Nehru* does not want to see this great name stained. In the new world being built, the peoples of Asia expect France to play an important role.

General de Gaulle states that he is endeavouring to do so. To conclude matters on Algeria, he asks *Mr Nehru* to imagine that for one hundred and thirty years, forty million British are settled in India and thirty million Indians in the United Kingdom, feeding some one hundred fifty million of their family members. The Indian issue would not then have been settled exactly the way it was done.

Mr Nehru understands this very well. The French of Algeria deserve protection and their interests should not be sacrificed. He is, nonetheless, perturbed by the continued conflict, but he is sure that the President will find reasonable means of settling the problem. Whatever be the responsibilities under question, bitterness is growing among the peoples of Asia and Africa. Increasingly, they are deeply concerned and wish to see the clashes end and forge a future of entente and

demeurant, il serait très dommage que la France et l'Algérie ne restent pas liées, mais ce n'est pas à lui de dire quelles sortes de relations pourraient être établies.

Le général de Gaulle demande à M. Nehru quelle impression il a retirée de ses entretiens avec M. Chou En-Lai.^E La presse laissait entendre qu'il n'en avait pas été très satisfait.

M. Nehru répond qu'il a eu avec M. Chou En-Lai des entretiens très longs et amicaux quant au ton. Leurs points de vue pourtant étaient si différents qu'ils ne sont même pas arrivés à s'entendre sur les faits. Pratiquement, ils n'ont trouvé entre eux aucun domaine commun. M. Nehru avait donc proposé d'examiner à la Nouvelle Delhi les faits et les documents, mais Chou En-Lai n'y était pas disposé. Il fut décidé que des fonctionnaires des deux pays se réuniraient d'ici un mois ou deux pour préparer, sans pouvoir de recommandation, un rapport sur les faits, sans plus. Cette situation n'est guère satisfaisante. Elle empêche toutefois que les choses n'empirent.

Les entretiens reprennent après le déjeuner en présence de MM. Debré, Couve de Murville et Pillai.

Le général de Gaulle, après avoir résumé pour les nouveaux participants le sujet de l'entretien du matin, demande à M. Nehru ce qu'il pense

cooperation. Notwithstanding this, it would be a great pity if France and Algeria did not remain linked, but it is not up to him to say what kind of relations could be established.

General de Gaulle asks Mr Nehru what impression he has gathered from his discussions with Mr Zhou Enlai.^e According to the press, he was not very satisfied with the meetings.

Mr Nehru replies that he had very lengthy discussions in a cordial and friendly tone with Mr Zhou Enlai. However, their viewpoints diverged so widely that they did not even manage to agree on the facts. In actual fact, they found no common ground between them. Mr Nehru had thus suggested to examine the facts and the documents in New Delhi, but Zhou Enlai was not so inclined. It was decided that officials of the two countries would meet in a month or two to prepare, without power of recommendation, a report on the facts — no more. This is hardly a satisfactory situation. However, it helps prevent matters from deteriorating.

The discussions resume after lunch with Messrs Debré, Couve de Murville and Pillai present.

After having summarised the subject of the morning's discussion for the new participants, General de Gaulle asks Mr Nehru what he thinks

E. Le Premier ministre chinois avait rendu visite à son homologue indien entre le 19 et le 25 avril. Le communiqué commun publié le 25 avril reconnaissait l'échec des pourparlers.

e. The Chinese Prime Minister had called on his Indian counterpart from 19 to 25 April. The joint press release issued on 25 April acknowledged the failure of the talks.

des perspectives de la Conférence au sommet. M. Nehru l'ayant invité à en parler le premier, le Général rappelle qu'il a déjà annoncé publiquement ce qu'on pouvait en espérer. En fait, il attend de cette conférence des résultats modestes, mais qui pourraient néanmoins apporter un commencement de détente, dans le domaine du désarmement, de la coopération en matière d'aide aux pays insuffisamment développés et, évidemment, en ce qui concerne le problème allemand.

M. Nehru croit qu'un progrès n'est pas impossible en matière de désarmement et d'expériences atomiques. Quant à l'Allemagne et à Berlin, ce serait déjà un succès si la situation n'empirait point. Le premier ministre a attiré l'attention de la conférence du Commonwealth sur la déclaration du général de Gaulle faite il y a un mois au sujet des pays insuffisamment développés.^f Il en a même cité une partie et il a déclaré

of the prospects of the conference at the Summit. Mr Nehru having asked him to speak on it first, the General recalled that he had already made a public statement on what could be expected of it. He expects modest outcomes from the conference, which could, nonetheless, bring about a beginning of détente in the area of disarmament, cooperation for aid to less developed countries, and, obviously, with regard to the German problem.

Mr Nehru feels that progress is not impossible with regard to disarmament and atomic experiments. As far as Germany and Berlin are concerned, it would already be a success if the situation did not deteriorate further. The Prime Minister had drawn the attention of the Commonwealth Conference to General de Gaulle's statement issued a month before on the subject of less developed countries.^f He even quoted

F. Allusion au discours prononcé par le Général au Parlement britannique le 7 avril (reproduit dans *l'Année politique* 1960, p. 642-643, avec la date erronée du 5 avril). Il y était dit notamment : « Quels que puissent être un jour les arrangements qui seraient adoptés soit pour réduire les moyens de guerre, soit pour apaiser notre Europe, soit pour pratiquer la détente d'un bout à l'autre de l'univers, la France est persuadée que la paix restera précaire tant que deux milliards d'hommes demeureront plongés dans la misère devant leurs frères bien pourvus ».

f. Reference to the speech delivered by the General before the British Parliament on 7 April (reproduced in *Année politique* 1960, pp. 642-643, with the erroneous date of 5 April). It notably said: "Whatever may be the arrangements adopted one day either to reduce means of war, for ensuring peace in Europe, for practising détente from one end of the universe to the other, France remains convinced that peace will remain precarious as long as two billion men remain plunged in poverty before their well-provided-for brothers."

que ce programme lui paraissait excellent.

a part of it and stated that the programme seemed excellent to him.

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Le général de Gaulle précise que sa proposition de coopération est indépendante des entreprises des Nations Unies dont le fonds spécial n'implique pas une coopération spécifique entre l'Est et l'Ouest.

M. Couve de Murville fait remarquer que les nations ne disposent que de petites sommes, qui ne permettent pas les gros investissements nécessaires.

Le général de Gaulle déclare que le désir de la France est de voir s'instaurer un début de collaboration entre l'Union soviétique et les nations occidentales dans un domaine précis et limité. Une telle initiative servirait la détente. De même, pour le désarmement, il ne faut pas s'attendre à un résultat spectaculaire dès le départ, les divergences étant trop profondes.

M. Nehru demande comment l'on peut envisager un désarmement sans la Chine,

M. Debré suggère que l'on commence, par exemple, par restreindre le trafic d'armes dans le monde.

Le général de Gaulle estime qu'il faudrait commencer par quelque chose de déterminé, comme le contrôle des fusées et des avions stratégiques, encore que les Etats-Unis n'aient pas beaucoup cette idée et que les Soviets

General de Gaulle specifies that his proposal for cooperation is independent of the endeavours of the United Nations; the special funds of the latter do not imply a specific cooperation between the East and the West.

Mr Couve de Murville draws attention to the fact that the nations can avail only of small sums, which do not help them make the massive investments that are necessary.

General de Gaulle states that it is France's desire to see the beginning of collaboration of between the Soviet Union and the Western nations in a precise and limited field. Such an initiative would help towards détente. Similarly, for disarmament, we should not expect a spectacular result right at the beginning—the divergence of views is too deep.

Mr Nehru asks how one can consider disarmament without China.

Mr Debré suggests that we begin, for instance, by restricting arms trade in the world.

General de Gaulle considers that one must start with something defined, such as the control of missiles and strategic aircraft, although the United States does not much like this idea and the Soviets have not commented on

n'en aient encore rien dit. Il ne voit pas ce que l'on pourrait proposer d'autre pour l'instant. Quant à la Chine, elle n'a encore ni fusées ni avions stratégiques, ni bombes nucléaires. Il n'y aurait donc pas de contradiction à commencer sans elle.

M. Nehru se demande quel sera le pas suivant.

Le général de Gaulle répond que, si un accord intervient sur le contrôle des fusées, la Chine ne se mettra pas à en faire seule. Il demande à son tour à *M. Nehru*, s'il croit qu'elle est en train de fabriquer des armements nucléaires.

M. Nehru explique que la Chine est un peu aidée par les Soviets, mais qu'elle désire mener une politique autonome. Bien que la Chine et l'Union soviétique soient alliées, leurs relations ne sont pas très cordiales. L'U.R.S.S. connaît une période d'organisation et de normalisation, alors que la Chine, en pleine révolution, en est encore à une période que l'on pourrait appeler stalinienne. Leurs politiques intérieures sont assez différentes.

Le général de Gaulle demande à *M. Nehru* s'il entend fabriquer des armes nucléaires au cas où la Chine le ferait.

M. Nehru rappelle qu'il a déclaré plusieurs fois son intention de ne pas utiliser l'énergie atomique à des fins militaires. Aussi bien du point de vue scientifique que du point de vue technique, l'Inde pourrait avoir des armes d'ici deux ou trois ans, mais telle n'est pas son intention, L'attitude

this as yet. He doesn't see what else he could suggest for the moment. As for China, she does not have missiles, strategic aircraft, or nuclear bombs as yet. So there wouldn't be any contradiction if one started without her.

Mr Nehru asks what the next step will be.

General de Gaulle replies that if an agreement is reached on missile control, China will not start making them on her own. He asks *Mr Nehru* in turn if he thinks China is manufacturing nuclear weapons.

Mr Nehru explains that China receives some help from the Soviets, but she desires to conduct an autonomous policy. Even though China and the Soviet Union are allies, their relations are not very cordial. The USSR is undergoing a period of organisation and normalisation, whereas China, which is in the middle of a revolution, is still in a period that could be termed Stalinist. Their domestic policies are quite different.

General de Gaulle asks *Mr Nehru* if he intends to manufacture nuclear weapons in the event that China does so.

Mr Nehru recalls that he has reiterated on several occasions his intention of not using atomic energy for military purposes. From both the scientific and the technological points of view, India could have weapons within two or three years, but such is not her intention. China's attitude is

de la Chine est toute différente. Elle voudra certainement avoir son armement atomique. Même dans ce cas, M. Nehru espère ne pas avoir à s'engager dans cette voie. Chou En-Lai lui a dit notamment que la Chine était beaucoup plus menacée que l'Inde, car elle était entourée de bases américaines, de la Corée à la Thaïlande en passant par le Japon et les Philippines. Il est assez terrifiant d'entendre les dirigeants chinois parler d'une guerre. « Même si deux ou trois cents millions de Chinois périssent, disent-ils, il en restera deux ou trois cents ».

Est-ce que cela signifie, demande *le général de Gaulle*, qu'ils souhaitent la guerre ?

M. Nehru croit seulement que cela veut dire qu'ils la craignent moins que d'autres.

Reprenant le propos de M. Debré, *le général de Gaulle* estime que les livraisons d'armes à certains pays devraient cesser. Cette question est intimement liée à celle du désarmement. Pourquoi armer Nasser, Kassem, Sékou Touré, la Tunisie, la Libye, L'Ethiopie, Israël ?

M. Nehru suppose que si on n'arrête pas une politique générale dans ce domaine, il y aura une concurrence dangereuse entre l'Occident et l'U.R.S.S.

M. Debré fait ressortir toute l'importance des livraisons d'armes au Moyen-Orient et à l'Afrique. Engagés dans la course aux armements avec l'aide de l'Occident ou des Soviets,

completely different. She would certainly wish to have atomic weapons. Even in such an event, Mr Nehru hopes not to have to take this path. Zhou Enlai has particularly said to him that China faces greater threats than India as she is surrounded by American bases, from Korea to Thailand, via Japan and the Philippines. It is quite terrifying to hear Chinese leaders speaking of war. "Even if two or three hundred million Chinese perish," they said, "there will still be two or three hundred left."

Does this mean, asks General de Gaulle, that they want war?

Mr Nehru thinks that this only means that they fear war less than others.

Continuing with the subject raised by Mr Debré, General de Gaulle says that arms supply to certain countries should cease. This issue is closely linked to that of disarmament. Why arm Nasser, Kassem, Sékou Touré, Tunisia, Libya, Ethiopia, Israel?

Mr Nehru says he supposes that, if a general policy is not established in this matter, there will be a dangerous arms race between the West and the USSR.

Mr Debré highlights the entire import of supplying arms to the Middle East and Africa. Engaged in an arms race with the help of the West or the Soviets, all these new States will, in

tous ces nouveaux États, dans cinq ou dix ans, constitueront une grave menace d'anarchie et de guerre et créeront dans le monde un nouveau facteur d'instabilité.

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Le général de Gaulle demande ce que les membres de la conférence du Commonwealth pensent de la prochaine rencontre des dirigeants soviétique et occidentaux.

M. Nehru indique que *M. Macmillan* croit qu'il serait possible de progresser dans le domaine du désarmement en s'entendant sur l'arrêt des expériences nucléaires et sur l'inspection de la production. En ce qui concerne l'Allemagne et Berlin, il croit lui aussi que, pour l'instant, le *statu quo* est une solution possible. Il n'a rien dit des livraisons d'armes. Il pense nécessaire de prévoir une série de conférences au sommet.

Le général de Gaulle ne verrait pas d'objections de principe à une autre conférence au sommet, à condition d'en connaître l'atmosphère. Il n'est pas sûr que celle-ci soit favorable depuis le discours de *M. Khrushchev* à Bakou^G et l'incident de l'avion américain.^H La France, quant à elle, a la conscience tranquille, elle n'a pas d'intentions impérialistes, elle ne possède pas encore d'armes

five to ten years, constitute a serious threat of anarchy and war, and create a new instability factor in the world.

General de Gaulle asks what the members of the Commonwealth Conference think of the upcoming meet between Soviet and Western leaders.

Mr Nehru indicates that Mr Macmillan believes that it would be possible to make progress on disarmament by coming to an understanding on ceasing nuclear trials and on inspection of production. As far as Germany and Berlin are concerned, he, too, thinks that the status quo is a possible solution for now. He has not said anything on the supply of arms. He thinks that it is necessary to plan a series of conferences during the Summit.

General de Gaulle sees no objection in principle to another conference at the Summit, provided that the atmosphere is known. He is not sure that it would be favourable since Mr Khrushchev's speech^g at Baku and the incident of the American plane.^h As for France, she has a clear conscience, harbours no imperialistic intentions, and does not as yet possess nuclear weapons. As far as trials are

G. Sur ce discours, voir ci-dessus le no 188 (note).

H. Sur ce discours, voir ci-dessus le no 204 (note).

g On this speech, see no. 188 (note).

h. On this incident, see no. 204 (note).

nucléaires. Pour ce qui est des expériences, il serait d'accord pour que les pays qui ont des armes nucléaires suspendissent ces expériences. Il en vient maintenant à la question des relations entre l'Inde et la France.

M. *Nehru* désire que ces relations soient non seulement amicales mais se développent dans plusieurs directions: culture, économie. Les deux pays disposent des moyens pour aboutir à ce résultat. Le général de Gaulle aurait là-dessus une idée particulière ?

Le général de Gaulle déclare que cela est à coup sûr possible dans le domaine culturel. Il faudrait en particulier favoriser l'étude des langues et accroître l'échange des étudiants. Dans le domaine économique, il est normal que l'Inde, en plein développement, achète plus qu'elle ne vend et paie à longue échéance. Dans toute la mesure du possible, la France y est favorable; son intérêt est de vendre de l'équipement à un pays ami en qui elle a confiance. Il n'y aura qu'à résoudre les questions pratiques de crédits et de commandes.

M. *Nehru* en convient. Il s'agit pour l'Inde non pas de dépenses courantes, mais d'investissements à long terme. Sa politique tend, conformément aux plans quinquennaux, à accroître l'industrie et l'agriculture suivant les principes d'un développement autonome. Des résultats substantiels sont prévisibles dans un délai de neuf ou dix ans. Les difficultés tiennent au rythme de la croissance économique et à des

concernés, he would agree to nuclear-armed countries suspending such trials. He then broaches the issue of relations between India and France.

Mr *Nehru* desires these relations to be not only friendly but also that they develop in several directions: culture, economy. Both countries have the means for achieving this result. Would General de Gaulle have any specific idea about this?

General de Gaulle states that this is certainly possible in the cultural area. The study of languages and student exchanges should be especially encouraged. In the economic area, it is natural that India, which is in a process of development, should buy more than she sells and pay in the long term. France favours this as far as it is possible; her interest is to sell equipment to a friendly country that she trusts. There will only be the practical issues of credit and orders to be resolved.

Mr *Nehru* agrees. For India, these are not current expenses but long-term investments. In accordance with the Five Year Plans, this policy aims at industrial and agricultural growth following the principles of autonomous development. Substantial results are forecast within a period of nine or ten years. The difficulties are due to the pace of economic growth and social conditions. The people must support 80% of the costs and not think

conditions sociales. La population doit supporter 80 % des charges et ne pas penser que d'autres assureront la prospérité économique du pays. Les aléas agricoles restent très grands. Répondant à une question du général de Gaulle sur l'élévation du niveau de vie, M. Nehru indique qu'outre les données statistiques, on la constate *de visu*. Néanmoins, les éléments les plus habiles de la population sont ceux qui profitent le plus de cette amélioration, qu'il faut étendre à toutes les couches de la société.

Le général de Gaulle revient à la Chine en informant M. Nehru de certains propos qu'il avait échangés avec M. Khrouchtchev au sujet de la puissance croissante de la Chine. M. Khrouchtchev lui avait répondu que, malgré tout, la Chine n'était pas dangereuse; mais, visiblement, il n'aimait pas beaucoup en parler.

M. Nehru reconnaît, comme l'a fait M. Khrouchtchev, qu'il reste de vastes espaces inexploités en Chine, mais qu'elle peuple actuellement le Tibet comme elle l'a fait de la Mongolie et que, dans vingt-cinq ans, sa population aura atteint 1 milliard. Dans le passé déjà, elle s'était étendue à l'Asie du sud-est et jusqu'en Afrique.

Le général de Gaulle demande si M. Nehru croit que les empiétements récents de la Chine sur le territoire indien¹ n'ont pour but que d'ennuyer

that others will bring about the economic prosperity of the country. Agricultural ups and downs remain quite considerable. Replying to a question asked by General de Gaulle on the rising standard of living, Mr Nehru indicated that apart from statistics, one could notice it visibly. Nonetheless, the most skilled elements of the populace are benefiting the most from this improvement, which must be extended to all the layers of society.

General de Gaulle goes back to the subject of China by informing Mr Nehru of certain discussions he had had with Mr Khrushchev regarding China's strong growth. Mr Khrushchev had replied that, despite everything, China was not dangerous; but visibly, he does not like to talk much about it.

Mr Nehru acknowledges—as did Mr Khrushchev—that there are vast unexploited spaces in China, but she is currently populating Tibet as she had earlier done in Mongolia, and that in twenty-five years, her population will have touched one billion. Already in the past, it had stretched to South Asia and up to Africa.

General de Gaulle asks if Mr Nehru thinks that China's recent incursions into Indian territoryⁱ are aimed at annoying India, or whether

I. Sur les récents développements du litige sino-indien, voir *Documents diplomatiques français*, 1959-II, nos 129 (et note), 177 (note), 218 (et notes), 273 (note).

i. On recent developments in the Indo-Chinese dispute, see *Documents diplomatiques français*, 1959-II, nos. 129 (and note), 177 (note), 218 (and notes), 273 (note).

l'Inde, ou s'ils marquent le début d'une expansion systématique.

this marks the beginning of a systematic expansion.

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M. Nehru hésite à donner une réponse catégorique, mais il penserait que plutôt les Chinois ne s'intéressent qu'à des zones limitées du territoire indien, comme celle dans laquelle passe la route des caravanes entre le Sinkiang et le Tibet. Cette route, qu'ils ont commencé à construire, a pour eux une importance stratégique. Ils considèrent en outre comme leur territoire tout ce qu'ils occupaient il y a des siècles. Au moment de l'insurrection au Tibet,^j ils étaient furieux contre l'Inde, car ils croyaient qu'elle avait aidé les Tibétains. Ils ont placé des troupes à la frontière indienne dans les montagnes occidentales, et elles y sont restées, en déclarant que ces territoires leur appartenaient. Pour ce qui est de la situation au Tibet, l'Inde a quelques renseignements par ses agents commerciaux et par ses consuls. Dans l'ensemble, la rébellion est écrasée, malgré de petits incidents sporadiques. Les Chinois cherchent surtout à briser le pouvoir des lamas et à diminuer leur crédit. La population a beaucoup souffert et souffre encore. Le courant de réfugiés continue. Les colons chinois viennent s'installer en masse et, dans dix ans, il y aura au Tibet plus

Mr Nehru hesitates to give a categorical reply, but he thinks rather that the Chinese are interested only in limited zones of Indian territory, such as the one through which runs the caravan route between Sinkiang and Tibet. This road, which they have started building, is of strategic importance to them. Further, they consider everything they occupied centuries ago to be their territory. During the insurrection in Tibet,^j they were furious with India because they thought she had helped the Tibetans. They posted troops at the Indian border in the western ranges and they remained there, declaring that these territories belonged to them. As far as the situation in Tibet is concerned, India has some information through her commercial staff and her consuls. On the whole, the rebellion has been crushed, despite minor sporadic incidents. The Chinese are trying, above all, to destroy the power of the lamas and to undermine their credibility. The people have greatly suffered and continue to suffer. The flow of refugees is continuing. The Chinese colonisers are coming in droves to settle there and, in ten years, there will be more Chinese people in

J. Sur l'insurrection et la fuite du Dalai Lama, voir *Documents diplomatiques français*, 1959-I, no 207 (et note).

j. On this insurrection and the Dalai Lama's flight, see *Documents diplomatiques français*, 1959-I, no. 207 (and note).

de Chinois que de Tibétains. Le gouvernement est assuré par un gouverneur militaire chinois avec quelques comités locaux. Quant au Dalaï Lama, qui n'a que vingt-six ans, c'est un homme qui a beaucoup de charme et d'intelligence et qui a considérablement mûri. Il est difficile de dire quelle sera son influence dans l'avenir.

Le général de Gaulle demande si les incidents au Tibet ont resserré les liens entre le Pakistan et l'Inde.

M. Nehru répond qu'il n'y a pas entre ces deux pays de collaboration en matière de défense. Les zones intéressées sont trop éloignées l'une de l'autre. Pour l'Inde, le problème essentiel est celui des communications. Il est plus facile aux Chinois de descendre des montagnes qu'aux Indiens d'y monter. Aussi construit-on des routes et des aérodromes pour approvisionner les troupes que l'Inde aurait à placer dans ces régions.

Pour répondre à une question du général de Gaulle sur l'atmosphère générale dans l'Asie du sud-est, *M. Nehru* indique qu'il y a des frictions continues, mais que la Chine ne fera rien pour provoquer des troubles graves. Avec la Birmanie par exemple, où elle pouvait facilement entrer, la Chine a conclu un arrangement. Elle sent qu'elle est allée trop loin depuis quelques mois et qu'elle est devenue très impopulaire. Elle veut maintenant donner une impression de mansuétude sans provoquer de changements politiques.

Tibet than Tibetans. Governance is taken care of by a Chinese military governor with a few local committees. As for the Dalai Lama, who is just twenty-six years old, he is a man of great charm and intelligence who has matured considerably. It is difficult to predict how influential he will be in future.

General de Gaulle asks if these incidents in Tibet have brought Pakistan and India closer.

Mr Nehru replies that there is no collaboration in defence between these two countries. The zones concerned are too far from each other. For India, the essential problem is that of communications. It is easier for the Chinese to come down from the mountains than for Indians to climb up. Also, roads and landing strips are being built to bring supplies to troops that India would have to station in these regions.

In reply to another question from General de Gaulle on the general atmosphere in Southeast Asia, Mr Nehru says that there are constant frictions, but China would not do anything to trigger serious turmoil. With Burma, for instance, where she could easily penetrate, China has concluded an arrangement. She feels that she has gone too far since the past few months and that she has become extremely unpopular. She now wishes to convey an impression of goodwill without inciting political changes.

En ce qui concerne les relations entre la France et l'Inde, *le général de Gaulle* rappelle le traité sur les comptoirs français qui a été signé avant son retour au pouvoir.^k Le gouvernement français ne reviendra pas là-dessus, mais il préfère que l'on n'en presse pas trop la ratification.

M. Nehru serait heureux que cette ratification intervînt le plus rapidement possible. Mais il appartient au gouvernement français de juger de son opportunité.

Le général de Gaulle, explique que les choses deviendront beaucoup plus faciles si, comme il l'espère, les relations entre l'Inde et la France se développent et si à Pondichéry, l'Institut français fonctionne bien.

M. Nehru indique que l'Inde souhaite qu'il y ait un centre culturel français, lequel se trouve très bien situé à Pondichéry.

Le général de Gaulle croit savoir que le petit nombre d'étudiants indiens à Pondichéry s'explique par le fait que l'Institut français enseigne surtout les humanités et non pas les sciences qui intéressent davantage les Indiens.

As far as relations between France and India are concerned, General de Gaulle recalls the treaty on French trading posts that was signed before his return to power.^k The French government will not go back on it, but he would prefer that its ratification not be pressed for.

Mr Nehru would be delighted to have the ratification take place as fast as possible, but it is up to the French government to judge the opportune moment for her.

General de Gaulle explains that things will become much easier if, as he hopes, the relations between India and France develop and if the Institut français in Pondicherry runs well.

Mr Nehru says that India would like to have a French cultural centre, which will be well situated in Pondicherry.

General de Gaulle thinks that the small number of Indian students in Pondicherry can be explained by the fact that the Institut français mostly teaches the humanities and not science, which is of greater interest

K. En octobre 1954, un accord fut signé prévoyant une consultation non des populations des Comptoirs, mais des assemblées élues; une forte majorité se prononça pour le rattachement à l'Inde qui fut opéré *de facto* le 1 novembre (Documents Diplomatiques Français 1954, no 283 et note, 341 et note). Le traité officiel fut signé le 29 mai 1956.

k. In October 1954, an agreement was signed providing for consultations not with the people of the Trading Posts but the assembly of elected representatives; a large majority elected for joining the Indian Union, which was implemented *de facto* on 1st November (Documents diplomatiques français 1954, nos. 283 and note, 341 and note). The official treaty was signed on 29 May 1956.

Quelque chose pourrait être fait à cet égard.

M. Nehru ajoute que pour des raisons d'équivalence des diplômes, les étudiants sont incertains quant à l'avenir que leur assurerait Pondichéry, à moins qu'ils n'étudient spécifiquement le français.

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Le général de Gaulle résume encore une fois l'essentiel de ses entretiens qui ont porté sur la détente, le sommet, les relations entre l'Est et l'Ouest, la libre détermination en Afrique. Pour ce qui est des pays arabes, la France n'a rien contre eux. Ils manifestent beaucoup d'excitation, mais celle-ci est dans leur nature. Avec l'Inde, la France entend développer ses relations, non seulement dans les domaines culturel et économique, mais aussi politique, car il n'y a entre ces deux pays aucune opposition. Il conviendrait donc de ne pas y faire obstacle en évitant dans toute la mesure du possible des prises de position susceptibles de gêner l'autre partie. Pour l'essentiel, à savoir la paix et l'aide aux pays insuffisamment développés, l'Inde et la France sont d'accord. Celle-ci désire contribuer au développement de celle-là. Ayant atteint à la stabilité politique, financière et économique, la France peut maintenant intervenir davantage dans l'économie mondiale.

M. Nehru remercie le général de Gaulle de ses aimables paroles et

to Indians. Something could be done about this.

Mr Nehru adds that due to the issue of the equivalence of degrees, the students are uncertain about the future that Pondicherry holds for them, unless they specifically study French.

General de Gaulle recapitulates the main points of his talks on détente, the Summit, the relations between east and west Europe, free determination in Africa. As for the Arab countries, France has nothing against them. They display a lot of excitement, but that is part of their nature. With India, France intends to develop its relations not only in the cultural and economic areas but also the political one as there is no clash between these two countries. It would therefore be advisable not to place any obstacles to this by avoiding as far as possible the adoption of any position likely to cause any concern to the other party. For the essentials, that is peace and aid to less developed countries, India and France are in agreement. France desires to contribute to India's development. Having attained political, financial and economic stability, France can now contribute more to the global economy.

Mr Nehru thanks General de Gaulle for his kind words and deplures

déplore que le monde ne soit pas toujours gouverné par la raison et la logique, mais par la passion et la méfiance.

Le général de Gaulle indique que, tout en n'étant pas impérialiste, la France croit nécessaire de recréer sa force; elle le fait pour elle-même, mais peut-être aussi pour d'autres.

M. Debré ajoute que tout l'effort de la Communauté consiste à garantir la stabilité et la liberté dans le monde. Certains États africains ont pu déjà s'organiser en union avec la France. D'autres se laissent emporter par la passion. L'effort que fait la France depuis que le général de Gaulle est revenu au pouvoir tend à faire du plus grand nombre d'États africains possible, d'ici vingt à trente ans, un facteur d'équilibre et de paix.

Le général de Gaulle rappelle, à cet égard, la décision récente du Mali.^L Ce n'est que si l'on agit sans passion, en s'abstenant de toute excitation, que ces États pourront être indépendants dans la liberté.

(Cabinet du Ministre.)

the fact that the world is not always governed by reason and logic but by passion and distrust.

General de Gaulle states that France, while not being imperialistic, believes it necessary to rebuild her forces; she is doing it for herself, but perhaps also for others.

Mr Debré adds that all the effort of the Community consists of guaranteeing stability and freedom in the world. Certain African States have already been able to organise themselves in union with France. Others are getting carried away by passion. France's endeavour since General de Gaulle's return to power has been to make of the largest possible number of African States a factor of balance and peace within the next twenty to thirty years.

In this regard, General de Gaulle recalls Mali's recent decision.¹ It is only when we act dispassionately, abstaining from all excitement, that these States will be able to be independent in freedom.

(Minister's Office)

L. Des accords de transfert de compétence avaient été signés le 4 avril par MM. Debré, Modibo Keita et Mamadou Dia pour le Mali (voir ci-dessus le no 154 et note). Pour plus de détails sur le contenu des accords, voir l'*Année politique* 1960, p. 340-341.

1. Agreements for transfer of competence were signed on 4 April by Messrs Debré, Modibo Keita and Mamadou Dia for Mali (see no. 154 and note above). For further details on the contents of this agreement, see *Année politique* 1960, pp. 340-341.

146. In London: To the Foreign Press Association⁷²**Plane Incident will Not Affect Summit Talks in
Major Way—Nehru**

London, May 10.-Prime Minister Nehru said here yesterday that he did not think the shooting down of an American plane over Soviet territory would affect the coming east-west summit conference "in any major way."

Pandit Nehru, who was a guest of the Foreign Press Association at lunch, was answering questions.

On apartheid, he said: "I need hardly tell you how very much opposed we are to racial discrimination. In the modern world that kind of thing just cannot be carried on without conflict.

"Africa is in a tremendous ferment, seething, and when that sort of thing happens whole populations become conscious, politically and otherwise, of the good things of life. They cannot be ignored more especially where matters of individual self-respect are concerned."

Pandit Nehru added that these and other matters were being discussed at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference. "The more we talk there, the less we have to say outside", he said.

"Some of my colleagues did so afterwards and they got into trouble."

To a questioner who compared South Africans racial policy to the caste system of India, he replied: "The caste system was unfair. It may not have been racial in that sense of the word but large numbers were kept repressed."

He described legislative processes which had been applied in India "against that sort of thing" and said "the main point is that the law, in principle, does not recognise any kind of racial or caste discrimination. Sometimes people are even punished for it."

The Indian Prime Minister referred to the talks he had less than a month ago with the Prime Minister of the Chinese Republic, Mr. Chou En-lai. He said they were "helpful in the sense that both of us got a better idea of the other's point of view, but apart from that there was not much approach to each other's viewpoint."

Asked about India-Pakistan relations, Pandit Nehru replied: "Broadly, our relations are much better than they have been for the last ten years or so." Some problems still remained to be settled, but "so far as the people of India are concerned relations are almost back to normal and the old feelings resulting

72. Reuter's report, London, 9 May 1960. *National Herald*, 11 May 1960.

from partition are practically gone.”

Pandit Nehru said of the European Common Market that India had not been very favourable to such restricted areas as they meant that countries such as his would not have the same approach as formerly. But he thought that this matter was “not very rigid” and that “some way may be found whereby the difficulties may be less.”

Asked if the Indian Government would give de jure recognition to the state of Israel in future, Pandit Nehru pointed out that India had recognised Israel de jure long ago.

He went on: “But we have not followed this up by sending a diplomatic mission there. We did not send a mission because we thought we could perhaps approach a little nearer to the solution to problems there by not doing so.”

India’s contacts with the Arab world were considerable and Israel was not popular among these Arab countries.

“It was therefore a practical consideration that led us to this policy.” Pandit Nehru added.

He said that the “Colombo Plan” had been welcomed in Asia and it would be “a good thing” if it were extended to Africa or if a separate plan could be founded.

But Pandit Nehru warned that the gap was widening all the time between the industrial and the underdeveloped countries. Something had to be done to lessen the gap but it could not be covered by “relatively small schemes.”

147. In London: At a Reception⁷³

Indo-Pakistan Relations Nehru’s Analysis

London, May 10. Prime Minister Nehru said here today that the peoples of India and Pakistan who had the closest links in the past had forgotten the bitterness of the problems arising from Partition and added, “they now meet each other not only in a friendly way but almost in an emotional way, remembering the past and trying to recover it.”

He was speaking at a reception jointly given in his honour by the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society and the East India Association.

73. Reuter’s report of a speech at a reception given by the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society and the East India Association, 10 May 1960. *National Herald*, 12 May 1960.

Mr. Nehru said that despite the problems between the two countries the fact remained that their people were closer to each other than any other people in the world.

The Indian Prime Minister said that the basic problem before India was to meet the demands of her people—most of whom lived in villages and were politically conscious—for better conditions of life. This was a “fascinating, exciting and often irritating but above all fascinating task.”

He briefly referred to India’s Five Year Plans to describe how this task was being tackled.

Sir John Woodhead, Chairman of the East India Association and a former Governor of Bengal, welcoming Mr. Nehru described him as “one of the veteran statesmen of our age”, and said “when the history of our times comes to be written your place in the esteem of your fellowmen is assured for all time.”

148. Tenth Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers⁷⁴

1. THE MIDDLE EAST

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd said that since the uprising in Iraq in July 1958 the whole of the Middle East had been in a state of unstable equilibrium: and the makings of another catastrophe were there. The Middle East was of great importance to the Commonwealth, occupying a strategic position in air and sea communications. It was a link between Asia and Africa, rich in oil, and was that part of the world where Russia still sought to achieve her old ambition of acquiring a warm-water port. The main elements in the complex political situation were the conflict between Israel and the Arab States; the marked inequalities of wealth in the region; and uncertainty about the intentions of President Nasser, whose publications indicated an ambition for eventual Egyptian hegemony over the Islamic world.

The United Kingdom Government had tried to improve relations with the United Arab Republic (U.A.R.) by concluding a financial settlement, resuming diplomatic relations, sending trade missions and not opposing the World Bank loan for the Suez Canal. They had also tried to establish confidence, for example, by explaining their policy on the export of arms to Iraq and Israel. But unfortunately relations between the United Kingdom and the U.A.R. were not

74. Minutes of the Tenth Meeting held at 10 Downing Street, London, S.W. 1, on Wednesday, 11th May, 1960, at 3-30 p.m. Harold Macmillan was in the Chair.

yet satisfactory. There were three main causes for President Nasser's continuing distrust. First, he did not understand why we supplied arms to Israel: he did not appreciate that, if we did not supply the limited quantities needed to enable Israel to defend herself, she might well have recourse again to a preventive war. Secondly, President Nasser thought that the United Kingdom was supporting Iraq against the U.A.R.: this was not so, though we wanted Iraq to remain independent. Finally, he resented the friendly relations which we enjoyed with Jordan. Notwithstanding these continuing causes of distrust, the United Kingdom Government would persevere in trying to improve relations with the U.A.R.

As to the Middle East as a whole, the purpose of the United Kingdom Government was to disengage from the political conflicts between Arab States. They could not do so completely because of the responsibilities and obligations they had undertaken, for example, in relation to Libya and the Persian Gulf States. But they would endeavour to pursue a policy of not becoming involved in new conflicts. He thought that the two basic problems—the conflict between Israel and the Arab States and the great inequalities of wealth—could best be tackled through the United Nations since any unilateral approach seemed inevitably to arouse suspicions. It had accordingly been a great disappointment that the United Nations initiatives for mediation over the Suez Canal and for a co-operative development effort among the Arab States had both failed.

President Ayub said that President Nasser had visited Pakistan recently. They had spoken about the Suez crisis of 1956. He had told President Nasser why Pakistan had not supported him at that time, and had also told him that he had placed himself in an extremely dangerous position from which only the unexpected intervention of the United States had saved him. President Nasser had expressed suspicions of the Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO) and of Turkey. He had explained to President Nasser that CENTO covered only a limited sphere of common interest and was not making plans against the U.A.R.; that CENTO was not as strong as he would like to see it; but that it was a shield against Russian penetration through Iran, and that without it the Suez Canal and the U.A.R. would be in great danger. He had told President Nasser that he wished CENTO had more depth, and he thought he had been understood. He had also reminded President Nasser of Turkey's centuries-long struggle with Russia and of her continued fear of Russian expansion in that area; Turkey had to have strong friends against such a powerful adversary.

Turning to the general situation in the Middle East, President Ayub said that there were dangers in the strains and stresses between Israel and the Arab world, and in the advance of Communism within the Arab world. The only effective resistance to Communism in that part of the world was Arab nationalism, of which the spearhead was President Nasser. If the West could win President

Nasser's confidence, they might be able to guide him in his relations with the rest of the Arab world. His own impression was that President Nasser was a good and honest man with a great concern for the welfare of his people, but he doubted whether he had good advisers. The wise course for the West would be to try to remove misunderstandings, to assure President Nasser that the Western world did not mean him ill, and to convince him that Israel would not be allowed to expand outside her present boundaries. He thought the onus rested on Israel, as the new State inserted in the Arab world, to declare that she would not expand her frontiers. It was difficult to judge what Egypt's intentions towards Israel were; but his own assessment was that, although Egypt would find it politically impossible to accept the present boundaries of Israel and would demand something like the boundaries proposed in the United Nations resolution of 1948, she realised in fact that Israel was now too well organised and had too many friends to be liquidated. The U.A.R. was indeed afraid of the growing power of Israel. When the West talked of equality of arms between Israel and the Arab world, the Arabs considered that the West did not take into account that they were not under a united leadership and that their arms were therefore more dispersed.

The situation was greatly exacerbated by the Palestine refugee problem. The refugees could not go back to Palestine and the Arab States were using their plight for political ends. A solution to this problem would greatly ease tension in the Middle East. Iraq, Syria and Egypt herself could help, but were finding reasons for not doing so. Any plans to deal with the refugees, however, would have to take into account the United Nations resolution of 1948 which proposed sending them back to Palestine. The blockade of the Suez Canal was a political problem flowing from the bad relations between Israel and the U.A.R. He did not think it affected Israel much economically, as she had access to the Red Sea and was not land-locked or blockaded.

Mr. Nehru said that Arab nationalism was the basic element in the Middle East situation. The Arabs were a proud race with a long tradition and a common language. In the eyes of Arabs everywhere President Nasser was the unquestioned leader of Arab nationalism, and attempts to ignore or belittle him would only arouse hostility. The problems created by Arab nationalism could not be solved by military means. The rest of the world would need to demonstrate that they were not opposed to it as such, and that they were willing to discuss the problems it created in a friendly and understanding way.

The differences between Israel and the Arab States were deep, but he agreed with President Ayub that no intelligent Arab thought that Israel would be liquidated: too much should not be read into public speeches. He did not see any early solution and thought that a change in the situation generally would

have to come first. Perhaps a solution might eventually be found along the lines of the United Nations resolution, involving an acceptance by the Arab States of the continuance of Israel within somewhat curtailed boundaries.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd said that he agreed with President Ayub that the refugee problem was being used for political purposes. Even when some refugees had been allowed to go to Iraq the Iraqi Government had not allowed them to settle there but had insisted upon their retaining refugee status. On the point raised by President Ayub about equality in arms between Israel and the Arab world, he said that it had never been the United Kingdom's policy to export arms on that basis. The few Centurion tanks which had been shipped to Israel had to be compared with the 300 or 400 heavy tanks owned by the Arab States. Exports of arms from the United Kingdom to Israel represented only a small fraction of our arms exports to the Arab States as a whole.

President Ayub commented that this was just the kind of explanation which the United Kingdom Government should be giving to President Nasser as one of the steps towards restoring confidence.

2. SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd said that the one satisfactory development in this area since the last Prime Ministers' Conference had been the progress of Malaya. Indonesia, on the contrary, presented a picture of economic deterioration and political instability in which President Sukarno held the balance between the army and the Communists; the United Kingdom Government was trying to help by modest supplies of arms and technical aid and by exercising restraint on the President's agitation against Dutch New Guinea.

With regard to Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam, in which Commonwealth countries were much involved in various ways, the United Kingdom Government were anxious to keep the area neutral and see that the Geneva Agreements were carried out. One serious danger was the lack of effective administration in Laos; the United Kingdom Government were in favour of bringing back the International Commission in Laos but it was impossible to compel Laos to agree to this against their will.

Tunku Abdul Rahman said that President Sukarno was considered by some as a great liability to Indonesia but he was extremely popular despite his erratic policies. Two years ago, for instance, Malaya had made a Treaty of Friendship with him but little had come of it. The Indonesian Army was effectively commanded by General Nasution⁷⁵ who was himself definitely anti-Communist.

75. Abdul Haris Nasution.

The real reason for President Sukarno's agitation over West New Guinea was to distract popular attention from the economic instability of Indonesia which, although causing little unrest to the rural population, was potentially dangerous in the towns. This question could be troublesome for Malaya where there were many families of Indonesian descent; furthermore, if Indonesia succumbed to Communist subversion the Malayan victory over Communism would be imperilled.

Russia had already intervened in Indonesia with a recent offer of \$250 millions in addition to a similar sum provided over the last two years; Mr. Khrushchev's visit to Indonesia could be interpreted as part of the Russian campaign to gain goodwill in the area and perhaps also to show neutral countries that Russia was not backing China in the Indonesian quarrel with China.

Tunku Abdul Rahman agreed that there was still no effective form of government in Laos which could combat Communism. Cambodia also depended on government by personality. Prince Sihanouk⁷⁶ seemed at times to incline towards Communism, but it was possible that he was in fact pursuing a balanced neutralist policy. In South Vietnam, the President was virtually a dictator but the Government were seriously exposed to subversion. The Vietnamese had recently taken an interest in Malayan methods of fighting the Communists and had sent their Deputy President to Malaya for this purpose. In this connexion, Tunku Abdul Rahman said that when in New Zealand he had suggested the creation of a training centre for countries engaged in anti-Communist psychological warfare. The end of the emergency in Malaya did not mean that every Communist had been wiped out; many had crossed the Thailand border; but an understanding had now been reached with the Thais for maximum co-operation against them.

In conclusion, Tunku Abdul Rahman said that he had recently suggested the establishment of an organisation to bring the countries of South-East Asia closer together politically and to try to increase the economic influence and strength of the area through regional relations similar to those of the European groups. Siam, Thailand and the Philippines had agreed to participate, but it would take time for the idea to develop. The organisation was not intended to have a central secretariat, but to meet as convenient in any of the capitals of the countries participating.

Mr. Nehru said that he wished to draw attention to a recent report that a Dutch aircraft carrier had been dispatched to West New Guinea to reinforce Dutch troops there. This seemed to contain the possibility of grave consequences. As regards Laos, it would be a serious matter if the Geneva

76. Norodom Sihanouk, Prime Minister of Cambodia.

Agreements, even if they had not always been effective, were to fail completely, and every effort should be made to keep them in existence. It was unfortunate that the Laotian Government refused to readmit the International Commission, but they could not be compelled to do so. In general, it was important to guard against a superficial appreciation of the popularity of the Governments in this area, where often elections were not free and the Governments with which other countries had to deal were far from representative and liable to sudden collapse. The basis of any policy should be the feeling and interest of the people concerned, who should be won over by assistance rather than by military means.

Tunku Abdul Rahman said that he would take up the question of the despatch of the Dutch aircraft carrier with the Netherlands Government during his forthcoming visit to that country.

Mr. Menzies said that he agreed that the situation in Laos was very difficult; it was most important that the country should be independent and neutral, receive economic aid and acquire an effective central government. Other countries should pursue firm, clear and unprovocative policies with regard to Laos.

He had, on his recent tour, visited both Indonesia and Malaya and been struck by the difference in the circumstances and atmosphere in these countries which had both recently achieved independence. The Indonesians, 14 years after the Dutch had left, were still very hostile to them, and the country was desperately short of skilled administrators and economic experts. The Indonesians were indeed fully aware of this and there was great emphasis on education. In Malaya, on the other hand, which had achieved its independence in an entirely peaceful manner, the atmosphere was one of prosperity, efficient Government and great friendliness to Europeans.

On Indonesia, *Mr. Menzies* said that President Sukarno was a virtual dictator and had more interest in Dutch New Guinea than in the economic problems of Indonesia. He did not, himself, think that it would be an aggressive act for the Dutch to send an aircraft carrier to the area, since the Indonesians were already overwhelmingly superior in military strength compared with the local Dutch forces, by reason of the military aid they received from many Communist and non-Communist countries. In any case, it was not the Dutch who had taken an aggressive attitude in this matter, but the Indonesians, who refused to take their case to the International Court. While he had been in Indonesia, President Sukarno had agreed to make a public declaration not to resort to force in the dispute; but other Indonesians took a more threatening line, and it was not unreasonable for the Dutch to take precautions. Australia was most anxious that arms supplied to Indonesia should be strictly for internal purposes only.

Australia recognised Dutch sovereignty in West New Guinea, but would concur in any settlement of the problem that was reached by negotiation. Meanwhile, it was important that no action should be taken which would increase the risk of hostilities and that influential countries should persuade Indonesia to this view.

Tunku Abdul Rahman said that, while the Dutch aircraft carrier would not affect the level of forces, its despatch was the sort of action which President Sukarno would use to exploit the situation politically.

President Ayub said that he had recently emphasised to the Indonesian Ambassador that the dispute should be fully discussed at the United Nations.

In answer to a question from Mr. Diefenbaker, *Mr. Nehru* said that in his recent talks with Mr. Chou En-lai he had formed the impression that China was not likely to commit any further aggression in the Far East at present; but Indo-China seemed to him to be a most vulnerable area if the Geneva Agreements were to break down.

Mr. Nash said, in referring to his own visit last year, that the Indonesians had an inherent antagonism to the Dutch and they had thus denied themselves valuable technical assistance. New Zealand had had difficulty over the devaluation last year which applied to monies sent by New Zealand for helping Indonesia under the Colombo Plan. He referred also to the case of a technical training school, the results from which had been disappointing, and in fact this project had been New Zealand's only doubtful project under the Colombo Plan. He thought that economic assistance and political supervision would be the best way to help Laos, perhaps on the lines recently attempted by Mr. Hammarskjöld. He did not believe there was at present a threat of invasion of Laos from China. In general, New Zealand wished to assist in the process of developing effective forms of Government in the countries of South-East Asia.

Tunku Abdul Rahman said he wished to draw attention to the illegal opium trade across the border with Thailand; opium was now being sold openly in Laos, and if this were not stopped by the United Nations, Malaya might be forced to return to the legalisation of the sale of opium under control.

3. AFRICA

Mr. Macmillan invited Mr. Macleod⁷⁷ to give a description of the way in which the United Kingdom was discharging its responsibilities for dependent territories in Africa and to indicate the developments which were likely to take place.

Mr. Macleod said that, while the current meeting was in progress, other conferences had resulted in agreement on dates for the achievement of

77. Iain Macleod, Secretary of State for the Colonies, UK.

independence by two dependent territories in Africa—Sierra Leone and the Somaliland Protectorate. It had been agreed that Sierra Leone should become independent on 27th April, 1961, and it seemed likely that she would then make an application for membership of the Commonwealth. As regards the Somaliland Protectorate, he recalled that his predecessor had previously given an undertaking that, when the Italian Trusteeship of Somalia came to an end on 1st January, 1961, the United Kingdom would facilitate discussions between the Governments of the Somaliland Protectorate and of Somalia on the formation of a union between the two countries. The date of Somalia's independence had subsequently been advanced to 1st July, 1960, and following elections in the Protectorate the Legislative Council there had passed a resolution calling for independence in time to enable the territory to unite with Somalia on the same day as the Italian Trusteeship was to end. Although the United Kingdom Government considered that 1st July, 1960, was in many respects, too soon for independence for the Somaliland Protectorate, they had decided to accede to the request rather than continue to discharge the responsibility of government in circumstances which would probably have necessitated the use of troops to preserve law and order. The Protectorate would now become independent on 26th June, 1960, in order to enable a union with Somalia to be proclaimed on 1st July. Satisfactory arrangements had been made in regard to the expatriate officials serving the Protectorate administration; and it was likely that a number of them would remain after independence. Financial aid from the United Kingdom would continue for some time. It was unlikely that the new Republic of Somalia would apply for membership of the Commonwealth, but the United Kingdom hoped to establish close relations with it, especially on economic matters.

In October 1960 Tanganyika was to adopt a form of government providing for a Chief Minister, and it was likely that further constitutional advance would follow, culminating in independence in 1962 or 1963.

The situation in Uganda was complicated by the sharp divergence of opinion between the progressive elements on the one hand and traditionalist opinion on the other. Whilst it had hitherto been their policy to help Uganda to develop as a unitary State the United Kingdom Government did not wish to exclude a federal solution. It was unlikely that further constitutional advance would take place before the elections which were due to be held in 1961. One matter giving rise to particular concern in Uganda was the position of the 70,000 Asians.

The political situation in Kenya was somewhat turbulent, partly due to the circumstances of Mr. Kenyatta,⁷⁸ partly because of pre-electoral manoeuvres

78. Jomo Kenyatta, under detention at this time, became first Prime Minister of Kenya in 1963.

by the various political parties, and partly because of the fears on the part of the European community of the consequences of the constitutional arrangements agreed at the recent Conference in London.⁷⁹ Nevertheless it was hoped that, given co-operation by the African political leaders, the situation would be stabilised and conditions created for a resumption of peaceful constitutional progress.

A Commissioner was examining the constitutional position in Zanzibar and it seemed likely that a measure of advance would be made following his report.

As regards the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the United Kingdom Government were awaiting the report of the Central African Advisory Commission (the Monckton Commission), following which a conference would be held to review the Federal constitution. In the meantime, it had been agreed to hold a conference in London, opening on 19th July, 1960, on constitutional advance in Nyasaland.

The situation in Gambia was likely to be affected by three factors—the independence of the neighbouring countries of Mali and Sierra Leone, the elections to be held under universal suffrage at the end of May 1960 and the current deterioration in the territory's economy. Gambia might ultimately federate with Sierra Leone, join with Mali, or even become the subject of some special constitutional arrangement with the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth countries, such as had been devised in the case of Singapore.

In reply to a question from President Ayub regarding the measures which might be taken to safeguard the rights of Pakistani emigrants, particularly to the East African territories, Mr. Macleod said that the United Kingdom Government would keep the problem well in mind and before granting independence to a territory would wish to satisfy themselves that relations between the various races were likely to develop in a satisfactory manner. He would be glad at any time to discuss the matter further with the Governments of India and Pakistan.

Dr. Nkrumah said that the Government of Ghana appreciated the efforts which the United Kingdom Government were making to accelerate the development of United Kingdom colonial territories in Africa and their advance towards independence. He believed that dependent territories should be helped to attain their independence at the earliest date acceptable to the people themselves. Whatever the difficulties involved it should be recognised that the Governments of all African territories should command the confidence of the majority of the people living in those territories.

79. Held in London between 18 January and 21 February 1960.

Current developments in Africa should be considered against the wider background. Recent years had seen the development of a strong force of African nationalism, which was now expressing itself as a struggle for free and independent nationhood. The trend of thought among African leaders was towards a union of African States. In dealing with this one of the objectives must be to preserve the Commonwealth as an effective organisation for the pursuit of multi-racial policies.

Another problem of deep concern to African nationalism was the present position of South-West Africa, a United Nations Trust Territory administered by the Union of South Africa. The Government of Ghana did not regard this matter as solely the concern of the South African Government but considered that the Commonwealth as a whole had a special responsibility. Ghana intended at the next session of the United Nations to press for a change in the present arrangements for administering the mandate in South-West Africa, and in raising this matter would be glad to have the support of other Commonwealth countries.

Summing up, *Mr. Macmillan* said that *Mr. Macleod* had given the meeting an indication of the problems which lay ahead; in tackling them the United Kingdom Government would have very much in mind the wider background described by *Dr. Nkrumah*. He hoped that with faith and patience, and in the knowledge that they carried with them the broad sympathy of their Commonwealth colleagues, United Kingdom Ministers would be able to meet the challenge of the future in Africa in a liberal, tolerant and fair manner.

*London, S.W. 1,
11th May, 1960.*

149. Eleventh Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers⁸⁰

1. THE SUPPLY OF ADMINISTRATIVE, TECHNICAL AND RESEARCH PERSONNEL IN COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES

Tunku Abdul Rahman said that the Federation of Malaya, like other newly independent under-developed countries, was faced with urgent and complex needs, perhaps the most important of which was to accelerate her economic

80. Minutes of the Eleventh Meeting held at 10 Downing Street, London, S.W.1, on Thursday, 12th May, 1960, at 10-30 a.m. Harold Macmillan was in the Chair.

programme. There was, however, an acute scarcity of skilled personnel, which had been increased by the need to fill the posts formerly occupied by expatriate officials. The Federation of Malaya was grateful for the help which she had received from other Commonwealth countries in the provision of experts and also for the facilities offered by Commonwealth countries for training Malayan nationals. He hoped that this co-operation would continue and develop. But the problem could be overcome more easily if a scheme could be drawn up within the Commonwealth broadly similar to the United Nations Technical Assistance Scheme for Operational and Executive Personnel (OPEX). Under such a scheme independent Commonwealth countries would try to provide each other on request with operational and executive staff to fill administrative and technical posts, the recipient Government being the employing authority and guaranteeing a basic salary. The staff concerned would not be employed as advisers but as officers carrying out executive functions on a full-time basis, responsible to and controlled by the Government to which they were seconded. Such a scheme would need to be worked out in detail, and he suggested that if it commended itself in principle to other Commonwealth Prime Ministers a committee might be appointed to go into the matter and make specific recommendations to Commonwealth Governments. One fundamental difficulty which would have to be examined was the need to ensure that the subsequent careers of persons seconded to another country were not thereby prejudiced. There were, moreover, certain conditions which the Malayan Government would have to impose on the choice of personnel coming to the Federation. In the first place they would not wish to receive anyone who had previously served in Malaya, since this would give rise to various political difficulties and might encourage existing expatriates to leave the country in the hope of returning under more favourable conditions of service. Secondly, the Malayan Government would find some difficulty in paying higher salaries to expatriate officers than were paid to Malaysians, and they would hope that the Governments of the countries supplying the personnel would be willing to make up the difference in emoluments. Malaya's main requirement was for accountants, agriculturists, engineers, chemists, teachers, doctors and machine technicians.

Senator Cooray supported the proposal put forward by Tunku Abdul Rahman. He stressed the needs of under-developed countries, not only for capital and material resources with which to undertake development projects, but for skilled technicians to carry them through. Although a great deal had been done on an international basis in the field of technical aid, particularly under the Colombo Plan and the technical assistance programmes of the United Nations and some of its special agencies, there was a general need for more experts of all kinds. Although Ceylon had experts of the highest technical

qualifications, the numbers were very small. Ceylon was giving priority to the establishment of technical schools to make good the deficiency, which was most acute at the middle and lower levels, and they urgently needed outside help for the construction, equipment and staffing of these schools. There was also a particular shortage of doctors, and Senator Cooray suggested that all the medical schools in the Commonwealth should be encouraged to reserve a few places for students from under-developed countries: in many cases the cost of the training could be met by the students themselves.

Dr. Nkrumah expressed his support for the views of Tunku Abdul Rahman and Senator Cooray and also stressed the fundamental importance of helping under-developed countries to train their own people. So far as Ghana was concerned, this could be done both by accepting Ghanaians for training in the more developed countries and by supplying expatriate personnel to train people locally in Ghana. He also underlined the importance of the under-developed countries creating conditions which would be conducive to foreign investment, since it was through the activities of expatriate firms that a great deal of local training could be carried out. Finally, he drew attention to the need to avoid the sudden loss of trained administrators when former colonial territories became independent.

Mr. Louw said that he had a good deal of sympathy with the needs of the less-developed countries for technical aid, but he did not think that it would be wise to set up a Commonwealth-wide organisation for the purpose. In his view the problem was much more appropriate for bilateral or regional arrangements such as those under the Colombo Plan, the C.C.T.A. and F.A.M.A. While South Africa had played and would continue to play a leading part in technical assistance schemes relating to Africa, she could not commit herself to any wider schemes. Those developed countries such as Canada which were to some extent outside the scope of the regional system might perhaps be prepared to give assistance to various regional groups where appropriate. Although South Africa had provided help for other under-developed countries in Africa she was faced with great internal problems in the development of the Bantu territories and might well have to ask for assistance from other Commonwealth countries.

Mr. Diefenbaker supported the proposed plan in principle, though he thought there might be practical difficulties. There might be advantage if the scheme took the form of a Commonwealth plan for technical assistance rather than a more rigid scheme on the lines of OPEX. Canada had already provided a number of administrators to under-developed countries; and, although the great need for further development in Canada meant that there was a shortage of scientists and technicians there, it might be possible to compile a list of qualified persons available to take up suitable appointments in other Commonwealth countries.

Sir Roy Welensky said that, despite her own extensive requirements, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was already helping other countries in Africa with the provision of various types of experts. He agreed with Mr. Louw that such schemes would be better organised on a regional basis, since experts from further afield often had difficulty in applying their specialist knowledge to local conditions; this was particularly so in agriculture. In the past the Federation had recruited appreciable numbers of teachers and doctors from the United Kingdom, but it was becoming more and more difficult to do so in view of the world-wide shortage and because of the continued improvement in living standards in the United Kingdom. It would however be some time before the Federation was in a position to train sufficient experts locally.

Mr. Menzies said that he had not understood Tunku Abdul Rahman to say that it was necessary to set up new formal arrangements to provide a better supply of experts for under-developed Commonwealth countries. Rather he took him to be seeking a development of the existing informal arrangements under which some Commonwealth countries were already assisting others. He preferred the informal method under which Malaya, for instance, would approach another Commonwealth country direct. He himself regarded the provision and exchange of technical assistance as a matter of the highest importance in strengthening Commonwealth ties. Australia had already sent to Malaya a number of highly-qualified people in response to particular requests. There were of course a number of practical difficulties. Australia's plans for the development of Papua and New Guinea called for a large additional number of teachers, doctors and other experts. The problem could not be solved if countries were prepared to provide the necessary experts only out of their surplus capacity; there must be an element of sacrifice if the need was to be met to any worthwhile degree. In Australia places in certain educational institutions were reserved for Asians, even though this meant turning away Australian candidates. He agreed with the importance attached to the training of persons locally. In general it was easier to second people for service abroad at the end of their careers than half-way through, since in the latter case they were naturally anxious about the effects of secondment on their subsequent careers. Australia would continue to devote the closest attention to the general problem and would do her best to meet requests made to her by other Commonwealth countries for the provision of experts.

Mr. Nash was in favour of the scheme suggested by the Malayan Prime Minister, which he thought would be complementary to the Colombo Plan and the arrangements recently made for Commonwealth co-operation in education. The scheme should be regarded as one of an interim nature, to last perhaps 10

or 15 years, until Malaya and the other under-developed countries concerned had been able to train enough of their own nationals to meet their needs. New Zealand was making a particular study of the teaching of English as a foreign language, not only directly to students from abroad but also to New Zealand teachers proceeding abroad.

Mr. Nehru said that the importance of technical help was generally acknowledged. India had sent and would continue to send trained experts abroad and had in turn received a great deal of technical help from other countries. But it would be difficult to evolve a comprehensive scheme; it might be preferable for the present arrangements to continue, and for all Commonwealth countries to give the greatest measure of help possible under these arrangements. The right approach from the long-term point of view was to train sufficient people locally. But the training of experts and the use of technical assistance should have regard to the future development of the social pattern of the country concerned. Indian students who had been trained abroad often felt frustrated when they returned to their own communities and had to work without the benefit of mechanical aids to which they had become accustomed during their training in industrialised countries. It had to be realised that economic progress in the under-developed countries depended on the co-operative effort of the masses of the people. Technical developments ought to provide for the employment of a large labour force. India therefore attached great importance to community development projects.

Mr. Nehru also drew attention to the danger that industrialisation might create prosperity only for the relatively few people at the top of the social structure, leaving the mass of the people without any improvement. Such a process would only widen the gap between the different elements of society and would not solve the problems of the under-developed countries. A carefully planned approach to the problem was essential.

President Ayub said that the type and degree of technical assistance needed varied with each country. He was not in favour of a comprehensive Commonwealth scheme, though he placed great value on the assistance Pakistan had received from the supply of personnel from other Commonwealth countries. Pakistan had recently set up an educational commission to replan the whole of her educational system. University places would be increased in number and awarded only to those who showed themselves capable of profiting from such training. Pakistan wanted to recruit high calibre staffs for their universities and would hope to secure the assistance of other Commonwealth countries for that purpose. He agreed with *Mr. Nehru* that it was important to prevent divisions in the social structure becoming wider, and in drawing up her five-year plans Pakistan had taken care to ensure that they would bring some benefit to society

at every level, though clearly some levels would benefit more than others. Profiteering by vested interests was discouraged, and ordinary people were beginning to understand the importance of the Government's development plans. Pakistan was also engaged in the reorganisation of her administrative structure and in developing a form of democracy based on partnership in which people from the smallest social and administrative unit could feel themselves associated with the policies of the Government.

Lord Home said that, besides contributing towards the Colombo Plan and to the various technical assistance schemes in Africa, the United Kingdom Government made bilateral technical assistance agreements with colonial territories attaining their independence. They also used the British Council as agents to bring Commonwealth students to the United Kingdom for training in many different spheres. Private industry in the United Kingdom was being encouraged to send representatives and technicians for periods of service abroad and was increasingly disposed to take Commonwealth students for training in the United Kingdom. The Montreal Conference had initiated a corporate effort in the Commonwealth in regard to educational assistance. The numbers of Commonwealth students in the United Kingdom had increased in the last few years from 10,000 to 31,000; and 2,500 teachers were going abroad to teach each year. The United Kingdom Government were now offering special inducements to increase this number still further, even though more teachers were badly needed at home. One of the difficulties in recruiting persons to serve overseas on temporary secondment was that usually it was not possible to offer them a permanent career. Because of the natural desire of emergent territories to fill posts with their own nationals as soon as possible after independence, the period for which a contract of service could be made in individual cases had usually to be limited to a few years. The United Kingdom Government was already actively considering with the professions concerned whether this difficulty could be overcome.

Although the United Kingdom had not turned down any request for help from a Commonwealth country in finding skilled personnel, there might yet be room for improvement in the existing arrangements. He suggested that the whole question, including the proposal made by Tunku Abdul Rahman, should be remitted to the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Committee for further study.

Mr. Macmillan said that he thought that the Meeting would feel that the discussion had been interesting and valuable, and that the proposal that this question should be referred to the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Committee would be generally acceptable. The Meeting agreed with this.

Tunku Abdul Rahman said that he hoped that the Commonwealth Economic

Consultative Committee would take into account the need for some central point to which requests for specialists could be directed, and he asked whether, as a temporary arrangement, the Commonwealth Relations Office would be prepared to act in this way and deal with such requests.

*Lord Home*⁸¹ said that the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Committee would no doubt take this point into consideration, and that the Commonwealth Relations Office would always be prepared to help other Commonwealth countries in any way they could. There might be practical difficulties in the way of a comprehensive Commonwealth scheme for the supply of expert personnel, and it might on examination turn out to be more appropriate to proceed on a regional or bilateral basis.

2. FUTURE MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMONWEALTH

Mr. Macmillan referred to the suggestion he had made at the end of the Meeting's previous discussion on the future membership of the Commonwealth (P.M.M. (60) 8th Meeting, Minute 4) that a small group of officials might be appointed to study this question and to prepare a report for consideration by all member Governments. He now proposed that such a group should be set up with the task of analysing the problem and suggesting alternative solutions. On the basis of one member from each continent, a representative group might consist of a senior official from the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, India and Ghana; but it would be helpful if an official from New Zealand who, like the United Kingdom, had an immediate practical problem of this kind in Western Samoa, were to be added as a sixth. The United Kingdom representative would be Sir Norman Brook.⁸² If this idea were acceptable, he suggested that the Prime Ministers of those countries should each nominate an official to confer with Sir Norman Brook and arrange a subsequent meeting of about a week's duration when they could give uninterrupted study to the problem.

It was agreed that such a committee should be set up, and that the United Kingdom should circulate a paper to the members of it for study by their Governments. The committee would then examine the problem and suggest alternative methods of dealing with it; but they would not be asked to make definitive recommendations. The report of the committee would then be circulated to all member Governments for their consideration.

81. The Earl of Home, Lord President of the Council and Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

82. Permanent Secretary to the Treasury and Head of the Civil Service, UK.

3. DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY

Mr. Macmillan said that at present the United Kingdom Diplomatic Immunity and Privileges Act applied to visiting Ministers and their staffs from foreign countries but not to those from the Commonwealth. The United Kingdom Government proposed to remedy this by introducing a Bill in the next session of Parliament.

4. PROCEDURE

The Meeting agreed that at their next session that afternoon they would consider a draft of the communiqué to be issued at the end of the Meeting.

*London, S.W. 1,
12th May, 1960.*

150. Twelfth Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers⁸³

FINAL COMMUNIQUÉ

The Meeting first considered a draft which had been prepared by officials of the first 14 paragraphs of the final communiqué. A number of drafting amendments were approved. In addition, the following points were made:

- (a) Paragraph 10. *Mr. Louw* said that he wished to place it on record that the South African Government would not feel committed to put pressure on private industry to encourage members of their staffs to undertake a period of public service abroad.
- (b) Paragraph 13. *Mr. Diefenbaker* questioned whether it was necessary or desirable to include in the communiqué a statement of the procedure which would be followed in the event of South Africa deciding to become a republic. The general view was that this statement, subject to a drafting amendment, should be included.
- (c) Paragraph 14. It was suggested that this paragraph, on the future constitutional development of the Commonwealth, might lead to embarrassing questions and that the reference to the appointment of a

83. Minutes of the Twelfth Meeting held at 10 Downing Street, London, S.W. 1, on Thursday, 12th May, 1960 at 3.30 p.m. Harold Macmillan was in the Chair.

special committee of officials should be omitted. On the other hand, there was considerable public interest about the future relationship with the Commonwealth of dependent territories after they achieved independence. It was agreed that a revised paragraph should be prepared for consideration at the next meeting.

- (d) *Mr. Diefenbaker* suggested that, in view of the need for further study of a number of important problems, it would be desirable to include in the communiqué a reference to the value of regular meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, and their agreement that the next meeting should, if practicable, be held within one year. After discussion, it was agreed that no reference to this should be included in the communiqué. But the Ministers expressed the hope that meetings would be held more frequently in the future and if possible at intervals not greater than 18 months.

Mr. Macmillan then suggested that the Meeting should consider an additional paragraph on racial discrimination. The Secretariat had prepared a draft which attempted to describe objectively what had happened, making clear that the subject had been dealt with consistently with the ordinary rules of procedure of Commonwealth Meetings. The draft was handed round for consideration by the Meeting.

Mr. Louw then said that he had no objection to the first part of the paragraph (except that it should make it clear that he had agreed to meet other Heads of Delegations informally solely for the purpose of giving information and replying to questions) but that the rest of the paragraph described what had taken place at private meetings outside the Conference and was not the concern of the Conference. The restricted meeting held on the morning of Monday, 9th May, had been, in his view, no part of the proceedings of the Conference. It had been called at his request to give him an opportunity to discuss a Press statement made by one Prime Minister outside the Conference. He could not, therefore, agree that any reference to these discussions should appear in the communiqué. He had not himself referred in public to what had gone on in the private and informal meetings: all he had said was that he had undertaken to meet groups of Prime Ministers to give them information and to reply to questions, and he had stressed the private nature of these exchanges.

Dr. Nkrumah said that they were facing a serious issue and he was deeply aware of the responsibility resting on them all. The problem of racial discrimination was one which the Meeting could not ignore. Nor could they avoid making a clear statement about their attitude to it. If they attempted to do so the world would say that the Meeting had been a failure. He did not think it would be necessary to mention South Africa by name, or to explain the

procedures which had been followed to avoid breaching a convention of Commonwealth meetings. He proposed that the communiqué should include the clear statement that Prime Ministers had discussed racial policies within the Commonwealth and had agreed in principle that the practice of racial discrimination in any part of the Commonwealth was inconsistent with a multi-racial association.

Mr. Menzies said that Dr. Nkrumah's proposal implied that there had been discussions in the formal sessions of the Meeting on the general questions of racial discrimination, but this was not so. He suggested that it might be possible to refer in more general terms to the private and informal talks which had taken place.

President Ayub said that, if Mr. Louw was entitled to have his understanding of the situation recorded in the communiqué, so were the other Prime Ministers.

Sir Roy Welensky said that an unreserved condemnation of racial discrimination would be unwise. There were some forms of discrimination in his own country which had been adopted in order to protect the rights of backward peoples. What was harmful was discrimination which restricted opportunities for progress and advancement on the basis of colour.

Tunku Abdul Rahman said that it did not seem necessary to include in the communiqué an account of the procedure which had been followed. He would be content with a statement that Heads of Delegations had emphasised that the Commonwealth was a multi-racial association and had expressed their grave concern at the effects of racial discrimination in South Africa on the relations of the Union with other countries of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Nehru said that his impression was that the private meeting held on the morning of Monday, 9th May, had been of a different character from the previous informal meetings of groups of Heads of Delegations; it was his understanding that it had been a restricted session of the Meeting and part of their proceedings. If there were any doubt about this, he suggested that the Meeting should now discuss the question of racial discrimination. That question was not just the concern of South Africa, but had wider implications which could not be ignored. He could well understand that Mr. Louw did not want anything to be said about it in the communiqué. But the absence of any reference to this subject would be a serious indictment of all the other countries represented.

Mr. Diefenbaker agreed with Mr. Nehru. He hoped, that Mr. Louw would appreciate that it was not possible for other Ministers to refrain from expressing their attitude to racial discrimination. This was a matter which had most serious international implications and feeling upon it in his own country was strong.

Mr. Louw said that there were excellent reasons for the convention that

Meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers did not discuss disputes between one another or the internal affairs of a member. Nothing would be more disruptive of the Commonwealth than a breach of this convention. For his part, he was not prepared to discuss the internal affairs of South Africa. The Union Government sincerely believed that her policies were in the interests of all the peoples of South Africa.

Mr. Nash said that since the multiracial nature of the Commonwealth had been properly discussed at the Meeting it was essential that the communiqué should include a mention of it. It might however be possible to avoid a specific reference to South Africa in that context.

Mr. Macmillan suggested that the paragraph in the communiqué referring to racial discrimination should be drafted as factually and objectively as possible, the aim being to set out clearly and simply what had taken place at the Meeting. It would be natural for the final communiqué to refer to the discussions of the South African problem since they had in fact been mentioned in the first communiqué. He suggested that the paragraph should start off by stating that the question of racial discrimination in South Africa had been raised; that Mr. Louw had emphasised that the matter was solely one for the South African Government; that the Meeting reaffirmed the traditional convention that Commonwealth Meetings did not discuss the internal affairs of member countries; but that while accepting this convention other Ministers felt it right to take the opportunity of Mr. Louw's presence in London to emphasise the multi-racial nature of the Commonwealth and to express their concern at the effects of recent events in South Africa on the relations of the Union with other member countries. This wording would make it clear that the discussions on South Africa had not taken place within the formal proceedings of the Conference.

Mr. Louw said that, while he appreciated the spirit of this approach, he could not accept it as a basis for further discussion. It would be illogical for a communiqué, after referring to the convention that internal policies were not discussed at Commonwealth Meetings, to go on to refer to discussions on racial discrimination in South Africa. Any reference in the communiqué to discussion of the South African problem would create difficulties for the Government in South Africa and might prejudice South Africa's continued association with the Commonwealth. Nor could he accept the inclusion in the communiqué of a reference to the discussion of multi-racial problems without specifically mentioning South Africa, since there would be a clear implication that the affairs of South Africa had in fact been discussed.

In subsequent discussion it was suggested that the formal business of the Conference might be the subject of one communiqué and that it might be

possible to make a separate announcement, possibly through the medium of the United Kingdom Prime Minister on behalf of other Commonwealth Prime Ministers, dealing with the question of racial discrimination in South Africa.

After further discussion *Mr. Macmillan* suggested that the difficulties with which the Conference were faced, and the general approach to the problem which he had put forward in order to overcome these difficulties, might be explained by Mr. Louw to Dr. Verwoerd on the telephone that evening in the hope that Dr. Verwoerd would agree to the matter being disposed of in that way. Ministers should therefore meet again at 10-30 a.m. the following morning to consider the position, and also to approve a revised draft of the other parts of the communiqué which had been agreed. If, after consulting Dr. Verwoerd, Mr. Louw was still unable to accept the suggested approach, it would be necessary for the other Ministers to consider what course they wished to take to deal with the matter.

The Meeting agreed to follow this procedure.⁸⁴

*London, S.W. 1,
12th May, 1960.*

151. In London: To Indian Students⁸⁵

Development of India Nehru's Survey

London, May 12. The Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru speaking to Indian students here tonight asked them to understand what was going on in India at present—the excitement “of 400 million people marching ahead trying to get out of the old ruts.”

India was engaged in achieving planned progress in a democratic way to improve the living standards of her people. This, he said, was “a complicated but fascinating work”, depending largely for its success on the quality of the people.

“I want you to appreciate the complexity of the task and also to share, when you go back, in the excitement of participating in it.” he said, and added, “you are living parts of this enormous undertaking.”

84. The conference ended on 13 May 1960 with the publication of the Communiqué.

85. Reuter's report of speech, London, 12 May 1960. *National Herald*, 14 May 1960.

In the last few years, creditable work had been done in India and people were better clothed and better fed than before. Their progress might not be as fast as in China but then China had taken a different course while India was going ahead in a democratic way, he said.

Hundreds of students who packed the main hall in India House frequently applauded Mr. Nehru who said he was happy to have established "communion" with them.

(d) Middle East Tour

152. At London Airport: To Presspersons⁸⁶

Nehru Leaves for Cairo

London, May 16.- The Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, who was here for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, left London today by air for Cairo on his way back to India.

Asked at the airport about the prospects of the summit conference, he said, "I hope it will achieve some substantial results."

Asked what he thought of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' communiqué, with particular reference to South Africa, he said, "It is good as far as it goes."

To a question on whether the communiqué was not vague, he replied, "It depends on the intelligence of the reader."

After a three-day stay in Egypt, Pandit Nehru will go to Ankara, Istanbul, Beirut, and Damascus, spending two days at each place, and arrive in India on May 29.⁸⁷

86. PTI report of talk, 16 May 1960. *National Herald*, 17 May 1960.

87. Nehru was in Cairo on 17-20 May, at Ankara on 21-22 May, at Istanbul on 23-24 May, at Beirut on 25-26 May, and at Damascus on 27-28 May. He left Damascus on the 29th morning, stopped at Bahrain and Jamnagar, and arrived in Delhi the same evening.

[Absent on Duty]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



Believe me there's absolutely nothing happening—
He's gone abroad!

(From *The Times of India*, 14 May 1960, p. 1)

153. In Egypt: At the Aswan High Dam⁸⁸

Diversion Channel of Aswan High Dam
Inauguration of Work by Nehru

Cairo, May 17. India's Prime Minister Mr. Nehru, today detonated at Aswan eight tons of dynamite, exploding a mound of rocks to inaugurate the work on the diversion channel of the Aswan High Dam. He said the high dam would bring prosperity to the Egyptian people.

88. PTI report of the inauguration, 17 May 1960. *The Hindu*, 19 May 1960.

Hundreds of wildly cheering Nrians [sic] greeted Mr. Nehru with slogans of "Long Live Nehru" as he inaugurated the diversion canal.

As Mr. Nehru pressed the electric button 20,000 tons of granite rock and earth were lifted into the sky in a grand spectacle.

In a brief speech Mr. Nehru hoped the high dam would bring prosperity to the people of Egypt.

Thousands of Mr. Nehru's photographs were pasted on the walls on the route from the airport to the dam site while about a hundred local residents, waving Indian flags, cheered him as he motored past.

Later Mr. Nehru visited the Kima Fertilizer Factory, which has double the capacity of the Sindri factory. His visit synchronized with the production of nitrate acid in the factory. He also went round the residential quarters built by the firm for its employees.

In the evening Mr. Nehru went on a cruise in the Nile and visited the botanical garden.

154. In Cairo: To Foreign Correspondents⁸⁹

Angry Approach No Good Nehru's Comment on Summit Failure

Cairo, May 18. The Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, said today that the breakdown of the Summit Conference was very sad and declared that no good can result from angry approaches to difficult problems, although anger may be justified.

Mr. Nehru who was speaking on his return to Cairo to a group of foreign correspondents who accompanied him to Upper Egypt on his tour, added that one should not get too excited or lose one's bearings.

He hoped another Summit Meeting would be attempted under better circumstances, not to make the attempt was an admission of ultimate failure, he added.

Mr. Nehru said: "I had hopes of this conference but now I am unhappy and large numbers of people will be unhappy at the apparent failure of this conference which so many people had looked forward to."

Asked if he had ever feared that the Summit Conference might end in failure, Mr. Nehru said, "I definitely did not expect this development."

89. Report of talk, 18 May 1960. *The Hindu*, 19 May 1960.

Failure of the conference, he said, would not result in increase of goodwill which was "so sad."

Asked if Mr. Khrushchev's protest over the American spy plane had justified the break-up of the Summit Conference, Mr. Nehru said that he did not know all the facts and it was a matter on which he would not like to express an opinion. Even if he knew all the facts he might not express an opinion, he added.

He told a questioner that no Soviet planes had intruded into Indian territory. Asked if he would offer his good offices to bring the Big Powers together, Mr. Nehru replied "if one can help, one always will, but I am not a busybody running round, offering good offices."

He said one should not get too excited and lose one's bearings over these developments and must also see that others did not get excited.

"There should be no angry approach to the solution of international problems even if anger is justified," he concluded.

155. At the Gaza Strip: To the Indian Contingent⁹⁰

Indian Army Units at Gaza Prime Minister's Advice

New Delhi, May 20. Prime Minister Nehru, addressing the Indian Contingent at the Gaza Strip yesterday, stressed the necessity of adopting a friendly and cooperative approach in tackling all important or unimportant problems.

A report of Mr. Nehru's address to the Indian Contingent and the "tremendous welcome" given to him by the people of the Gaza Strip was released here today by the United Nations Information Centre.

The U.N. report said: At Deir El Ballh, headquarters of the Fourth Battalion of the Kumaon Regiment of the Indian Contingent with the UNEF, officers and officials were treated to an Indian meal with Mr. Nehru. The Fourth Kumaons had erected blue canvas tenting over the immaculate white-clothed tables forming three sides of a rectangle. In the middle, a performance of Indian traditional songs and dances was given by musicians and dancers of the Indian Contingent. Among those present were the administrative Governor-General of the Gaza Strip, Lt. General Ahmed Salem, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency representative in the Gaza Strip, Mr. Robert L. Fisher. Mr. R.K. Nehru, Indian

90. PTI report of address, 20 May 1960. *The Hindu*, 22 May 1960.

Ambassador to the U.A.R., and General Gyani.⁹¹

Tribute to U.N.'s Work

Speaking to the group, Mr. Nehru said, "I am very happy to have the chance of visiting this Gaza Strip of which I have heard for so long and to have a glimpse at the kind of work that this U.N. Emergency Force is doing here. I have found here, in spite of so many soldiers present in the Strip, an atmosphere of peace—not of war and I have seen for myself how the United Nations has become a symbol of peace in this troubled world.

"We have a number of problems, some very serious and dangerous in this world, but even these very serious problems have been to some extent kept in check by the activities of the United Nations. Those problems will continue to pursue us and I hope that the work of the United Nations trying to solve them and reduce the tensions that afflict us, will more than meet with success.

Mr. Nehru said: "I am particularly happy to find here a spirit of cooperation between the various countries representing in this U.N. Emergency Force and also between all of them and the authorities and people here in the Gaza Strip. As with any important work—important or unimportant—that has to be undertaken, it is I think, basic that the approach should be one of cooperation and friendliness and not merely the performance of some allotted task. Of course, the tasks have to be performed but the manner of doing them the spirit that lies behind them is. I think, of the highest importance. Probably many of our problems, however serious they might be, would be easier of solution if this friendly approach, this cooperative approach was adopted. And the United Nations represent this friendly and cooperative approach. "Naturally, I have been especially interested here in the contingent that has come from my own country and I have had occasion to meet many of them this morning and I shall see some more before I depart this afternoon. I have had good reports about them and those whom I have met have pleased me by their demeanour and their objective look of efficiency. Again, I will repeat that what has pleased me most is this atmosphere of cooperation, internally within the different contingents and especially with the people of this country who have lived here in a state of tension for many years, are excited and have strong feelings and it is a good thing that in this atmosphere of tension and difficulty the soothing influence of this force has come. Certainly it has not solved the major problem, but it has produced an atmosphere of less tension and peace and cooperation. I should,

91. Lieutenant General P.S. Gyani, Commander of the UNEF.

therefore, like to congratulate you all, General Gyani and those who are working with you here in the different contingents on this fine work you have done here in the furtherance of the cause of peace”.

Mr. Nehru then proposed a toast to “the health of the United Nations in the cause of peace.” The toast was made with vegetable juice.

Inspection of Canadian and Indian Units

From Deir El Ballah, Mr. Nehru and the motorcade of accompanying officials went to UNEF maintenance area in Rafah, outside the Gaza Strip, where as guests of its Commander, Col. E.R. Heuchan of Canada they inspected both the Canadian and the Indian units within the compound. They also saw a UNEF hospital, operated by the Norwegian Medical Company, which was inaugurated on May 17.

The group then motored to El Arish and on the way it was greeted by officers and men of the UNEF, Yugoslav Battalion, whose headquarters is astride the road to the town.

Before departing for Cairo, accompanied by General Gyani, Mr. Nehru inspected troops of the Indian Signal Unit at El Arish and was cheered throughout by the local people. One group near the departing aircraft placed on his head the traditional Arab head-dress of the region, while others shouted and proclaimed their feelings of “friendship for the man and the country he represents.”

156. Nehru-Nasser Joint Statement⁹²

We have been deeply distressed to learn of the failure of the Summit Conference in Paris. This long awaited conference had roused the hopes of mankind and people in all countries had looked forward to some effective step being taken by this conference towards the stoppage of nuclear tests, an advance towards general disarmament and a lessening of the tensions that have afflicted the world and come in the way of cooperation and progress. It has been generally recognised that peace and an ending of the “cold war” are essential for the progressive solution of the world’s problems and for the progress of underdeveloped countries. The collapse of the Summit Conference, even before

92. Text of the statement, Cairo, 20 May 1960. JN Supplementary Papers, NMML. Also available on the MEA website <http://mealib.nic.in/?pdf2546?000>, accessed on 24 September 2014. However, newspapers published it as Joint Communiqué on 21 May 1960.

it had applied itself to these problems, came therefore as a shock everywhere. The apprehension that this may lead to an intensification of the cold war and even more active concentration on armaments is particularly distressing.

Peace is essential for the world. For countries like the United Arab Republic, India and other underdeveloped countries struggling for progress and the betterment of the lot of their people, peace is a paramount necessity as no effective progress can be made in an atmosphere of conflict and cold war. The real and basic problems of the world today are the maintenance of independence and integrity of all States and the application of the world's resources towards the development of all nations and peoples and more particularly those who have suffered for long from underdevelopment.

We deeply regret therefore the failure of the Summit Conference. We realise that a particular responsibility in regard to peace and war rests on great powers which have developed industrially and technologically and in the production of the terrible weapons of modern warfare. But this responsibility is not confined to them. It is a responsibility shared by all countries and peoples alike, for the fate of every country is involved in the proper solution of the vital and terrible consequence of peace and war. It is of the utmost importance that the set-back resulting from the failure of the Summit Conference should not be allowed to worsen the present international situation. Otherwise this can only lead to an intensification of the cold war and the possibility of a dreadful war which put an end to all hopes of progress and, indeed, lead to a world disaster of which it is difficult even to measure the terrible consequences.

Every nation, whether big or small, must share some measure of responsibility for the world situation. We would appeal therefore to all the leaders and nations of the world to stand firm against any deterioration in the international situation and to spare no effort in the service of the noble cause of peace and the building up of a world community of nations. To this great cause we dedicate ourselves anew and pledge the support of our countries.

157. In Inchass and Ankara: To Peasants⁹³

Nehru Arrives in Ankara

Ankara, May.20- Prime Minister Nehru arrived here today from Cairo.

Police had carried out a strict sifting operation, letting only officials and accredited journalists pass.

93. PTI report of speech, 20 May 1960. *National Herald*, 21 May 1960.

Nonetheless some hundred Turkish peasants from the neighbouring villages, brought to the airport by trucks, crowded the terraces of the airport buildings decorated with an immense Indian flag flanked on both sides with Turkish flags.

Earlier in Cairo, Pandit Nehru told an audience of 10,000 Egyptian peasants at Inchass, forty miles outside Cairo, that India attached great importance to cooperatives in all fields because on them depended the prosperity of the country.

Addressing a function organised by the agricultural cooperatives formed under President Nasser's agrarian reforms, Pandit Nehru said, "I shall carry vivid memories of my visit to your place. Everywhere your President and I had a tremendous welcome. I shall always remember this, and I shall convey this affection and friendship to our farmers in India."

Pandit Nehru, who was loudly cheered by the farmers, said, "In India, we are ourselves trying to raise the standard of our peasantry, so that through their work our country may profit. I do believe the progress of a country depends on the foundation of a good and prosperous peasantry."

Mr. Nasser, who accompanied Pandit Nehru during his tour throughout this morning, said that during his recent tour of India he came into contact with Indian people and realised "the friendship of the glorious Indian people and their feeling for the people of the U.A.R. I hope today with the warm welcome you gave Pandit Nehru would realise the friendship of our people towards the friendly people of India."

158. In Ankara: Meeting with Menderes⁹⁴

Nehru Meets Menderes World Affairs
Discussed Significant Talks

Ankara, May 21. Prime Minister Nehru, currently visiting Turkey, today called on Prime Minister Adnan Menderes and Foreign Minister Fatin Zorlu and discussed with them the international situation.

The discussions are regarded as highly significant in view of the collapse of the Paris Summit conference and the joint communiqué issued yesterday by Mr. Nehru and President Nasser of the United Arab Republic.

The Nehru-Nasser communiqué called upon leaders of the nations of the world to stand firm against any worsening of the international situation and work for the cause of peace.

94. Report, 21 May 1960. *The Hindu*, 22 May 1960.

Earlier in the morning, Mr. Nehru placed a wreath at the "Anitkabir" mausoleum of Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the modern Turkish Republic.

The ceremony was impressive with the Turkish Naval and Army officers marching slowly along the avenue leading to the quadrangle with the wreath while a detachment of the Turkish Guards presented arms and the Army band struck muffled drums.

Because of the demonstrations earlier this week near the memorial against the Turkish Government, strong security measures had been taken. Infantry troops blocked off traffic all around the mausoleum.

Mr. Nehru was received here on arrival from Cairo yesterday by the Turkish Premier and officials.

Demonstrators Dispersed

Police used tear-gas to disperse demonstrators as Mr. Adnan Menderes, Turkish Prime Minister, drove through Ankara tonight with Mr. Nehru. Demonstrations against the Government are going on in Ankara for the last several days.⁹⁵

A riot broke out on Ankara's main boulevard when the crowd which had gathered to greet visiting Indian Prime Minister Nehru's motorcade broke heavily armed police and army cordons moments after Mr. Nehru had passed. The crowd which had acclaimed Mr. Nehru as he drove by with the Turkish Premier, broke the cordon seconds later and swarmed over the whole Boulevard Ataturk.

Despite howls of protest from the people, the police cleared the street, throwing some 20 tear-gas grenades. When the police took several demonstrators into custody, the crowd rescued the arrested demonstrators from the hands of the police.

Mr. Nehru, wearing a tobacco-coloured tunic, shook the hands of the Turkish Premier, and the Foreign Minister Fatin Zorlu as soon as he got out of the plane. He then shook hands with the Indian Ambassador to Turkey, Mr. Atal⁹⁶ who presented to Nehru the Turkish dignitaries who had come to welcome him, including the Commanders-in-Chief of the Turkish Army and Navy.

The Indian and the Turkish National Anthems were played, and Mr. Nehru reviewed a guard of honour presented by the Turkish infantry in battle dress.

95. Anti-government students' protests had been going on in Turkey since April 1960 against stringent press controls. On 21 May, a section of army including cadets also joined the protesters. On 27 May, the army seized power and arrested the members of the government including Menderes.

96. J.K. Atal.

As Mr. Nehru's motorcade reached Cankaya Hill where he will stay during his visit, the Turkish Army sealed off Ataturk Boulevard.

By 19.30 local time the boulevard was almost normal again except for the teary eyes of the passers-by from the remains of the tear-gas and the soldiers, climbing back into their trucks.

A demonstrator told AFP that the demonstration had misfired. The plan of the student demonstrators seemed to have been to break the police cordons before Mr. Nehru had passed, to sit down on the street and to prevent the passage of the official motorcade. They were prevented from doing this by the peasants, staunch supporters of Mr. Menderes's ruling party, who had been brought in by truck from the surrounding villages.

159. In Ankara: To Journalists⁹⁷

Question of Mediation Nehru Rejects Suggestion

Ankara, May 21. Prime Minister Nehru today firmly rejected with a positive "no" when asked whether he would consider any mediation efforts on his part after the failure of the Paris Summit Conference.

Mr. Nehru who came to the drawing room in the Guest House after an afternoon nap expressed his embarrassment and annoyance at finding so many journalists and cameramen who had gathered there on information that there was going to be a Press Conference. He, however, settled down amiably and said he was glad to meet them but did not propose to say anything. Then after a pause he asked whether the Press here had seen the joint communiqué issued by him and President Nasser of the United Arab Republic on the failure of Summit talks. It has not been published here as yet. So Mr. Nehru sent for a copy and it was read out.

Mr. Nehru said it was very easy to blame or condemn this or that which had happened during the past fortnight. "But the point is whether in doing so we are aiming at some achievement or merely giving angry reaction to events. It is more important what happens in future which we might be able to shape than what has happened in the past which is done and we cannot undo it."

Mr. Nehru explained that the sentiments expressed in the communiqué were not mere idealism. Idealism was good provided it was aligned to realism.

97. Report, 21 May 1960. *The Hindu*, 23 May 1960.

His belief was that most of what was called idealism missed the reality of the world today. People's thinking was governed too much by fears and apprehensions. No doubt there was reason for fears and apprehensions but if one thought too much on those lines one's thinking might be distorted. There were fearful weapons today and a major war would mean extermination of large parts of the human race. If this was recognised—then there was need to get rid of these fears and apprehensions from which humanity suffered. The world has advanced enough scientifically and technologically to be able to provide high standards of living for every human being. The causes for wars became illogical when the choice lay between destruction for everybody and high standards of living for everybody in the world.

One of the correspondents, presumably belonging to the Turkish Opposition Press, asked Mr. Nehru whether there was freedom of speech and Press in India or whether his Government put journalists in jail and closed down papers, to which Mr. Nehru replied, "No" and added that probably the questioner had something else at the back of his mind.

Mr. Nehru was also asked about the functioning of democracy in India and whether a poor nation could progress under democracy—all questions presumably having some relevance to the existing situation in Turkey. But Mr. Nehru refused to be drawn into a discussion of local issues and gave an outline in general terms of India's political philosophy, referred to his long association with Mahatma Gandhi and dwelt on the special condition of the Indian people. He said he could not say how the future generation would conduct themselves.

The Prime Minister said he had four hundred million problems to deal with. It was not enough that a few reached the end but they in India had to take along the strong, the weak, the maimed—all to the journey's end.

The Indian Ambassador, Mr. Atal held a reception in honour of Mr. Nehru this evening.

The Indian Embassy reception was attended by the Turkish Opposition leader Ismet Inonu, with whom Mr. Nehru warmly shook hands when he escorted him to his car.

Mr. Zorlu, Turkish Foreign Minister and the Turkish Trade Minister attended the reception on behalf of the Turkish Government, Premier Menderes did not attend.

Mr. Nehru's daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who had been to the USA joined her father tonight.

Ataturk's Shirt Presented to Nehru

A journalist of the Turkish Opposition Press today presented Mr. Nehru

with a shirt which once belonged to Turkish Leader Kemal Ataturk. The presentation, which took place at a Press conference, was made in the name of Turkish Opposition leader Ismet Inonu.⁹⁸

160. In Istanbul: Nehru-Menderes Joint Communiqué⁹⁹

Summit Failure Cannot be Accepted as Final Result of Peace Efforts

Istanbul, May 23- A joint communiqué issued here today by the Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, and the Turkish Prime Minister, Mr. Adnan Menderes, while expressing regret the failure of the summit conference says: "No such failure can be accepted as the final result of efforts for peace."

The following is the text of the communiqué:

"The Prime Minister of India returning the visit to India of the Turkish Prime Minister in 1958, is now paying a visit to Turkey lasting from May 20 to 24. During his stay in Ankara, he had talks with the Prime Minister of Turkey, His Excellency Adnan Menderes and the Turkish Foreign Minister, His Excellency Mr. Fatin Zorlu. These talks were friendly and covered many matters of common concern, including problems of economic development of mutual interest to the two countries. During these talks, the two Prime Ministers recalled with pleasure the cooperation between their two countries at the Bandung Conference and reaffirmed their adherence to the principles adopted at Bandung.

Failure of Summit

"Over-shadowing all other problems of world concern is the failure of the summit conference and its possible repercussions on the international situation. This conference had evoked the liveliest expectations of men of peace and goodwill all over the world. While it was realised that problems of world cannot be solved at one conference, it had been hoped that even at this summit conference, some effective step would be taken towards general disarmament

98. Spelt İnönü.

99. Text of communiqué, Istanbul, 23 May 1960. *National Herald*, 24 May 1960. Also available on the MEA website <http://mealib.nic.in/?pdf2546?000>, accessed on 24 September 2014. Published in newspapers on 24 May 1960.

under an appropriate system of control, and a reduction of international tensions. Such a step would have paved the way to some extent and created a favourable atmosphere for the progressive solution of the world's problems. It would have led to greater concentration of the progress and development of the less industrially developed countries of the world which is a question of vital importance today.

"It is, therefore, a matter of deep regret to the two Prime Ministers that the summit conference should have ended in failure. But no such temporary failure can be accepted as the final result of efforts for peace. The logic of circumstances and the earnest wishes of mankind demand peace. Not to succeed in this great venture is a failure of humanity itself.

Demand for Peace

"While there are political and economic difference in the structure of various countries, the demand for peace is common to all, and attempts at peaceful solutions must therefore be pursued, regardless of temporary setbacks or differences in outlook. A peaceful world necessarily involves peaceful relations between the different nations.

"Although in the circumstances of today the determination of the issues of peace and war rests in a special measure on great powers, the two Prime Ministers consider that all countries and people are affected by these issues and must share the responsibility. The fate of every country hangs on a proper solution of the vital and terrible question of peace and war. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that every nation, small and big, should make its full contribution to the furtherance of the cause of peace.

"The Prime Minister of India expressed his happiness at visiting Turkey and his grateful appreciation of the warm reception accorded to him. Both the Prime Ministers expressed their gratification at the opportunity which this visit has afforded them of meeting together and exchanging views on matters of current interest on a friendly basis."

161. In Beirut: Meetings with Chehab and Indians¹⁰⁰

Nehru Confers with Chehab World Situation Discussed

Beirut, May 25. Prime Minister Nehru today had an hour's official talk with President Fouad Chehab and Prime Minister Ahmed Daouk of Lebanon on the general international situation created by the collapse of the Summit conference. The talks also covered inter-Arab relations.

After the talks Mr. Nehru joined other guests at a luncheon given in his honour by President Chehab.

Earlier Mr. Nehru spent over an hour with the members of the Indian community who met him at his hotel. On behalf of the community, he was presented with one kilo weight of gold for the Prime Minister's Relief Fund.

An Indian merchant presented Mr. Nehru with a map of India outlined with pearls with the Indian flag in the centre.

Mr. Nehru told the members of the Indian community to keep the good name of India in their conduct abroad and also urged them to keep close contact with the developments in India which was making giant strides in the economic sphere.

An American tourist sitting in lobby of the hotel in which Mr. Nehru is staying on seeing the Prime Minister shouted: "You are a man of peace. We in America want peace. Why don't you do something about it?"

This morning Prime Minister Nehru spent about an hour visiting the local museum which contains the remains of the Phoenician and Roman civilisations.

Mr. Nehru, accompanied by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, was given an ovation by nearly 1,000 members of the Indian community as he arrived earlier. A bouquet of red roses was presented to him on behalf of the Lebanese President.

Immediately after landing Mr. Nehru inspected a guard of honour by a unit of the Lebanese gendarmes.

As he drove out of the airport a group of Palestinian refugees holding placards shouted "Palestine belongs to Arabs."

The people gathered at different points along the route shouted "Nehru Zindabad." Their slogans included: "Welcome Nehru—father of all Arabs."

Just before getting into the Lebanese Premier's car for the drive to Hotel St. Georges in Beirut, Mr. Nehru chatted for a while with children who gave him flowers.

100. Report, 25 May 1960. *The Hindu*, 26 May 1960.

162. In Beirut: At American University¹⁰¹

Approach to Solution of World Problems
Nehru Urges Adoption of Right Means to Achieve Ends

Beirut, May 26. Prime Minister Nehru declared here last night that in the present international situation it was paramount that countries employ right means to achieve their ends.

Mr. Nehru was addressing over 5,000 students and guests in the American University hall here which was packed to capacity.

The Prime Minister illustrated his point by drawing attention to India's struggle for independence. He said Mahatma Gandhi believed that means were even more important than the ends.

Mr. Nehru added that Mahatma Gandhi refused to employ wrong means to attain noble ends and the result was that when India gained independence—the British were wise enough to concede before it was too late—there was no legacy of bitterness and India and Britain remained friends.

The Prime Minister said he did not want to delve into the current international situation in detail as he felt no views should be expressed which in any way did not help to bring the Big Powers together.

There were many matters of great international interest occupying public attention at the moment, he said, "but he would be a brave man who would plunge into them at this stage."

He advised students to think of the current problems in a long perspective and develop an integrated view of life which was becoming difficult in an age of increasing specialisation. A sense of purpose and function was important in providing this integration.

Students Crowd around Nehru

This was Mr. Nehru's only non-official appearance during his visit to the Lebanon. It took him half an hour to escape from the warmly cheering students who did not want to let him go. Some 3, 000 of them would not let him pass in his car, and he finally walked through the campus with them, and left with Mrs. Indira Gandhi and an Indian Embassy official.

Later Mr. Nehru attended a reception given in his honour by the Lebanese Prime Minister Mr. Ahmed Daouk. Leaders of different political groups and diplomats attended the largely attended function.

101. Report of speech, 25 May 1960. *The Hindu*, 27 May 1960.

Mr. Nehru decided to cancel some of his sight-seeing programme yesterday in order to rest before returning to Delhi.

Members of his suite said the Prime Minister was feeling the strain of weeks of overwork and consequently decided to forego his visit to the site of the ancient city of Bybolosh (Gebail) some 25 miles north of Beirut.

163. In Damascus: Press Conference¹⁰²

Question: May we know your views on the latest developments in Turkey?

Answer: I am afraid it would not be proper for me to discuss the internal affairs of Turkey, partly because I do not wish to discuss the internal affairs of other countries and partly because I am not fully acquainted with the latest developments.

Question: May we know your views on the U.N. Security Council's resolution calling upon the big powers to resume the Paris Conference?

Answer: As a matter of fact, I have not seen this resolution though I have heard of it. It is obviously desirable for the continuation of talks between four powers because we cannot accept a final break. Sometime or other there will have to be talks on the major questions including disarmament. When and how I cannot say now. Therefore, I am glad that the Security Council has stressed this although, as I said, I have not seen the resolution of the Council.

Question: We would like to ask you whether during your visit to Turkey you had felt that things were developing towards the present events?

Answer: Well, to some extent, yes. Not this exact thing that has happened. In Ankara there were big demonstrations of students and others and newspapers have been suppressed. In that was an evidence of abnormality but I can't judge of course.

Question: Would it be possible for you to clarify whether within the Commonwealth Conference, the Conference discussed the Palestine problem?

102. Transcript of the press conference, Damascus, 28 May 1960. Issued in New Delhi on May 30, 1960 by External Affairs (PIB).

Answer: In the Commonwealth Conference problems of that kind—any problems are not discussed. Broad appraisals of world situation are made in Asia, Africa and Europe. Particular problems are not discussed.

Question: Are you satisfied with the debates at the Commonwealth Conference regarding racial discrimination?

Answer: I cannot say that I am fully satisfied but the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, nearly all of them, have given a clear indication that they are opposed to racial discrimination. That is some definite advance.

Question: Your meeting with General de Gaulle. Were there satisfactory results as far as Algeria is concerned?

Answer: I do not understand the words satisfactory results.

Question: Does General de Gaulle want to solve Algerian problem?

Answer: General de Gaulle wants to solve this problem. He explained his attitude which he has previously explained in public and referred to his speech made, I think, in September last year, as the basis for the settlement.

Question: What are the best media to effectively combat racial discrimination and whether it is your opinion that the country that applies racial discrimination should be dismissed from the United Nations?

Answer: I should tell you what we, India, did in regard to the South African Union. Because of this racial discrimination at that time against the Indians there, rather people of Indian descent, twelve years ago, we broke off diplomatic relations with South Africa. We broke off economic relations with South Africa and we do not issue any visas to the South African nationals to go to India. That is what we did twelve years ago.

Question: You mean that General de Gaulle still stands by his promise embodied in his speech regarding self-determination to the Algerians or that he is going back on this promise?

Answer: Well, he told me that he stood by that promise but how and in what manner that will be achieved I cannot say.

Question: Now that the Summit Conference has failed, do you believe that it is suitable to hold a meeting between you, President Nasser and President Tito to discuss the situation and to arrive at results better than have been achieved so far?

Answer: There is no such present proposal and I doubt if any such conference in the near future is needed. We, of course, agree largely. I have recently met President Nasser. I have not met President Tito. We keep in touch with each other. The problem is chiefly between the four powers that met and parted at Paris. Others can only try to help. If we start condemnation, condemning this or that, our condemnation may be justified but it does not help to solve the difficult situation. That is why the joint statement issued by President Nasser and me, though we have expressed our sorrow at the failure of the Summit Conference we have not started condemning people but we have expressed the hope that some effective steps will be taken in future.

Question: Do you believe that the latest events in Turkey are a gain to the policy of non-alignment or not?

Answer: I do not think it has any direct effect on it. Indirectly, this kind of thing always had some effect but it has no direct effect. All parties there are in favour, so far as I know, of the policy of alignment.

164. To Dag Hammarskjöld: Israeli Planes Showing Off¹⁰³

May 31, 1960

Dear Mr. Hammarskjöld,

Thank you for your letter of the 20th May, 1960.¹⁰⁴ It was hardly necessary for you to write to me on the subject. I attached little importance to it when I was in Gaza, though I did consider it rather odd. The Israel authorities, of course, knew very well that I was going to Gaza, and they could not mistake the U.N. plane which carried me. I suppose they just wanted to show off.¹⁰⁵

103. Letter to the UN Secretary General. File No. 34-B (15)-WANA/60, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

104. See Appendix 24.

105. On 19 May, two Israeli fighter aircraft circled over the UN aircraft carrying Nehru to Gaza, and then disappeared into Israeli territory.

I am very glad that I paid a visit to the U.N. Forces at Gaza and round about. All that I saw there pleased me, and I expressed my appreciation of it.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(e) Law of the Sea Conference

165. To S. Dutt¹⁰⁶

I have re-drafted your telegram and am having it sent.¹⁰⁷ I thought that it would be better to give some argument in favour of our proposal.

2. I really do not understand why the major Western maritime Powers should try to impose their will in such a matter on the smaller countries. It gives them no great advantage and creates ill-will. The mere fact that a foreign warship can come right up to the coast by merely notifying and even against the wishes of the coastal State must necessarily create apprehension in the minds of the coastal State. Under modern conditions, a few miles this way or that way makes little difference. But this approach does make a difference.

166. To A. K. Sen¹⁰⁸

I have just seen your telegram No. 53 of April 21st to Foreign Secretary. As you know, we have given a great deal of thought to this matter and have been prepared to agree to much in order to bring about a solution. But on one thing we have held strong views throughout. This is the question of foreign warships approaching coastal States without previous authorisation. In view of long history of past colonial aggressions there is strong feeling on this subject which, I think, is justified. What happens in case of war no one can tell, but in peace time for foreign warships to push themselves in without authority of coastal State seems to me unjustifiable.

106. Note to FS, 19 April 1960.

107. Re-drafted telegram not available; probably sent to the Union Law Minister A.K. Sen, leader of the Indian delegation to the second UN Conference on Law of the Sea, Geneva, Switzerland, 17 March-26 April 1960.

108. Telegram to the Law Minister, 23 April 1960.

2. The conflict of opinion is, as before, between the great maritime Powers and smaller countries. The argument raised about submarines coming undetected does not carry weight. If they come in this way, they will infringe the right of the coastal State and it will be open for action to be taken against them. Otherwise, coastal areas will have to be treated as some kind of battleground for rival naval forces.

3. We have taken up a certain definite attitude about foreign warships entering coastal waters only after authorisation of coastal State. We cannot now give this up and we should therefore hold to it.

167. To N.R. Pillai and S. Dutt¹⁰⁹

I have received this evening a message from Mr. Macmillan about the Law of the Sea Conference. I think I should send a reply to it. I have drafted a reply which I enclose for you to see.¹¹⁰ You might speak about this to me tomorrow morning.

168. Draft Telegram to Harold Macmillan¹¹¹

From Prime Minister.

Please convey following message to Prime Minister Macmillan.

Begins. Thank you for your message about the Geneva Conference on the Law of the Sea. I have been anxious, as you have been, to get some broad agreement in regard to the Law of the Sea and we instructed our representative there, who is our Law Minister, to try his best to achieve this end. As you know, there is conflict of opinion between some of the great maritime powers and the smaller countries who, from past experience, are rather apprehensive of any interference with their freedom and independence. In regard to one matter particularly there has been strong feeling among these countries which, I feel, is justified. This is in regard to foreign warships coming within coastal waters without prior authorisation. We have given a great deal of thought to this matter

109. Note to SG and FS, 23 April 1960.

110. See item 168.

111. No date but probably 23 April 1960, as mentioned in item 167. Final version not available; but this has been included as it is Nehru's draft.

and we feel that the proper course would be for such authority or permission to be obtained from the coastal State. Even normal courtesy would demand this. Where there are fears and apprehensions, this procedure is even more desirable. I do not myself understand why there should be any objection to such prior authorisation. If a foreign warship goes within coastal waters without this permission, this will lead to strong feelings in the coastal State and create ill will between that State and the country whose warship has gone there even without permission. This will not lead to goodwill but create complications.

I would earnestly suggest that prior authorisation by coastal States should be agreed to. Ends.

169. In the Rajya Sabha¹¹²

India's Participation in U.N. Conference on The Law of the Sea

Question: ¹¹³ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether India participated in the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea held at Geneva in the month of March last;
- (b) if the answer to part (a) above be in the affirmative, how many persons constituted our delegation and what were the main decisions taken in the Conference; and
- (c) whether my decision regarding the limit of territorial waters and fishing rights of coastal States was taken at the Conference?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) Yes, sir. The deliberations of the Conference, which commenced on 17th March, 1960 are, however, not yet over.

(b) and (c) India's delegation to the Conference is composed of five persons —three Representatives and two Alternate Representatives.¹¹⁴ The

112. Oral answers to questions, 26 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, cols 1921-1924.

113. By Congress MPs Nawab Singh Chauhan and Maheswar Naik.

114. The Indian delegation consisted of the following three Representatives: A.K. Sen, Chairman; K. Raghuramaiah, Deputy Minister of Defence; Dr Nagendra Singh, Director-General of Shipping, Ministry of Transport and Communications. The Alternate Representatives were: Dr N.K. Pannikar, Fisheries Development Adviser, Ministry of Food and Agriculture; and K.S. Bajpai, Under Secretary, MEA (Secretary-General of the Delegation).

decisions taken by the Conference will be known only after the final vote is taken on all the proposals, before the Conference.

श्री नवाबसिंह चौहान : क्या इस तरह की लिमिट मुकर्रर करने का कोई प्रपोज़ल है और क्या हिन्दुस्तान की तरफ से भी कोई प्रपोज़ल है?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरु : वहाँ तो बहुत सारी चीज़ें पेश हैं। एक खास बहस की बात थी कि तीन मील का, छः मील का, बारह मील का “टैरीटोरियल सी” मुकर्रर हो। पहले पुराने ज़माने में तीन मील था। अब करीब-करीब ज़्यादातर मुल्कों ने कहा वह नाकाफी है। तो बहस छः और बारह मील में हो गई। आमतौर से जो बहुत बड़े मुल्क हैं, जिनकी बहुत बड़ी समुद्री सेनायें हैं वे चाहते हैं कि कम से कम “टैरीटोरियल सी” तीन मील हो तो अच्छा है। जो नये मुल्क आज़ाद हैं वे चाहते हैं ज़्यादा से ज़्यादा उनकी हिफ़ाज़त हो। यह एक बड़ी बहस है।

श्री नवाबसिंह चौहान : मेरे अर्ज़ करने का मतलब यह था कि क्या यह समझ लिया जाये कि हिन्दुस्तान की तरफ से बारह मील का प्रपोज़ल रखा गया है।

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरु : जहाँ तक मुझे इल्म है हमारी तरफ से कोई प्रपोज़ल नहीं रखा गया, लेकिन हमारी राय बारह मील के हक़ में थी। उसी के साथ हमारी यह भी ख़्वाहिश और है कि कोई फैसला हो जाये, क्योंकि कोई क़ायदा-क़ानून इसका आजकल है नहीं। उसमें एक और सवाल उठा था जिस पर हमारी खास राय है, वह यह कि कोई दूसरे मुल्क का समुद्री जहाज़, लड़ाई का जहाज़, वॉरशिप आये तो वह “टैरीटोरियल सी” में आने के लिए इजाज़त माँगे, उस मुल्क को जिस मुल्क के कोस्टल एरिया में वह है, बग़ैर इजाज़त के न आये। इसमें भी बहुत और पहले कहा जाता था कि कोई इजाज़त की, कोई इत्तिला की ज़रूरत नहीं, जो जहाँ चाहे जा सकते हैं, फिर यह कहा गया कि अच्छा इजाज़त नहीं लेंगे, उनको सूचना दे देंगे। हमारी राय यह है कि इन सब मामलों में यह ज़रूरी बात है कि कोस्टल स्टेट की इजाज़त लें, उनकी ऑथोरिटी के साथ जायें।

[Translation begins:]

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan: Is there a proposal to decide this kind of limit and is there any proposal from India also?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: So many things have been proposed there. One major issue of the debate was whether three miles, six miles or twelve miles should be the limit for “territorial sea”. Earlier it was three miles. Now most of the countries say that it is insufficient. So the debate started between six and twelve miles. Generally the big countries, who have big navies, they think it would be good if the minimum “territorial sea” is three miles. Those countries, who have

newly become independent, they want maximum protection. It is a big debate.

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan: What I wanted to ask was should we understand that India has proposed the twelve mile limit?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as I know we have not put forward any proposal. But we were in favour of the twelve mile limit. At the same time we also wanted that some decision should be taken as there is no law in this regard at present. During this another question arose on which we have our own specific opinion, that is, if another country's ship, warship comes, it should seek permission to enter into the territorial sea of the country in whose coastal area it is at that time, it should not come without permission. There was a lot of discussion on this issue, and it was said that there is no need of any permission, giving any information; anybody can go anywhere. Then it was said that all right, we will not seek permission but we shall inform. Our opinion is that in all these matters it is important to seek permission of the coastal state, to go there with their authorisation.

Translation ends]

Shri Maheswar Naik: May I know, Sir, whether it is a fact that the U.K. Government has also submitted certain amended proposals and, if so, how those proposals are going to affect the Indian proposals?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not quite sure that the Government of India has put forward on this occasion any precise proposals. As far as I know, a year or two ago it did—agreeing or trying to vary. As for certain other Governments, Sir, many Governments put forward proposals—the United States, the Canadian Government, maybe the U.K. Government. I cannot say how many proposals are being put forward.

Shri Jaswant Singh: I would like to know whether permission for certain warships to enter the territorial waters of a particular State would be necessary in peace time also or only when a war is going on somewhere—warships of belligerent nations.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Normally, Sir, according to our view, permission for warships to enter the coastal waters would always be necessary. Even as a matter of courtesy, they should take that permission—a warship coming to another country's coastline within a few miles or inside. But even apart from

courtesy, the average small country has still memories of foreign warships coming and not behaving in a very friendly way in the past. So, they do not like the idea of this freedom for such warships to come and go without authority.

170. In the Lok Sabha¹¹⁵

Law of the Sea

Question: ¹¹⁶Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state what are the main decisions arrived at in the Geneva Conference on the Law of the Sea on the following items;

- (i) how far beyond the shores of any country does the territorial sea extend, and
- (ii) how far beyond this limit does the privilege of exclusive fishing extend?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (i) & (ii). The conference failed to reach any decisions on the extent of the territorial sea and the contiguous fishing zone, as no proposal was supported by the requisite two-thirds majority.

Shri N.R. Muniswamy: Which are the countries which objected to the proposals of India, UK and USA?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: I have not got the names.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): We have not got all the names. Perhaps, the House would like to know what the precise issues were. The main issues were as to whether the territorial seas should be 6 miles or 12 miles and on fishing rights whether it should be more or less. Up till now, the big maritime powers have wanted as small an area as possible so as to give rights to their ships to go as near the other countries as possible without any difficulty. The smaller countries, the newer countries, do not like this idea and want to preserve a larger area of territorial sea for themselves. Ultimately, the last year or two ago it was agreed by the other powers to extend the three mile limit to six miles. Even this was not considered enough by many of the smaller countries of Latin America, etc. Finally, a proposal made on

115. Oral answers to questions, 28 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series Vol. XLIII, cols 14308-14310.

116. By Congress MPs N. R. Muniswamy and Raghunath Singh.

behalf of the United States and Canada was a six-mile territorial limit plus a contiguous area of six miles for fishing rights. The House may remember that there was a very big dispute between a great maritime power like the United Kingdom and Iceland on fishing rights and even warships appeared on the scene. Now, broadly, speaking, we were of the opinion that the territorial area should be 12 miles. That is, the smaller countries should have a sense of security. But we were also anxious that some settlement should be arrived at, some kind of law of the seas. We are prepared even to agree to a smaller limit, but on one thing we were quite firm, and that is that any foreign warship coming into the coastal waters, territorial waters, should take the permission of the coastal State before if it comes in. We felt that was important and to this importance was attached by the other countries too. This was not agreed to, and because this particular matter was not agreed to, we decided to vote against that resolution.

A proposal was made that they may merely notify that "we are coming", but that was not considered enough. Therefore, we voted against this proposal, and the proposal was just lost. It did not get the two-thirds majority. That is the position.

Shri N.R. Muniswamy: As regards the laws of the sea in between countries what is the decision arrived at?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry, I am unable to understand the question.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: That is a different question.

Shri N.R. Muniswamy: Suppose round about the sea there are lands. What about the question of laws of the seas there?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : Between two contiguous countries naturally the six mile or twelve mile limit will overlap, or there may be small straits. Then there should be mutual arrangements.

Shri Raghunath Singh: May I know the reason why India opposed the proposal of UK?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Considering that I have given a long answer just now, this is really a little frustrating experience for me.

(f) Pakistan

171. In the Lok Sabha: Exchange of Prisoners¹¹⁷

पाकिस्तान के साथ कैदियों की अदला-बदली

श्री बिभूति मिश्र :¹¹⁸ क्या प्रधानमंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) 1 मार्च, 1960 को पाकिस्तान में कितने भारतीय सिपाही कैद थे और भारत में कितने पाकिस्तानी कैद थे :

(ख) क्या इन कैदियों की अदला-बदली के बारे में दोनों देशों में कोई बातचीत चल रही है : और

(ग) यदि हाँ, तो इसका क्या परिणाम निकला?

प्रधानमंत्री तथा वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री (श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू) : (क) सरकार को इसकी कोई सूचना नहीं है कि पाकिस्तान में कितने भारतीय सैनिक कैद हैं। सरकार को यह ज़रूर पता है कि भारत में कितने पाकिस्तानी सैनिक कैद हैं लेकिन सार्वजनिक हित में इसे बताना ठीक न होगा।

(ख) और (ग) शायद इस प्रसंग का सम्बन्ध भारत और पाकिस्तान के बीच उन सैनिक कर्मचारियों की अदला-बदली के क़रार से है जो युद्ध विराम रेखा और जम्मू तथा सियालकोट सीमा को अनजाने पार करते हैं और जिसकी अवधि को बढ़ाने का प्रबन्ध दोनों सरकारों के बीच पत्र व्यवहार का विषय बना हुआ है। इस बीच मानवोचित आधार पर 29 फरवरी, 1960 को संयुक्त राष्ट्र सैनिक पर्यवेक्षक (यू.एन. मिलिट्री ऑब्ज़र्वर) की उपस्थिति में, बागा [Wagah] नामक स्थान पर, 6 पाकिस्तानी सैनिकों से 6 भारतीय सैनिकों की अदला-बदली की गई।

[Translation begins:

Bibhuti Mishra : Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state :

(a) as on 1 March 1960, how many Indian soldiers were in prison in Pakistan and how many Pakistani soldiers were in India;

(b) whether the two countries are conducting talks about exchange of these prisoners; and

(c) if yes, what is the result?

117. Written answers to questions, 20 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Series Series, Vol XLIII, col. 12710.

118. Bibhuti Mishra, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Bagaha, Bihar.

The Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):
(a) The Government has no information about how many Indian soldiers are in Pakistani jails. The Government does know how many Pakistani soldiers are imprisoned in India but it is not in public interest to disclose it.

(b) &(c) Probably it deals with the agreement between India and Pakistan for exchange of those armed forces personnel who cross the ceasefire line and Sialkot border unknowingly and the ongoing correspondence for extension of its time limit. In the meantime, on humanitarian basis, 6 Indian and 6 Pakistani soldiers were exchanged at Bagah [Wagah] in the presence of UN Military Observers.

Translation ends]

172. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Indus Waters Treaty¹¹⁹

Please refer to Hussain¹²⁰ telegram to Gulhati¹²¹ at Washington, copy of which has been sent here.

2. I am surprised to learn of these developments and proposal to sign Indo-Pakistan Water Agreement in London. All this seems to me very premature as full agreement has not been arrived at and several important matters are still being discussed. We cannot be rushed into signing a treaty which has not been fully agreed to. The matter is far too important to be dealt with in this casual way. I suppose this may be an attempt at rush tactics by World Bank, hoping that this may lead us to come to quick agreements if not in Washington then in London.

3. We have made it clear repeatedly to World Bank that I shall have no time to discuss these matters in London. Further that I would much prefer signing the Treaty either in India or Pakistan.

4. If full agreement has been reached previously and people concerned are eager for this Agreement to be signed in London, I shall have to agree to this. But on no account am I going to discuss disputed points in London and,

119. Telegram to the Indian High Commissioner in London. 23 April 1960. File No. 38(1)-CWD/51, Vol. XXVIII, Ministry of Irrigation (I.T. Section) 1960. Repeated to the Indian Embassy in Washington for N.D. Gulhati. Also available in JN Collection and File No. F.1/IWD/58. (Washington Papers) Ministry of Irrigation (I.T. Section) 1958.

120. Azim Husain, Deputy High Commissioner in London.

121. N. D. Gulhati, Chief Engineer (Special) and ex-officio Joint Secretary to the Government of India in charge of technical and secretarial work relating to the canal waters dispute.

as I have said, I would prefer signature to take place in India or Pakistan.

5. In any event it is very premature to talk of signature when agreement has not been reached. Considering that this matter has been discussed for more than ten years now, we should not allow it to be jeopardised by rush tactics at this stage.

6. As Macmillan has suggested lunch prior to signing of Agreement, you might convey substance of above to him.¹²²

173. In the Rajya Sabha: Boundary Demarcation¹²³

Demarcation of Rajasthan-West Punjab Border

Shri Jugal Kishore:¹²⁴ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state.

(a) whether the demarcation of the Indo-Pakistan boundary along the Rajasthan border up to the Sutlej river in the District of Ferozepore has been finalised; and

(b) if not, what are the reasons for the delay and when is it likely to be finalised?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

(a) and (b) The Rajasthan-West Pakistan border does not extend to the Sutlej river. Demarcation in this 644 mile border has not been completed. The work commenced in the field season beginning on October 1, 1959, and is expected to be completed in the field season ending March 1961. Owing to the difficult terrain, completion of the work earlier is not considered practicable.

122. See Appendix 13 for Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit's reply of 25 April 1960.

123. Written answers to questions, 26 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, col. 1993.

124. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Punjab.

(g) Nepal

174. To B.P. Koirala: Stalemate in India-China Talks¹²⁵

April 27, 1960

[My dear Koirala,]

By the time this letter reaches you, the visit of Premier Chou En-lai to Nepal¹²⁶ will have ended. I hope that his visit was satisfactory from your point of view.

As you will have seen from the newspapers, we had prolonged talks with Premier Chou En-lai and his companions. The talks were friendly, but no meeting ground was found. As our joint communiqué said, the talks did not result in resolving the differences that had arisen between the two Governments.¹²⁷ Indeed, there was no approach, not even a distant one, towards a solution. Premier Chou En-lai's "facts" were entirely different from our version. Our Ambassador in Kathmandu¹²⁸ will, no doubt, give you further information on this subject.

We have agreed ultimately to our officials meeting Chinese officials and examining the material that either party has in regard to the facts. After doing so, these officials will present a report to both Governments, listing these facts and indicating where they agree and where they do not agree.

It is obvious that the officials cannot go any further. They have neither the competence nor the authority to suggest a solution. I do not, therefore, expect much from this step. At the most, it will clarify a little further the attitude of both Governments. As a matter of fact, we wanted to do this when Premier Chou En-lai was here. But, to our surprise, his officials stated that they had brought no material with them here. This seemed to me very odd. So far as we were concerned, we had enough material with us to substantiate our case. We saw no reason, however, to place all this material before the Chinese when they were not going to show us anything. Of course, a good deal of our material had been stated previously in our correspondence.

The result of all this is that we remain where we were. There is perhaps a slight lessening of tension, and it is unlikely that any conflicts might occur in our border areas during the next few months. We have to be vigilant, however. We realise that this is going to be a long drawn out matter, and we shall have to prepare for this.

125. Letter.

126. 26-29 April 1960.

127. See item 33.

128. H. Dayal.

I am leaving for London in two days' time for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

With warm regards,

[Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru]

(h) Indonesia

175. In the Lok Sabha: Compensation to Indians¹²⁹

इंडोनेशिया की सरकार द्वारा मुआवज़ा की अदायगी

श्री सरजू पाण्डेय :¹³⁰ क्या प्रधानमंत्री 9 फरवरी, 1960 के तारांकित प्रश्न संख्या 9 के उत्तर के सम्बन्ध में यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि इंडोनेशिया के लोगों द्वारा भारतीय राजदूतावास के कर्मचारियों के मकानों पर 15 मार्च, 1957 को किये गये आक्रमण¹³¹ के परिणामस्वरूप हुई क्षति का मुआवज़ा देने के सम्बन्ध में इंडोनेशिया की सरकार से जो बातचीत चल रही थी वह अब किस अवस्था में है?

प्रधानमंत्री तथा वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री (श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू) : इस मामले पर अभी सामान्य राजनयिक माध्यम से हिंदेशिया सरकार के साथ बातचीत चल रही है। समझौते में देरी होने के कारण भारत सरकार ने खुद ही भारतीय राजदूतावास के कर्मचारियों को तदर्थ (एंड-हॉक) मुआवज़ा देने का फैसला किया है। यह मुआवज़ा जल्दी ही दे दिया जायेगा।

[Translation begins:

Payment of Compensation by Indonesian Government

Shri Sarjoo Pandey: ¹³² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state in regard to the reply to the Starred question no. 9 about the losses incurred as a result of the attack on the houses of the employees of the Indian Embassy

129. Written answers to questions, 20 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLIII, col. 12719.

130. Sarjoo Pandey, CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Basra, UP.

131. See SWJN/SS/37/pp. 520-522.

132. See fn 130 in this section.

by the Indonesian people on 15 March 1957,¹³³ how far the negotiations with the Indonesian Government have reached?

The Prime Minister and the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): On this matter general diplomatic exchanges are taking place with the Indonesian Government. The Indian Government has decided to pay ad hoc compensation to the employees of the Indian Embassy in view of the delay in arriving at an agreement. This compensation will be given shortly.

Translation ends]

(i) Vietnam

176. To Pham Van Dong: Violations of the Geneva Agreement¹³⁴

Thank you for your message in connection with Law 10/59 promulgated by South Vietnam, which I received through our Consul-General in Hanoi¹³⁵ on 11th April.¹³⁶

2. I understand that this Law was promulgated on 6th May, 1959, by the Republic of Vietnam. We are informed that the complaint made by your Government to the Commission in connection with this Law during the same month has been investigated in detail by the Legal Committee of the Commission. The Legal Committee's report is now being reviewed by the Commission.

3. In looking into this matter I have also seen that the Commission has, in its interim reply, informed both parties that:

“no law, regulation or order in either of the two zones can, in any way, supersede the obligations which the two Parties have undertaken under the provisions of Article 14(c) of the Agreement on the Cessation of hostilities in Vietnam, namely, to refrain from any reprisals or discrimination against persons on account of their activities during the hostilities and to guarantee their democratic liberties”, and that “if complaints are brought to the notice of the Commission regarding the application of this law or any other decree,

133. See fn 131 in this section

134. Telegram to the Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, 18 April 1960. File No. 1700(19)-S-D/60, MEA.

135. A.G. Meneses.

136. See Appendix 1 for Pham Van Dong's message of 9 April.

regulation or order in either of the two zones, alleging the violation of Article 14(c), the Commission will take steps to satisfy itself that there has been no reprisals or discrimination against persons on account of their activities during the hostilities and that their democratic liberties have not been infringed in terms of Article 14(c)."

4. I can assure Your Excellency that, so far as the Government of India and the Indian Representative on the Vietnam Commission are concerned, in this case as well as in other matters pertaining to the activities of the Commission, we will, so far as it lies within our power, continue to implement the provisions of the Geneva Agreement objectively and impartially. There is, therefore, no question of our Delegate on the Commission taking up a position contrary to the spirit and obligations of the Geneva Agreement in favour of one party or the other.

With kind regards,

Jawaharlal Nehru

177. To Pham Van Dong: American Military Mission in South Vietnam¹³⁷

23rd April, 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter dated 15th April forwarded through our Consul-General at Hanoi.

I understand that a request has been made to the Commission by the authorities at Saigon to permit the reinforcement by 343 persons of the American military training mission MAAG in replacement of the French military instructors who have withdrawn from South Vietnam. The MAAG was, as you have mentioned in your letter, in existence in Saigon during the Indo-China war. The request of the Saigon authorities for reinforcement of the MAAG will, no doubt, be considered by the Commission in the light of the provisions of the Agreement on Vietnam and the obligations imposed there under on the parties concerned.

So far as the Government of India are concerned, it is their firm policy to do everything they can to maintain peace not only in Indo-China but in the whole of South East Asia and in the world. Because of our firm faith in this policy, we deplore any developments which introduce tensions, stresses and

137. Letter.

strains in Vietnam or in any other area.

I am asking our Ministry of External Affairs to send a copy of your letter and my reply to our Delegate on the Vietnam Commission.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

178. To Pham Van Dong: Strengthening American Military Mission¹³⁸

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of 28th April regarding the decision taken by the International Commission on the request made by the authorities of the Republic of Vietnam to the United States Government to bring the strength of the United States Military Instructors to the MAAG from 342 to 685.¹³⁹

2. I understand that the Commission in its meeting on 19th April decided to take note of this communication from the Republic of Vietnam on the understanding that these additional U.S. Military Instructors will not be introduced except in conformity with the procedures stipulated in Article 16(f) and (g) of the Geneva Agreement. I find that this decision of the Commission is based on the view that the reinforcement of a military training mission, which has been in existence prior to the cease-fire, by replacement in whole or in part of one set of military instructors by another does not constitute introduction of additional military personnel and does not, therefore, violate Article 16 of the Agreement.

3. In your letter you have asked whether the U.S. Army can, step by step, replace the former French Expeditionary Corps. It would hardly be proper for me to express any opinion on a hypothetical question. I see, however, from the provisions of the Geneva Agreement that the Commission in dealing with a question of this type will have to consider the provisions not only of Article 16 but also of Article 19 and other Articles of the Geneva Agreement.

With kind regards,

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

138. Message sent telegraphically through Meneses, 18 May 1960. File No. 1700(19)-S.D., MEA.

139. See Appendix 14.

(j) Miscellaneous

179. In the Rajya Sabha: Indian Arrested in East Berlin¹⁴⁰**Arrest of Shri Zutshi by the Police in East Berlin**

Shri Jugal Kishore:¹⁴¹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that an Indian engineer named Shri Peshwanath Zutshi was arrested by the police at Alexander Railway Station in East Berlin area;
- (b) if so what are the details of the incident; and
- (c) what action Government have taken in the matter?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) and (b) On the 26th March 1960 an Indian Engineer, Shri Tapeshwar Nath Zutshi, was arrested in East Berlin by the local railway police for entering the area carrying a propaganda placard strung around his shoulders. He was reported to have been externed from East Berlin on the 31st March 1960.

(c) As Shri Zutshi was placed under arrest by the local authorities for contravention of local regulations, the question of intervention by Government does not arise.

Shri Jugal Kishore: May I know if Mr. Zutshi is charged for some offence, and if so, what?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: He was charged for contravening the rules by entering into East Berlin with a placard saying: "People behind the Iron Curtain: first step towards freedom, do not have fear to speak the truth."

Shri Niranjan Singh:¹⁴² May I know what regulations he has not followed or he has violated?

140. Oral answers to questions, 18 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, cols 955-957.

141. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Punjab.

142. PSP, Rajya Sabha MP from Madhya Pradesh.

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: I have already mentioned. It may not be any particular regulations. Evidently the East German Government did not approve of his conduct or the slogan he was preaching.

Shri Niranjan Singh: Did he have a passport with him?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: No, Sir.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: When a person enters another country, the boundary, he has to follow the rules and regulations pertaining to it. He did not, and he says he did not. It was an act of deliberate defiance however good-intentioned it might be. It was an act deliberately done inviting arrest.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: In view of the fact that an act of defiance of this kind was committed, may I know whether Government had cared to find out from its own sources in West Germany about the antecedents of this comic freedom fighter?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: His antecedents appear to be that he is a great idealist.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know whether the Government have found out as to whether he was a student or he was there in some other connection, and if so, what was his vocation there?

Mr. Chairman: What was his vocation there?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: No vocation.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: I take it that he was one of the little lumpen proletariat that goes round the country fighting for freedom.

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: He says that he is a citizen of the world.

Shri Jaswant Singh: The reply of the Deputy Minister was that he was externed. I would like to know from where he was externed.

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: From East Berlin.

180. To Humayun Kabir: Make Your Foreign Trip Useful¹⁴³

April 19, 1960

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of the 18th April. As you are going to Oxford and France, you may, on your way back, visit Yugoslavia for a few days.

Yours sincerely,
J. Nehru

181. To V.K. Krishna Menon: Don't Be Absent Now¹⁴⁴

April 19, 1960

My dear Krishna,

You wrote to me a few days ago about your joining the group for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. I wanted to speak to you about this matter, but just then this question of an out of court settlement of the Jeep case came up before us. I wanted to wait for the outcome.¹⁴⁵

Previously we thought that you would anyhow have to go to London for this case. Now, that is off and I am glad that this case is being settled out of court. The question now is whether you should nevertheless go to London at this stage. I feel that in view of our Defence situation, it would not be desirable for both you and me to be absent from India at the same time unless of course this is unavoidable. What the result of our talks with the Chinese Premier are likely to be, I cannot at present say. But, hoping for the best, they cannot take us far and they will be just a stage in the journey. I am sure that our revitalising our defence will continue to be a major factor in our thinking. It is true that your going away for a few days need not necessarily affect that process. But, in view of public feeling on this subject of our border defence, there is bound to be a reaction not favourable to your going and it will be difficult to explain. If I was here at the time, it would not matter much. But both of us being away at the same time would certainly lead to much misunderstanding and criticism.

143. Letter. Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.

144. Letter.

145. See item 89 and Appendix 15.

I feel, therefore, that you should not go to London at this stage. But it might be possible for you to go some time later after I come back.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

182. To S.M. Singhvi: Racial Discrimination in South Africa¹⁴⁶

April 20, 1960

Dear Shri Singhvi,¹⁴⁷

I have your letter of the 18th April and I am interested to know that you have collected a large number of signatures against racial discrimination in South Africa. I am afraid I cannot accept any engagement during my very brief stay in Bombay on the 30th April, but should you so wish it, you can present the signatures to me at Raj Bhavan. This will have to be fixed up with the Bombay Government.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

183. In New Delhi: To Swedish Television¹⁴⁸

Question: I shall be very happy if you kindly tell us something about your impressions on Sweden and other Scandinavian countries when you visited them in 1957.¹⁴⁹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I have always rather admired the Scandinavian countries, even from a distance, reading about them, knowing of their achievements. So when I went there I was happy to see the people there, and how they were functioning. I liked the places very much because one found what I consider the best expression of social democracy there, democratic structure and yet a structure which is based on a social outlook of the people, a disciplined people

146. Letter.

147. Chairman, Sanskrit Sangam, Bombay.

148. Interview, 28 April 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

149. In June 1957. See SWJN/SS/38/pp. 477-597.

with high standards, a quiet people, not shouting too much, as many of us are apt to do anywhere. Therefore that struck me as an example of civilised existence.

Question: Last December the Swedish Prime Minister came to India on a goodwill visit and it was a great success. On that occasion you spoke very highly about Sweden and other Scandinavian countries.¹⁵⁰ In which field these countries could cooperate with India and vice versa?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, there are many fields I suppose. One thing that of course they can cooperate in many industrial fields, training our people. One thing they are particularly advanced in is the field of cooperation and we are trying to build up our cooperative movement in a big way. So I think we can learn much from them.

Question: In particular about this atomic science?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is nothing very particular about atomic science, except that where we can cooperate, we will cooperate. We are cooperating with many countries in the atomic energy development but there is no special thing about the Scandinavian countries about that. There is Prof. Neils Bohr who is the father, in a sense, of this atomic business. We respect him greatly, and we should like to have his advice and cooperation whenever necessary, and others too. (Pause)

Question: Have you any plans to visit Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Finland in the near future?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, I have no plans to visit any foreign country. I am going to England in two or three days time. On my way back I will stop in Egypt for two or three days. That is all.

Question: Another question. Last week the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr Chou En-lai, was here for discussions on the Sino-Indian border dispute. Apparently, no results have come out of it. Have you been disappointed in not getting any results?

150. Tage Erlander, the Swedish Prime Minister and his wife were in India from 18 to 30 December 1959. See SWJN/SS/55/item 193.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, yes, I am a little disappointed, I do not think I expected very much, but I did expect something and that did not come. The Chinese Premier's attitude seemed to me, not justified and not correct factually.

Question: How will India recover the area which the Chinese have forcibly occupied?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is not a question which can be put, or answered.

Question: Or, any immediate plan for

Jawaharlal Nehru: Oh! Do not ask me questions which are absurd on the face of it.

Question: Recently I have seen in the press an Indo-Danish cultural pact...some news has appeared in the Indian press, some cultural pact between India and Denmark and other Scandinavian countries. Will something be realised on that line with the Scandinavian countries?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I hope so, yes.

Question: Lastly, I thank you very much for this little time you have devoted for the Swedish Television, and the Swedish listeners.

Jawaharlal Nehru: My good wishes to the people of Scandinavia.

Question: Surely, I will convey that as much as I can. Thank You.

184. To George Clark: No Time for Interview¹⁵¹

May 12, 1960

Dear Mr Clark,

Thank you for your letter of the 12th May.¹⁵² I am afraid it is not possible for me now to find time for an interview. Immediately after the Commonwealth Prime Ministers meeting tomorrow I am going to the country and returning on

151. Letter from London to the Chairman, London Executive Committee, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. File No. 8/132/60-PMS.

152. See Appendix 18.

Sunday evening. On Monday morning I am leaving England.

I need not tell you that we are entirely in favour of the banning of nuclear tests and weapons and an agreement on disarmament.

Yours sincerely,
J. Nehru

**185. To M.J. Desai, S. Dutt, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit:
Travails of the Indian Community in London¹⁵³**

9 Kensington Palace Gardens, W. 8

A deputation from the Indian Workers Association, London, came to see me on the 13th May. They had apparently asked for an interview even before I arrived here and they had been told that I had no time for it. Thereafter they sent me a telegram which was very improperly worded. However, I asked my PPS to meet them and he did so. Later some of them met me at the High Commissioner's Garden Party and they apologised for what they had written previously. I agreed to meet them. They forwarded to me the attached memorandum which also is not properly worded.¹⁵⁴ When they met me, I spoke to them in rather strong language about the way they were functioning. I also told them that they could expect no help from us in regard to Indians who had come here on forged passports. We are taking strong action against them in India and there is no reason why we should go out of our way to help them here. Indeed if they went to India they would be liable to be proceeded against in a Law court.

I had a fairly long talk with this deputation. There were two or three points that emerged from this talk:

1) I told them that I had little sympathy for people who came with forged passports, more particularly now when we were taking stringent measures to stop this business of forged passports. We could not afford to relax here. The fact however remained that a large number of Indians who have come on such passports are here in England. Many of them have their families in India. How long is this position to continue? Possibly they might be entitled after a period

153. Note to CS, FS and India's High Commissioner to the UK, London, 15 May 1960. File No. 16(31)/P.V. III/60, MEA.

154. See Appendix 20 (a) for memorandum.

to get British passport. Otherwise they will be stateless persons. I suggested therefore that full particulars should be collected about all such persons in England so that each case could be examined separately and some action might be taken in regard to them later. These particulars should give information about their home towns, families, etc; how they obtained their forged passports; when and how they came here; and what they are doing here.¹⁵⁵

Our High Commission should have this information collected and the Indian Workers Association should help in providing it. After this has been collected, it should be sent to External Affairs Ministry in India when we could consider this question in all its aspects.

2) The deputation also pointed out to me that although there are large numbers of Indian workers in England and especially in London, they had no place to go to. Some kind of Indian Workers Centre might be started here and they would gladly contribute to the setting up of such a centre from their association. I told the deputation that we would be prepared to consider such a scheme if they put it forward with details.

I think that it would be desirable to have such a centre here for workers especially. We have to undertake some responsibility for Indian workers here. Otherwise they go astray completely and have no decent place to go to. This matter should therefore be considered. It is largely a financial matter.

3) Apart from this question of Indian Workers Centre here, I feel that some kind of social centre for our students here is also desirable. Perhaps there may be only one centre both for students and workers with part of it reserved for workers or for the students. What the cost of all this is likely to be, I have no idea. But the desirability of having such a centre or centres seems to me obvious, more especially for the students.

These Indian workers here are a very mixed lot and many of them might not be considered very desirable persons. Most of them, I suppose, have very little or no education. They have come here by devious methods which cannot be approved of or encouraged. The fact however remains that they are here and they have formed an Indian Workers Association with branches in some of the principal towns in England where they work. This Association appears to have a large membership. It is some kind of a Trade Union though not in the strict sense of the word as it is not confined to any particular industry. We have to

155. See Appendix 20 (b) for M.A. Husain's note of 12 May.

keep in touch with this Association and deal with it as we do with Trade Unions in India. The fact that some of these people may misbehave, as they often do, should not lead us to cut them off from our High Commission's activities here. I have therefore advised the High Commission to keep in some close touch with this Association and make the members of the Association feel that we are anxious for their welfare. Often demands are made which are not at all feasible or possible of fulfilment. We cannot of course accept such demands, but the main point is that there should be close and continuing contact with them. We may be able to help them a little. But what is more important is to create an impression among large numbers of Indian workers here that we are interested in their welfare.

186. To Josip Broz Tito: Birthday Greetings¹⁵⁶

On the happy occasion of your birthday, I have the pleasure to convey to you, Mr. President, the warmest felicitations of my colleagues in the Government of India, as well as my own, together with our best wishes for many happy returns of the day.

I take this opportunity to express the hope that the very cordial relations existing between the people of our two countries will be further strengthened in the years to come.

187. To N.R. Pillai and S. Dutt: Indian Diplomats Resemble Ugly Americans¹⁵⁷

...I have been much influenced by my reading of the book *The Ugly American* written by two Americans.¹⁵⁸ The account given in this book may be a little exaggerated, but it is essentially correct, as most of us know. The functioning of our missions abroad is obviously very different from that of the American missions. The Americans, in pursuance of the cold war technique, have to follow certain policies; they give aid in a big way, and they have very big

156. Message, 24 May 1960. *National Herald*, 25 May 1960.

157. Extracts of a note to SG and FS, Damascus, 27 May 1960. File No. 2(285)/58-64-PMS (Only Extracts available. Original in File No. 8(173/60-PMS).

158. William J. Lederer and Eugene Burdick, *The Ugly American* (New York, London, W.W. Norton & Company Ltd., 1958).

missions. We function in a much more modest way and I hope do not throw our weight about. Nevertheless there were some things said in this book (*The Ugly American*) which reminded me sometimes of some of our missions abroad. I hope to write a separate note about this later.

I have written now because I think we should take early and effective steps to pull up our missions and make them realise that diplomatic work does not consist of protocol and feasting, but has deeper shades to it. In particular, it is of the highest importance that the language of the country is known, if not fully at least to some extent. It does not matter what the country is, big or small. Every effort should be made to learn that language. That is at the least a small courtesy and at the most it has great importance otherwise also.

All this leads to a further conclusion. Our postings in foreign missions should be considered with the greatest care from the point of view of suitability in a particular place. It should not be merely a question of bringing changes in diplomatic appointments. A head of a mission or indeed those who assist him most should not be frequently transferred from one place to another. By being frequently moved they cannot learn the language of the place and they cannot develop adequate contacts....

188. To Rajendra Prasad: Jagjivan Ram to Accompany You to the USSR¹⁵⁹

31st May, 1960

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I have been thinking as to which of my colleagues in the Cabinet should accompany you during your visit to the Soviet Union. I was given to understand that you had indicated your wishes in this matter and said that either Shri Jagjivan Ram or Sardar Swaran Singh might be invited to do so. I have, therefore, enquired from Shri Jagjivan Ram and he has told me that he would be glad to accompany you as Minister attending during your visit to the Soviet Union. I trust this meets with your wishes.¹⁶⁰

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

159. Letter.

160. President Rajendra Prasad, paid a State visit to the USSR from 20 June to 5 July 1960. He was accompanied by Jagjivan Ram, Union Minister of Railways, Foreign Secretary, S. Dutt and the President's Secretary, A.V. Pai.

V. DEFENCE

189. To Nathu Singh: No Need for Defence Review¹

Gauhati

April 16, 1960

My dear Nathu Singh,²

I have your letter of the 9th April. I received your previous two letters also.

I do not think it is necessary or desirable to have a review, such as you have suggested, of our Defence machinery. As for the Rajya Sabha membership, there are very few vacancies from those nominated by the President. In fact, we have been unable to put in some people who have been in our list for some time.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

190. To National Defence College³

Defence Minister,⁴ Commandant,⁵ friends,

I have long heard about these institutions in some other countries, notably in the United Kingdom, USA, Canada and some other places. In fact annually a number of people come to India from these other countries. Only yesterday I met a group from Canada. I confess I am not quite clear in my mind as to what they did there. Gradually I began to understand that their functions were somewhat different from these various training academies, etc.

I am not expert enough or knowledgeable enough to know what most countries do about this. But it seems to me that in the modern world one thing is becoming more and more important. The world becomes more complex, each aspect of our activities, governmental or other, grows and grows, and it becomes so complicated and so spread out that it becomes a little difficult for one part of this huge organisation to know much about another part. We

1. Letter.
2. Retired Lieutenant General, associated with the Bhooswami Sangh agitation in Rajasthan.
3. Speech at Inauguration, New Dehi, 27 April 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.
4. V.K. Krishna Menon.
5. Lieutenant-General Kanwar Bahadur Singh.

specialise, and in doing so there is a risk of our losing sight of the broader picture. We may know a lot about our little corner. That applies of course to everything, not only to defence services but to general administration, politics, industry, economics, whatever subject you may take, and it becomes more and more important therefore to have that broader picture in our minds, in the minds at any rate of those who have positions of leadership and responsibility. Otherwise they will work in their own grooves. That is important in every field. It is important in the political field which has to deal today not merely with internal problems, difficult and intricate as they are, but with wider international problems, to have at least some understanding or grasp of that broader picture. But surely it applies very much to the defence field, where unless this understanding and appreciation are there, they will tend to function in narrow grooves and lose sight of the real goals that we have. Of course you might say the real goal of the defence force in case, let us say, of war is victory. Obviously, even that is an intricate business. But I would say even that is not a clear answer. The real goal of a country at war is to achieve its objectives. In achieving them it should win. That I understand. But mere victory is not achieving your objective.

You may win and lose your objectives. It is a possibility. In fact, in a sense, that has been the lesson of the two Great Wars, winning hands down and yet not achieving what you set out to achieve, which was something more. Victory is a way to achieve objectives. If you forget the objectives then victory itself leads you nowhere. However, that may be an arguable point. I am merely putting it to you.

I remember in this connection a discussion on this subject in an ancient Sanskrit play. I think it is the *Mudra Rakshasa* where Chanakya, after whom we have named this Chanakyapuri, discusses war and peace, and in a most modern way, if I may say so, discusses. He says, what is victory, not defeat of the enemy but the achievement of your objectives; that is victory. In the process of that you may have to defeat the enemy, you may have to down it, but those are processes in between. But if you merely think of defeating the enemy, let us say if you want to defeat the enemy and in that process you are destroying yourself or the world is destroyed, well, it can hardly be called achieving any objective except perhaps a vague objective of just destruction. The world having become so complicated it becomes necessary to try to coordinate in our minds, a very difficult task, this picture of the world.

The defence forces have obviously—it is difficult to distinguish between other aspects of national life—but the defence forces have always to play an important part and sometimes a most important part during crisis, emergency, war, whatever may happen, and it is essential therefore that the leaders of the

defence forces should have this broader understanding in view. In some countries we even hear of the army and the navy or the air force pulling in different directions and not completely coordinating their own activities. But apart from that, it is not merely that, as the Defence Minister mentioned a little while ago, defence itself has become a term of such wide connotation. It is not merely a battle. It is the higher strategy of a country. It involves industry; it involves all kinds of things, understanding of the forces at work in the wide world, in your frontiers and the like. And therefore, for the higher grades of defence officers it becomes necessary for them to have an opportunity to develop this broader outlook, broader understanding, out of which will come their conceptions of the broader strategy. Also, because defence itself is not an isolated matter now, it is intimately connected with the economic aspect, the industrial aspect, and so many other aspects in a country, production; etc., the narrow boundaries, barriers that separated it from the rest of the activities of the countries no longer exist. They sort of overlap and there, therefore, has to be greater understanding.

Even from the narrowest point of view of defence, we have been developing ever since independence, as was natural, a closer appreciation of defence, of what it involves. It has gradually come. It came to us immediately after independence almost, because of our troubles on our northwestern border with our neighbour country. And although that involved problems for us, on the whole they were relatively limited problems, limited in geography, limited in many ways, and we faced them and we thought in terms of them. And to some extent we have to think in terms of them, although naturally our desire is and will continue to be to live peacefully and cooperatively with all our neighbours. Nevertheless, a defence apparatus, even though it might have a tinge of idealism, as all of us should have I think, it cannot live in the pure idealistic field, it has to be very realist. It has to be prepared for emergencies. So beware.

Now, gradually, in these last ten or twelve years we have developed in our thinking, in our understanding of world affairs, world problems, world conflicts, and these ten or twelve years have been a period of enormous development in the world, in the mind of the world, apart from technological development and atom bombs and what not. And it is as a result of this, I suppose, that the summit conferences and the like are held, some urge to grip this world, come to grips with these problems which tend to disintegrate. It is a very curious picture. The world grows, technologically, in wealth and this and that, and many other things, and even theoretically in the capacity to solve the normal problems of the world, economic, this, that and other, and at the same time it drifts for other reasons towards disruption or conflict. And so we have summit conferences to discuss these matters. That is one thing.

So far as we are concerned, as you know, we have tried to develop a certain attitude to the world, which is called non-alignment, or whatever you may like to call it. That, I should like you to remember, is not suddenly something out of a hat, out of somebody's mind. It is something which has developed years before independence. It was an inevitable thing both because of our thinking, and because of our geography, both; and geography counts a great deal in these matters. If we sat at the North Pole, our vision of the world would be different from what it is at the equator or somewhere in between. So that developed. That does not make, this thinking in terms of nonalignment does not make us blind or complacent about dangers. Obviously not. No country can be. But it is nevertheless a basic way of thinking which I think lessens dangers even in the strictest, practical sense of the word, and promotes an atmosphere which is better than the atmosphere of say cold war. That has been our thinking. But whatever our thinking may be, facts are not always governed by our thinking. Other things come in. Here we are today, more specially for the last year or more, facing entirely new dangers of a much bigger kind in this respect than we have faced previously since our Independence, and the whole country has become, what might be called defence conscious actively, positively defence conscious. That casts a burden on the country of course, but it casts a peculiar burden on the defence services and those responsible for them, the government. And at such a moment it becomes doubly important for us to think in this broad way, not be swept aside by sudden urges of either complacency or anger which make us do some things without thinking of all the aspects of that particular problem. The aspects, the pure defence aspects, normally speaking, the leaders in the defence services obviously have before them all the time.

But it is necessary to see those also in this larger picture that I have said, even from the purely defence point of view, apart from other things. So the organisation of this National Defence College becomes a positive necessity, not only desirability but a positive necessity, in things as they are and as they are likely to be in the future. Because we have to face these problems, let us admit it, for a continuing period and for a considerable period. They are not going to disappear. Let us hope that they will gradually be resolved, whether at the big summit level in the west that is going to take place next month or at other levels, whatever they are, because the alternative is too bad to think of. And however bad it is one has to face it. One does not run away because it is bad, one tries to make it better or else faces it when it comes.

So all this leads to the necessity of training in leadership in the widest sense of the term. A person can lead, of course, very effectively in a particular field and perhaps not so in a bigger field. I suppose in the defence services or in the

army a man may be an excellent, let us say, a Captain, a Major but he may not be so good in the higher ranks and so you pick and choose as you promote them. That is true. But the point is that people in whatever grade they may be should be given opportunities of developing this wider understanding which leads to better leadership, that wider understanding involving an understanding of so many other aspects which are not directly concerned with defence but which powerfully affect it, whether it is industry or economy, or foreign affairs or whatever it may be. Therefore this National Defence College has come none too soon. It will take no doubt, a little time to develop fully. I do not know exactly how it will develop, I mean to say internally, but I am confident that it will do so fairly rapidly and fairly well. The Commandant, it is obvious, is a man of energy and determination and is bent on making this a good place, good meaning a place which yields good results. Because after all a college like this represents more a preparation for the future, present of course, for the future, more a place where one gets some wider visions and comes out of narrow grooves of thought. And wider visions are essential today in any position of responsibility or leadership, whether it is in the defence services, whether it is in the political field, foreign field, or whatever it may be. A country which has not got that wider vision naturally cannot function as a really first class country, if I may say so. It is not merely expert knowledge in each individual field that gives a country or an individual that particular place, but coordination of those knowledge resulting in a broad picture of what we are, what we are driving at and what our understanding of the world is and of the future. That is where some vision comes in. So that an institution of this kind serves that purpose, I hope, and I think it will, and certainly the men from the defence services who come here, they will be selected, and I have no doubt that they will profit by their stay here and then be able to some extent to improve others who come in contact with them in positions where they may be serving. And I agree that this College should have contacts with the civil services and people from the civil services should come here because it is important that these contacts even otherwise should grow between the defence and the civil services and others. But apart from that importance it is necessary that they should know these problems in this wider field.

So I am glad to be here to give a slight push this morning to this National Defence College, and I believe I am supposed to say the formal words that I inaugurate it with pleasure.

191. In the Lok Sabha: Information Leaked to China⁶

सुरक्षा सम्बन्धी उपायों का कथित पता लग जाना

प्रश्न :⁷ क्या प्रधानमंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या यह सच है कि उन्होंने उत्तर प्रदेश के मुख्यमंत्री को सीमाओं की सुरक्षा के सम्बन्ध में एक पत्र भेजा था :

(ख) क्या यह भी सूचना मिली है कि किसी सरकारी कर्मचारी द्वारा वह पत्र अथवा उसकी प्रतिलिपि बम्बई स्थित चीनी वाणिज्य दूतालय के किन्हीं व्यक्तियों को दिखाई गई थी :

और

(ग) इस सम्बन्ध में क्या कार्यवाही की गई है?

वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री के सभा सचिव (श्री सादत अली खाँ) : (क) जी हाँ।

(ख) और (ग) : राज्य सरकार द्वारा की गई पूछताछ से पता चला है कि किसी तरह का भेद नहीं खुला है और जो आरोप लगाये गये थे, वे झूठे हैं।

श्री खुशवक्त राय : क्या मैं जान सकता हूँ कि उत्तर प्रदेश विधानसभा में जन संघ के जो नेता हैं श्री यादवेन्द्र दुबे उन्होंने ये आरोप लगाया था और उन्होंने यह भी कहा था कि हम इसका सबूत देने के लिए तैयार हैं?

प्रधानमंत्री तथा वैदेशिक-कार्य मंत्री (श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू) : जी हाँ, इसी के बाद तो उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार ने जाँच पड़ताल की और वह उस नतीजे पर पहुँची जो कि अभी पढ़ा गया है। उसमें शायद एक आरोप यह था, जहाँ तक मुझे याद है कि प्रधानमंत्री का कोई पत्र गया था। प्रधानमंत्री का अव्वल तो कोई खत ही नहीं गया था इस मज़मून पर।

[Translation begins:

Alleged Leakage of Security Measures

Question: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) Whether it is true that he had sent a letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh about the security of the frontiers;

(b) Whether information has been received that some government servant has shown that letter or a copy of that letter to some personnel of the Chinese Trade Mission in Bombay; and

6. Oral answers to questions, 28 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLIII, cols 14294-14295.

7. By PSP MP Khushwaqt Rai, Ganatantra Parishad MP Badkumar Pratap Ganga Deb, Socialist Party MP Arjun Singh Bhadoria, and Congress MPs S.A. Mehdi and Raghunath Singh.

(c) What action has been taken in this matter?

Parliamentary Secretary to the External Affairs Minister (Shri Sadath Ali Khan): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) & (c): After an enquiry from the State Government, it was found that no secret has been let out, and whatever allegations were labelled, they have turned out to be wrong.

Shri Khushwaqt Rai: May I know if the Jan Sangh leader in the Uttar Pradesh State Assembly, Shri Yadavendra Dube, had labelled these charges, and he had also said that he was ready to provide evidence.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Yes, Sir. It was only after that the Government of Uttar Pradesh started investigations and reached the conclusion which has just been read out. So far as I remember, one of the allegations was that a letter from the Prime Minister was sent. First of all, no letter was sent by the Prime Minister on this issue.

Translation ends]

Shri P. G. Deb : May I know whether a copy of the investigation report will be laid on the Table of the House?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : It is rather an extraordinary question. Certainly, it will not be. I have not seen it, nor am I likely to get it.

192. To U.C. Patnaik: Promotions in the Army ⁸

April 29, 1960

Dear Shri Patnaik,

You wrote to me on the 15th April about what you termed large scale supersessions in the higher ranks of the Army. I have had this matter further examined very carefully. I find that the manner of selection was according to the correct procedures. These selections were done by a special Board presided over by a Lieutenant General and consisting of many senior officers. To question the decisions of a high level Selection Board would really be going against normal procedures and would be a bad precedent, more especially when

8. Letter.

Government have already approved of the decisions of this Board.

It is important I think that promotions to higher posts should be on merit and not merely by seniority. As a matter of fact, various relaxations have been made in regard to the appointment of officers to the substantive rank of Lt. Colonel. Thus even those who have not earned selective vacancies will be considered afresh for such appointments. It appears to me that Lt. Colonels of 1941 will have a fair deal.

In this batch of Lt. Colonels of 1941 there was a large number, and obviously all of them could not be given this promotion. A selection had to be made and this could only be done on the basis of merit.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

193. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Defence Material and Other Matters⁹

May 31, 1960

[My dear High Commissioner,]

I have just received your letter of May 28th in which you gave me an account of your interview with Dickie.¹⁰ Well, we shall consider this matter further and I shall write to you. Meanwhile, you will receive the President's invitation to the Queen. This can anyhow be given to her. No date is mentioned in it. This can be dealt with later.

I have also received your letter about the guided missiles.¹¹ I understand that our Air Force people, who of course are always hankering for new types of weapons, were making some enquiries and are not likely to go further.

There is no question of Avtar Dar¹² being transferred from Cairo in the near future.

[Your sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru]

9. Letter. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

10. Louis Mountbatten.

11. See Appendix 26 for Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit's letter of 26 May.

12. Avtar Krishna Dar, who was married to Vijaya Lakshmi's youngest daughter Rita, was Counsellor at the Indian Embassy in Cairo.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

194. To Marjorie Pratt: Edwina Mountbatten Trust¹

April 19, 1960

Dear Countess Brecknock,²

Thank you for your letter of the 14th April.

I would indeed be happy to do something about the Edwina Mountbatten Trust. I shall wait for further information and suggestions.

I shall be going to England in another ten days time. Perhaps, therefore, any action suggested might have to wait till my return.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

195. To V.K. Krishna Menon: Royalty on Books³

April 19, 1960

My dear Krishna,

Your letter of April 18 about my Royalty Accounts in London and the Italian and French translations of some of my books.

I am not worried at all about the Royalty Accounts. Bridget⁴ has sent an account which is good enough for me. I shall gradually withdraw this money. I have already written to Bridget suggesting that £1000 might be sent to me.

What I was anxious about was to have full information about translations published elsewhere as I am frequently getting letters from other countries asking for permission.

I do not think it was suggested that there was any breach of understanding. So far as I am concerned, I have not been paying much attention to these publications. It is true, however, that the lady of the Signet Press has suffered quite considerable losses.

1. Letter.

2. Marjorie Pratt, Countess of Brecknock (1900-1989); superintendent-in-charge, St. John Ambulance Brigade.

3. Letter.

4. Bridget L. Tunnard, Honorary Administrative Secretary and Treasurer, The India League, London.

There is no question of any blame attaching to Bridget or indeed to anyone else. I am grateful to you and to her for having taken so much trouble over my books. The fault, if any, is mine for not having paid any attention to these matters.

I do not quite know what to suggest about further cheap printings. Cheap printing is, I think, desirable in order to reach a wider public.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

196. To Mohanlal Saksena: Motilal Nehru Centenary Celebrations⁵

April 21, 1960

My dear Mohanlal,⁶

I have just received your message about your proposal to convene a meeting in connection with Pandit Motilal Nehru's centenary celebrations at Rashtrapati Bhavan on the 28th April at 6.30 p.m. I am in some difficulty about this matter. First of all, there is a Party Meeting, the last of the session at 5.30 p.m. that day and naturally I shall have to be present there as well as other Members too. How long this last Party Meeting will last I cannot say.⁷

Secondly, I don't feel like associating myself with a discussion on these proposed centenary celebrations for personal reasons.

Thirdly, I do not quite understand why this meeting should be held at Rashtrapati Bhavan unless, of course, the President has been pleased to express his approval of it. I think that it is embarrassing for the President to make such a proposal to him. He cannot very well say "No" to it. If such a meeting is held there, it must produce some results. I cannot imagine what particular results are aimed at.

As you know, on this very date the Tagore Centenary Celebrations are being held in a big way all over India and even abroad. It is hardly suitable for these two to clash.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

5. Letter.

6. Congressman from UP; nominated to Rajya Sabha in November 1959.

7. For the Party meeting on 28 April, see item 51.

197. To N.R. Pillai: A Jamini Roy Wasted⁸

Please see this note from the Deputy Minister and the picture.⁹ I have no intention at all of carrying this with me. I don't wish to be associated with such a presentation. I doubt very much if Princess Margaret will at all appreciate this picture.

2. However, if you think it is all right, this can be sent or taken to India House who can send it on to the Princess without dragging in my name.

198. For N.S. Hardikar: Message¹⁰

I send my greetings and good wishes to a brave soldier in the struggle for India's freedom, Dr. N.S. Hardikar. Quietly and devotedly he has worked for the Seva Dal¹¹ now for more than thirty years. It has been my privilege to have been associated with him during this lengthy period, and I am happy that he is still carrying on the good work which he undertook so long ago.

199. To Purnima Pakvasa: No Time for Meeting¹²

अप्रैल 24, 1960

प्रिय पूर्णिमाजी,¹³

आपका पत्र कुछ दिन हुए मिला था। यह सही है कि बम्बई में 30 अप्रैल को जा रहा हूँ और उसी दिन रात को लन्दन के लिए रवाना हो जाऊँगा। उस दिन कई काम मैंने स्वीकार किये हैं, और सभाओं में बोलना है।¹⁴ उनके अलावा मैं कोई और काम नहीं ले सकता।

8. Note to SG, 23 April 1960. File No. 8/132/60-PMS.

9. See Appendix 9 for Lakshmi Menon's note of 21 April.

10. Message, 23 April 1960. Probaby birthday greetings, as his birthday was 7 May.

11. Established as Hindustani Seva Mandal on 1 January 1924, it was renamed as the Congress Seva Dal in 1931.

12. Letter.

13. (b. 1913); freedom fighter and social worker from Gujarat; daughter-in-law of Mangaldas Pakvasa and mother of the dancer Sonal Mansingh.

14. See item 65.

आपके शक्ति दल¹⁵ के लिए मैं अपनी शुभकामनाएँ भेजता हूँ। आपने मुझे जो उसके बारे में बताया था उससे मेरे ऊपर असर हुआ और मैं समझता हूँ कि बहुत अच्छा काम हो रहा है।

आपका
[जवाहरलाल नेहरू]

[Translation begins:

April 24, 1960

Dear Purnimaji,¹⁶

Received your letter some time back. It is true that I am going to Bombay on 30 April and the same night leaving for London. I have made several commitments for that day and I have to address many meetings.¹⁷ Apart from these I cannot take any other work.

I send my good wishes for your Shakti Dal.¹⁸ I am impressed by whatever you told me about it. And I think very good work is being done there.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Translation ends]

200. To Kanu Gandhi: When to Meet¹⁹

अप्रैल 24, 1960

प्रिय कनु,²⁰

जब मैं राजकोट अभी गया था तो तुम्हारा और आभा²¹ का पत्र मिला। एक इन्दिरा के नाम भी खत आया था, लेकिन इन्दिरा तो मेरे साथ वहाँ नहीं गई थीं।

15. She started Shakti Dal in 1954, an education society in Saputara, Gujarat, now known as Ritambara Vishwa Vidyapeeth.

16. See fn 13 in this section.

17. See fn 14 in this section.

18. See fn 15 in this section.

19. Letter.

20. Son of Narandas Gandhi; grandnephew of Mahatma Gandhi.

21. Wife of Kanu Gandhi.

ख़त में तुमने शिकायत लिखी कि मैं तुम्हारे कस्तूरबावाड़ी²² में नहीं गया। यह बात तो ठीक थी, लेकिन मैं राजकोट या सौराष्ट्र कोई दौरे पर नहीं गया था। बहुत कठिनता से कुछ समय निकाल कर दो-चार घंटे के लिए गया था और फिर वहाँ से बड़ौदा होते हुए कैम्बे चले जाना पड़ा।²³

तुम मुझसे ज़रूर मिल सकते हो, लेकिन अब तो मैं दो-चार दिन में लन्दन जा रहा हूँ, जब वापस आऊँ तब मिलने को आना।

तुम्हारा

[जवाहरलाल नेहरू]

[Translation begins:

Dear Kanu,²⁴

When I went to Rajkot recently, I received yours and Abha's²⁵ letter. One letter addressed to Indira also came, but Indira had not gone there with me.

You had complained in the letter that I did not go to your Kasturbavadi.²⁶ This was correct. But I had not gone to Rajkot or Saurashtra on a tour. Taking out time with great difficulty, I had gone there for two-three hours, and from there to Baroda on way to Cambay.²⁷

You may certainly come and meet me. But I am going to London in a few days from now. When I return, come and see me.

Yours,

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Translation ends]

22. A rural centre, named after Kasturba Gandhi, at Rajkot run by Kanu and Abha Gandhi.

23. For Nehru's visit to Maharashtra, see SWJN/SS/59/items 4-11.

24. See fn 20 in this section.

25. See fn 21 in this section.

26. See fn 22 in this section.

27. See fn 23 in this section.

201. To B.F.H.B. Tyabji: Gandhi's Autobiography in German²⁸

25th April, 1960

My dear Tyabji,

About three weeks ago I received a letter from you dated 31st March. This was about the translation of Gandhiji's autobiography into German. That, of course, is a good thing. As for my contributing a preface or foreword to it, I have not been approached directly or through the German Ambassador here. Anyhow, I shall rather not do so. Apart from my not having the time, I find it always very difficult to write about Gandhiji. I have, therefore, refused many requests to write about him.²⁹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

202. To Haridas T. Muzumdar: Request for a Job³⁰

25th April, 1960

Dear Haridas,³¹

I received your letter of April 4th some little time ago. As you will appreciate, I have been heavily preoccupied.

I have read your letter with interest. You have suggested in it that I should make some move to get the Government of India approach the ICA to make your services available here. So far as I know, the Government of India does

28. Letter to the Ambassador to West Germany. File No. 2 (114)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

29. However, K. Ram informed Tyabji the next day: "It seems that the Prime Minister forgot that the publishers of Mahatma Gandhi's autobiography, Messrs. Karl Alber had approached him through the German Ambassador here with the request to contribute a foreword to the German edition. The Prime Minister expressed his inability to write a foreword for this edition but authorised the publishers to use in their publication the Foreword which he wrote for Shri Tendulkar's book *The Mahatma*." For Nehru's letter of 9 March 1960 to German Ambassador Wilhelm Melchers, see SWJN/SS/58/item 254.

30. Letter.

31. Professor of Sociology, Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa, USA.

not normally do this in the case of anyone. I am, however, forwarding your letter to the Ministry concerned.³²

I have been occupied recently with the visit of Premier Chou En-lai. This has been an exhausting business. Within a few days I shall be leaving for London.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

203. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: An Appeal from the Bhagwan Das Trust³³

25th April, 1960

My dear Lal Bahadur,

Some time ago I received a letter.³⁴ I am enclosing this in original. This is an appeal for Dr. Bhagwan Das Memorial Trust. As your name is mentioned in this as the Vice-President of the Trust, I am writing to you to enquire.

What do you advise me? If this is a bona fide proposal, I should, of course, like to contribute something to it. I hope it is not some private individual taking advantage of Bhagwan Dasji's name to put up his own show.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

32. Nehru wrote the following note to his PPS on the same day: "Please see the attached letter and my reply. You may forward it to the Ministry concerned with a copy of my reply. This is not meant to be a recommendation by me to take any step. The Ministry can decide as it chooses."

33. Letter.

34. The letter dated 2 April 1960 was from one Dr Kumar Pal, Honorary General Secretary of Bhagwan Das Memorial Trust, with the address given as 2-F, Lajpat Nagar, New Delhi.

204. In the Rajya Sabha: Poor Crockery at Indian Missions³⁵

Complaints from Indian Missions
Abroad About Crockery sent from India

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan:³⁶ will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government have received any complaints from some of the Indian Missions abroad that the crockery which is sent to them from India is available in those countries at cheaper rates and is also of better quality; and
- (b) if the answer to part (a) above be in the affirmative, which are the countries from where such complaints were received and what is the object of Government in sending these articles to such countries from India?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) and (b). It was decided in 1957 that India based officers and staff serving in our Missions abroad would be supplied with crockery sets of Indian manufacture for their daily use. The decision was taken with a view to conserving foreign exchange, encouraging Indian industry and ensuring uniformity of design and quality so that replacements could be effected without difficulty. It was, however, reported by two of our Missions, viz., in Ceylon and Indonesia, that crockery sets would be available locally at somewhat cheaper rates. For reasons already stated, Government did not agree to purchases being made locally.

35. Written answers to questions, 26 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, cols 1999-2000.

36. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Uttar Pradesh.

205. To M.O. Mathai: Compensating Signet Press for Loss³⁷

Shri V.K. Krishna Menon said to me the other day that in view of the unfortunate loss suffered by the Signet Press because of the cheap edition of the *Discovery of India* published in London, he would like to recommend to the publishers of the cheap edition to make an ex-gratia grant to the Signet Press. He asked my opinion. I said I could have no objection to this.

206. To S. Dutt: Diplomat's Marital Problems³⁸

This matter might be kept pending till SG and I return from London. Shri K.P.S. Menon³⁹ spoke to me about this and he was in favour of our agreeing to this request of Shri Rahman.⁴⁰ He had a high opinion of Shri Rahman and he felt that in the circumstances of Budapest during the troubles there and after, we should not judge this case as strictly as we might otherwise have done.

2. As for Mrs. Rahman, I must say that my impression of her, from what I have heard in the past, has not been a favourable one. She is a much married lady. I remember attending her marriage with Shri Rahman here in Delhi. We agreed to it, but I was not at all enthusiastic over it. Subsequently the reports that had reached me, I think through Shri K.P.S. Menon, were rather against her behaviour wherever she went. In the circumstances, it was perhaps inevitable and natural for Shri Rahman and his wife to part company.

3. It would, of course, be right for Shri Rahman to make provision for her and especially for his children by her. I do not know how many children he had. This matter might be pursued.

37. Note, 27 April 1960. JNMF Collection.

38. Note to FS, 27 April 1960.

39. India's Ambassador to the USSR and to Hungary.

40. M.A. Rahman, Indian Chargé d' Affaires in Budapest during the revolution in 1956; died in 2009.

207. Note: Nepali and Tibetan Versions of *Autobiography*⁴¹

I have no objection to my *Autobiography* being brought out in Nepali and Tibetan versions in serial form. But I do not want this to be done at Government expense.

2. No one's permission is necessary other than my own, for this purpose.
3. There is no question of royalty.⁴²

208. In the Lok Sabha: A Skeleton in the Box⁴³

Mystery Box from Warsaw

Shri Ram Krishan Gupta: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Unstarred Question No. 1047 on the 7th December, 1959 and state:

- (a) whether the investigations into the "mystery box" received from Warsaw containing a human skeleton have been completed; and
- (b) if so, the result thereof?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):
(a) Yes. (b) Further investigations have revealed the following facts. An official of the Ministry of External Affairs who was posted to the Embassy of India, Warsaw, in 1958, consigned 14 pieces of baggage to the "Hold" of the ship by which he was travelling from Bombay. These packages were unloaded at Marseilles and despatched directly as freight to Warsaw by a clearing agency. Somehow, an additional package got included in the shipment to Warsaw, so that instead of his 14-packages, the official was presented with 15 pieces on arrival at Warsaw. He, thereupon, disowned the extra box and brought to the notice of the Transit Company the fact that an extra packing case, not belonging to him, had been included among his baggage. The Transit Company brought this fact to the notice of the Clearing Agency, which had despatched the baggage at Bombay.

41. Note, 27 April 1960. JNMF Collection.

42. See Appendix 16 for R.C. Asthana's letter of 6 May to M. Ganju.

43. Written answers to questions, 28 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLIII, cols 14351-14352.

This particular case was thereupon detained by the Polish Customs, who opened it to find that it contained a human skeleton, wrapped up in old newspapers.

Police investigations have further revealed that an Indian doctor, Shri P.C. Bansal, who was a fellow passenger of the official concerned, and is now reported to be attached to a Hospital in the United Kingdom, had purchased a set of human bones in September, 1958, from the Anatomical Department of the Grant Medical College, Bombay. Dr. Bansal had booked the wooden box containing the bones to travel with him from Bombay to London, but it had been misdirected to Warsaw.

209. To Humayun Kabir: Muhammed Tahir's Misconduct⁴⁴

April 28, 1960

My dear Humayun,

I have received a letter from Mohammed Tahir⁴⁵ which I enclose. I do not at all like the way he has proceeded in this matter and I feel reluctant even to write to him.

However, perhaps I should write a brief letter to him. I am, therefore, writing to him. A copy of that letter is enclosed.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

210. To Mohammed Tahir: Accept Arbitration Decision⁴⁶

April 28, 1960

Dear Mr. Mohammed Tahir,

I have your letter of the 26th April 1960. I am very sorry to learn that your mother-in-law is lying ill at Bhopal.

As for the other matters you have referred to in your letter, it is true that I was surprised and distressed to learn that you had gone to court on this subject.

44. Letter.

45. Member, Bombay Legislative Council, and son-in-law of Maulana Azad's sister Fatima Begum.

46. Letter. Copied to Humayun Kabir.

I have noted that you or your mother-in-law have no objection to the transfer of the public funds. In regard to this matter, however, I have been unable to appreciate the argument you have raised about Shri Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim's arbitration and award. I have no doubt that the very matter mentioned by you was referred to Hafizji. When such a reference is made by mutual consent, the award should be accepted.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

211. To G.B. Pant: A Secret from Ramnarayan Choudhury⁴⁷

April 29, 1960

My dear Pantji,

This morning, I had a note from Shri Ram Narayan Choudhury who is staying at the Gurukul Indraprastha, a place about fourteen miles from Delhi. He is rather unwell. In this note, he said that he wanted to convey to me some very secret and important information. I sent one of my Secretaries to him, who has given me the attached note which I am forwarding to you.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

212. Tribute to Balkrishna Sharma "Navin"⁴⁸

बालकृष्ण शर्मा "नवीन" की मृत्यु पर प्रधानमंत्री श्री नेहरू जी की श्रद्धांजलि

आज बालकृष्ण शर्मा⁴⁹ का और मेरा साथ चालीस बरस का खत्म हुआ। हम सन् 20 और 21 में साथ काम करते थे। सन् 21 में हम साथ जेल गये, एक बैरक में रहे और उसके बाद तो खैर बहुत मौक़े मिले उनसे मिलने के, साथ होने के। हमारे पुराने साथियों में थे, मेरे छोटे भाई

47. Letter.

48. 29 April 1960. AIR tapes, NMML. The nature of the document is not clear. It is a statement recorded by AIR, and probably made to a pressperson when Nehru visited Navin's house. The press report contains some of the words from this recording. See *The Times of India* and *The Hindustan Times*, 30 April 1960.

49. Balkrishna Sharma "Navin", Hindi poet and Rajya Sabha MP, died on 29 April 1960. "Navin" was his pen name.

की तरह थे, मुझसे तो बहुत कम उम्र के थे। तो वो सब ज़माना याद आता है और किस तरह से उनके साथ रहने से हमारी जेल की ज़िन्दगी भी कुछ हल्की हो गयी थी। कोई भी पुराना साथी गुज़रे तो एक चोट लगती है और एक ख़ाना ख़ाली हो जाता है। बालकृष्ण जी के लिए वो ख़ास बात है। ख़ास आदमी थे, एक कवि थे, जोशीले थे, अक्सर बहस भी उनसे होती थी, छोटे-मोटे झगड़े भी हो जाते थे बहस में, लेकिन उनकी क़दर थी, मोहब्बत थी एक दूसरे से।

तो ग़रज़ के वो ख़ाना ख़ाली हो गया और रंज है दिल में, लेकिन कोई इसका इलाज नहीं, सिवाये इसके कि याद में वो रहें, जैसे कि रहेंगे।

[Translation begins:

Today the long association of forty years between Balkrishna Sharma and myself has come to an end. We worked together in 1920-21, went to jail in '21 and stayed in the same barrack. After that, I had several opportunities of meeting him and being with him. He was one of my oldest comrades and like a younger brother to me. He was much younger than me. All those days are fresh in my memory. Life in jail became less dreary because of his company. The passing away of an old comrade is always painful for it leaves a blank in one's life. That is particularly true of Balakrishnaji. He was a very special human being, a great poet, full of vitality. We often had long arguments and sometimes we even quarrelled in the heat of the moment. But there was a mutual respect and affection.

So he leaves an empty space behind and there is grief. But there is no remedy for that except to keep his memory alive, as we will.

Translation ends]

213. To A.C.N. Nambiar: Astaldi's Reports and Quasimodo's Visit⁵⁰

9, Kensington Palace Gardens,
London, W.8.
6th May 1960

My dear Nanu,

I have received your two letters both dated 26th April. Also the three reports by Dr. Astaldi.⁵¹ I shall look through these reports when I have leisure. I doubt if

50. Letter. A.C.N. Nambiar Papers, NMML.

51. See also item 4.

I shall have much time during my visit to Europe.

In one of your letters you suggest that the Government of India might invite Mr. Quasimodo, an Italian writer and Nobel Prize winner.⁵² I do not quite know what your idea is about such an invitation, we do not normally invite individuals in this way. What we do is to treat them as our guests when they come to India. That is we do not pay their travelling expenses to India. We can however meet their expenses in India and treat them as our guests. Is this what you meant?

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

214. To R.L. James: Harrow Songs⁵³

[London]
8th May, 1960

Dear Mr. James,

Thank you for sending me a book on Harrow Songs. I appreciate this gift very much.

I enjoyed my visit to Harrow greatly⁵⁴ and I shall long remember it.

Yours sincerely,
J. Nehru

215. To Walter Nash: Gifting *A Bunch of Old Letters*⁵⁵

[London]
May 12, 1960

[My dear Prime Minister,]

I promised to send you a Book of Old Letters addressed to me,⁵⁶ I am doing so. Most of these letters deal with internal problems and controversies in India which have no relevance or importance today. These will probably not interest

52. Salvatore Quasimodo (1901-1968); won Nobel Prize in literature in 1959.

53. Letter to the Headmaster, Harrow School, Harrow on the Hill, London. File No. 8/132/60-PMS.

54. On 2 May 1960.

55. Letter to the Prime Minister of New Zealand.

56. The reference is to *A Bunch of Old Letters* (Delhi, Asia Publishing House, 1958).

you. But you might be interested in my correspondence with Edward Thompson and Lord Lothian.

I am sorry I cannot give you any date for my visit to New Zealand. I can assure you that I am anxious to go there. You suggest early next year. That is a bad time for me as we have a number of important visitors then and our annual session of our organisation, the Indian National Congress, takes place in January. In February our Budget Session in Parliament commences. But I shall certainly keep your invitation in mind.

With all good wishes,

[Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru]

216. To Leonard Cheshire: No Time to Meet⁵⁷

[London]
May 13, 1960

My dear Group Captain Cheshire,

Thank you for your letter of May 12. I am afraid it will not be possible now for us to meet here. I am leaving soon for the country for the weekend. I shall return on Sunday evening and leave England on Monday.

I would have liked to visit one of your homes. But I fear this is not possible on this occasion.

With all good wishes to you and your wife,⁵⁸

Yours sincerely,
[J. Nehru]

57. Letter to the founder of the Cheshire Homes. File No. 8/132/60-PMS.

58. Sue Ryder.

VII. APPENDICES

1. Pham Van Dong to Nehru¹

[Refer to item 176]

1. We have raised the question of Law 10/59 since its promulgation in South Viet Nam because we regard it as a most impudent and serious violation of Article 14(c) of the Geneva Agreement. The Viet Nameese people, supported by world opinion, are fighting against it, i.e. against the policy of reprisals and murder against former resistance members and patriots standing for peace and unity in South Viet Nam.

2. I have been informed that the International Commission in Viet Nam is considering the South Viet Nam Administration's Law 10/59, and that there are tendencies in the Commission to take a decision to the effect that this Law is not a violation of the Geneva Agreement, that it is not related in any way to this Agreement.

3. Should the Commission take a position favourable to the South Viet Nam administration in this question, this would amount to encouraging its policy of reprisal and murder, and entail extremely serious consequences.

4. While voicing our concerns, I expressed the hope that you and the Indian Government will take appropriate steps in the interest of the preservation of peace and the implementation of the Geneva Agreement in Viet Nam.

With my highest consideration.

[Meneses added the following in the same telegram:

“Prime Minister told me that they were greatly agitated with this Law and its developments and an interpretation by the International Commission in Viet Nam favourable to the South Viet Nam authorities would signify further violent flagration of Geneva Agreement and hence greater danger to peace.

DRVN Press reports show General Giap² having sent a message on this matter to Chairman ICSC on 4th April. Meanwhile a press campaign is gaining momentum on incidents connected with this Law.

Consider present agitation also has some connection with subject referred to in my telegram No. 12 dated 16th March on the question of subversive activities.”]

1. Message sent telegraphically through A.G. Meneses to M.J. Desai, 9 April 1960. File No. 1700(19)-S.D./60, MEA.

2. General Vo Nguyen Giap, commander-in-chief of the Vietnam armed forces.

2. M.V. Sastry to Nehru³

[Refer to items 55 and 56]

11 April 1960

Re: Corrupt practices—Sri V.B. Raju— Ex-Minister, Government of Andhra Pradesh—Election Case No. 238 of 1957 before the Election Tribunal, Hyderabad— Andhra Pradesh Congress.

The case referred to above brought to light some facts and probabilities which indicate to the use by men in high positions and by the Andhra Pradesh Congress or its members, for party or election purposes, resources belonging to a public concern, The Nizam Sugar Factory, in which the Government of Andhra Pradesh has a substantial and controlling interest. It also indicates to an abuse of their position in relation to such concern by responsible members of Government. I am not here concerned with the propriety or otherwise of a person unseated in the circumstances found in this case, being given a responsible position in the organisation of a major political party which happens to be in power today.

Sri V.B. Raju was the Minister for Planning and Development, Government of Andhra Pradesh, in the Sanjiva Reddi Cabinet. He lost his seat in the Legislature as a result of a decision of the Election Tribunal (published in the Andhra Pradesh Gazette Part V, March 19, 1959) later confirmed in Appeal by the High Court of Andhra Pradesh (Reported in 8 Andhra Weekly Reporter—page 375). The charge held to be proved, was “Corrupt Practice”, which disqualified Sri V.B. Raju for membership of Parliament and of the Legislature of every State for six years, that is, till about 1965.

On his vacating the office of Minister, he was given the General Secretaryship of the Andhra Pradesh Congress.

It is to be noted that Sri V.B. Raju was the Minister for Commerce and Industries on the date of elections and was ex-officio Chairman of the Nizam Sugar Factory in which the Government had a controlling interest.

I give below an extract from the judgment of the High Court of Andhra Pradesh, in the above case:

“A sum of Rs. 2220/- was included under item (c) of the first category. The amount represented the payments made by the Nizam Sugar Factory, to P.W. 54 with regard to the hiring of the cars XYX-134 and HYX-307 and which we have found had been incurred in connection with the election.”

3. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available.

I give below some extracts from the judgment of the Election Tribunal in the same case (1st Respondent in the case was Sri V.B. Raju):-

“He was Minister of Commerce and Industries on the date of elections and was ex-officio Chairman of the Nizam Sugar Factory till the end of January 1957 and by reason of his position as Minister that he wielded influence with the concerns mentioned is also not improbable...

“I have already found that the Nizam Sugar Factory has supplied 1st respondent with two taxi cars at their cost during the period of elections for election purposes. It could not be as if that 1st respondent ceased to have any influence with the Nizam Sugar Factory by reason of his having resigned the Chairmanship at the end of January 1957.....It is in the course of Cross-examination of R.W.2 Accounts Officer of Nizam Sugar Factory that certain entries in Ex.P.32 Ledger at page 624 between 18th January and 18th February, 1957 payments of amounts of Rs.15,000/- on 18.1.1957, Rs.15,000/- and again Rs.15,000/- on 19.1.1957, Rs.15,000/- on 29.1.1957, Rs.15,000/- on 12.2.1957, Rs.15,000/- on 13.2.1957, Rs.5,000/- , Rs.15,000/- and Rs.5,000/- on 18.2.1957 totalling Rs.1,15,000/- found entered as payments made for national cause. The peculiarity of these entries is that these huge amounts are not shown in the Ledger page of donations but in ‘other office expenses account’ the amounts of which did not ordinarily exceed a few rupees. R.W.2 says that these cheques were drawn as self-cheques by the Managing Director and given to A.K. Babu Khan who took these cheques and his vouchers for receipt of the cheques as signed on reverse of Ex. P-36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43 and 44. He says that these amounts issued on cheques must have been received by A.K. Babu Khan and he must know to whom the amounts were paid. The Accounts Officer did not include these amounts in Ledger as donations as they require special sanction of the Board and at the time of examination of this witness the audit was still progressing. He does not know whether Rs.1,15,000/- was paid to 1st respondent for election purposes. The Principal Executive Officer of the Factory, Jaipal Rao P.W.83 who was Secretary when confronted with these entries says that he was aware that Rs.1,15,000/- have been donated but to what account he does not know. He also identifies signatures of the Managing Agent, the Chief Accounts Officers and R.W.2 and cannot say whether it is correct that cheques have been cashed and given to 1st respondent for his election expenses. A.K. Babu Khan did not tell him as to whom he paid these amounts and there was no resolution of the Board of Directors sanctioning these payments. His cross-examination was not complete on 31st August, 1958 and it was continued on 12th September, 1958 when he stated that the Directors of the company had approved donations of Rs.1,43,595-91Np, including the Rs.1,15,000/- and says that the meeting was on 18th May, 1958. Ex. P.95 is

Auditor's Report, dated 10th May 1958 which says that donations in the Cause of National interest was Rs.1,43,595-91Np. He says that A.K. Babu Khan stated at the meeting as to how the amounts were disposed of when he gave the account but R.W. 83 was not present. He proves Ex. P. 94 which is one of the resolutions passed at the meeting held on 17th and 18th May 1958 and the resolution is as follows:

“(16) The Board noted that Donations in the cause of National interest amounting to Rs.1,45,595-91Np and other donations amounting to Rs.45,940-48Np were paid during the year 1956-57. The Board further approved the donation of Rs.6,962-20Np to Keshav Memorial High School and donation of Rs.50/- to all India Religious Conference, which were not previously brought before the Board.

The Board further decided that sanction of the share-holders in the General Meeting be obtained to donations made in the cause of National Interest amounting to Rs.1,43,595-91Np.”

“From the resolution it is seen that sums of Rs.45,940-48Np were paid for other donations and Rs. 6962-20Np to Keshav Memorial High School and Rs.50/- to All India Religious Conference, but as regards Rs.1,15,000/- it is stated to be in National Interest. When he was asked as to what explanation A.K. Babu Khan offered as to whom the amounts were paid, this witness says he does not remember and does not remember the names of persons to whom these amounts were paid. When asked whether A.K. Babu Khan told that major portion was given to 1st respondent he says he never mentioned it to him but does not say whether he mentioned it at the meeting and he was not present when the copies of the vouchers were produced before the Directors. He denies the suggestion that it is true that he knows what all vouchers were given by A.K. Babu Khan but was asked not to disclose it and does not know whether there was discussion that part of the amount was paid to Pradesh Congress Committee of Andhra Pradesh. Evidence of this witness as I have already observed is not satisfactory and it appears to me that he is put under seal of secrecy and is not expected to disclose the purpose just as in the case of cars, and particularly about Rs.1,15,000/- as donations disposed by the Board of Directors. It is significant that these large sums amounting to Rs.1,15,000/- should have been drawn by A.K. Babu Khan between 13th January and 18th February, 1957 the election period, and the suggestion that national interest meant that it was paid for elections to the Congress Committee or to the candidates on behalf of Congress cannot be said to be far fetched. The allegation therefore of the petitioner in paragraph 10 that Rs.24,000/- and odd was obtained from A.K. Babu Khan or from Nizam Sugar Factory receives its support from the available records and evidence. The fact remains that A.K. Babu Khan though he was mentioned in

the list of witnesses on behalf of the 1st respondent and was issued a subpoena and was expected to be examined immediately after Jaipal Rao R.W.83 was eventually given up. It is reasonable to hold that his examination might lead to disclosure of a portion of Rs.1,15,000/- being paid to the 1st respondent directly or indirectly for his election purposes. However in the absence of definite evidence I am unable to hold that the National cause or the National interest meant the Congress Party as such. But it is very likely that Rs.24,000/- or such other sum was obtained by the 1st respondent from A.K. Babu Khan who drew the amount from the Nizam Sugar Factory. That explains one of the sources from which 1st respondent could have obtained moneys to enable him to spend in the elections.

“It was for the 1st respondent to have clarified the position arising out of the evidence of R.W.2, R.W.83 together with the documents of Nizam Sugar Factory and dispel any misunderstanding if really there was any misunderstanding and show that neither the 1st respondent directly nor through the party to which he belongs received any portion of the amounts and explain the real purpose, if there was any, for which these amounts were utilised. It is urged, not without force, on behalf of the petitioner that A.K. Babu Khan if examined would have said that the monies were paid to the candidates of the Congress Party including the 1st respondent and it is only to avoid the exposure that A.K. Babu Khan has not been examined. It is not reasonable to expect the petitioner to examine him but the 1st respondent who was not only the Ex-Chairman of the Nizam Sugar Factory but as one who is also charged with having received monies should have examined him.”

With reference to the above, I put supplementary questions on the floor of the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council on 26.3.59 as follows: “Is the Government aware that between January 18 and February 18, 1957 a sum of Rs.1,15,000/- was drawn by the Managing Director of the Nizam Sugar Factory, without the sanction of the Board of Directors, under ‘other office expenses’ account and paid over to Mr A.K. Babu Khan as on account of national interest?” The present Chief Minister, Sri D. Sanjivaiah deputising for the then Chief Minister, Sri N. Sanjiva Reddy answered – “no”. When I pressed – “Will Government be pleased to institute an enquiry into this matter?” he readily answered “Surely”. However, to my knowledge, nothing of the kind has so far been done.

3. Jane B. Drew to Nehru⁴

[Refer to item 122 and 124]

London,
13th April 1960

Dear Mr Nehru,

As one of the architects on Chandigarh please allow me to comment on something which I have read in an Indian paper, namely that Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta is proposing a new permanent capital for the Gujerat State 15 miles north of Ahmedabad city, and that "The township and buildings to be constructed on the site will follow the Indian style of architecture." This would be a disastrous set-back to the splendid young men who have been working on Chandigarh and to young Indian architects generally. If I understand it rightly it does not mean a style of architecture suited to India but the kind of copyist building which has been built for Ashok Hotel, Delhi, and the style Mysore has indulged in for its Government buildings.

Before I lunched with you last year I attended an Architectural Congress in Delhi at which your young architects had put up posters showing how more money had been spent that year on fake domes in India than had been spent on housing the people. They spoke with passion and feeling and there is no doubt that one of the major effects of Chandigarh has been to make these young men wish to take their place rightly in the contemporary scene, designing the new Indian architecture suited to your way of life and climate. Your own splendid comment that "Chandigarh should be designed free from the shackles of the past" has been quoted throughout the world.

I have been kept in touch by my friends in Ahmedabad who are rightly proud of the new buildings in their town—indeed the works at Ahmedabad as well as Chandigarh are a subject of pilgrimage for architects the world over. May I please make the following suggestions to you. That a complete programme should be drawn up for the new capital project of Gujerat. Mr Thapar and others did a splendid job of work in drawing up a programme for Chandigarh. That there should be an open competition for architects of Indian nationality wherever they may be. We have some very good young Indian architects here in England. That they should do a preliminary scheme as was done for Brasilia. This would allow young men who have not yet got big offices to enter for the competition. Big offices can always be provided. That the competition for this

4. Letter. Extracts (Para 1&2 only) available in File No. 7(210)/60-66-PMS, and full text in JN Collection.

new capital be assessed by a group of people of distinction, which might include a foreign architect who is familiar with the Indian scene. The assessors are of course all important.

Yours sincerely,
Jane B. Drew

4. K.C. Reddy to Nehru⁵

[Refer to item 81]

New Delhi
15th April, 1960
26th Chaitra, 1882

My dear Pandit ji,

You will kindly recall that you had mentioned that a house in New Delhi should be allotted to Shri Sanjiva Reddy, President of the Indian National Congress. Pant ji and Morarjibhai have also spoken to me in this connection and the suggestion is that rent for the house should be charged under FR. 45-A, which is the subsidised rent applicable in the case of Government servants. The Members of Parliament are also charged rent under FR. 45-A subject to a further reduction of 25% in accordance with the rules framed under the Salaries and Allowances of Members of Parliament Act, 1954. We may, therefore, adopt the principle that Government accommodation may be allotted to the heads of recognised political parties or groups functioning in Parliament, if they wish ordinarily to reside in Delhi and charge rent for such accommodation under FR. 45-A as in the case of journalists, a few artists etc. Such heads of political parties as become Members of Parliament are of course entitled to Govt. accommodation in the normal course. The proposal now is to allot Govt. accommodation to the heads of recognised political parties functioning in Parliament even though they may themselves not be Members of Parliament. In view of certain comments in the Press, I thought I would bring the matter to your notice before issuing orders. I propose to mention this in the Cabinet also, if you think it is necessary.

Yours sincerely,
K.C.Reddy

5. Gian Singh Rarewala to Nehru⁶

[Refer to item 72]

Chandigarh

16th April 1960

I must in the first instance apologise for encroaching upon your valuable time for a personal matter. Since, however, this has already engaged your attention previously, I am sure, you would grant me this indulgence.

2. Shri R.M. Hajarnavis, Deputy Minister of Law, India, has written to the Chief Minister, Punjab, that he has deputed Shri R.C. Desai, Deputy Legal Adviser, Govt. of India, to record the statements of the six persons in the tubewell case.

3. When I was called by Shri S.K. [A.K.] Sen, Union Law Minister, to explain my version of the case, he had hinted at the expediency of interrogating the Engineers concerned on the two vital points. His intention, if I understood aright, was to examine them personally, as it provided fuller and better opportunity to appreciate their testimony and to investigate the truth. I am quite sure, it would be realised that this case hinges more upon the legal side than on the factual; and facts can, unstressed of circumstances, be narrated to carry a different legal meaning. It is my earnest desire that the truth should come out. I am sure, everyone would also feel likewise. If evidence of these persons is recorded by a person who is not supposed to weigh it, and in an atmosphere where there is a chance of extraneous influence having a bearing on it the object stands the danger of being defeated. I am sure that in this context there can possibly be no objection to the six persons concerned being called to Delhi and their evidence being taken there by the Deputy Minister of Law himself.

4. May I, therefore, request that in spite of your very heavy pre-occupations you would kindly be able to give the matter the necessary thought and take such decision as you feel would meet the ends of justice.

6. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available.

6. Shrinagesh's Note on Naga Hills Tuensang Area⁷

[Refer to item 71]

Naga Hills Tuensang Area

Governor's Note for Discussion with the Prime
Minister at Gauhati at 1100 hours on 16 April 1960

We have now to decide both our short-term and our long-term policy for the NHTA. The Negotiating Body have been authorised to make only "minor changes" in their proposals, and not changes affecting "fundamental principles and policies". Unless, therefore, Government are prepared to accept their demand for a separate State, with Governor, Council of Ministers and Legislature, the present negotiations must necessarily fail. The conceding of a separate State, on the other hand, is a large question, with far-reaching implications, which has, therefore, to be examined with the greatest care. Pending such examination, which might take time, it is necessary to keep up, as far as possible, the morale of the NPC. We have to recognise that, even though the leadership of the NPC is immature and the party has little influence with the underground, it is, nevertheless, the only party with which Government can at present have dealings. It has to be accepted that the NPC has been virtually sponsored by Government ever since its constitution three years ago. If the party is now given the impression that it is not to be fully supported, it may well disintegrate and Government would find difficulty in building up alternative leadership within a reasonable period. Our short-term policy must be, therefore, to ensure that the NPC remains with us, thus helping in some measure to counteract hostile propaganda that the NPC have been let down by Government and failed the people. We must press forward vigorously with our developmental activity, and, while adopting a friendly and sympathetic approach towards all persons who co-operate with the administration, show absolute firmness in dealing with the hostiles. Further, we should take all possible steps to associate the people increasingly in our day to day administration and encourage the growth of democratic institutions, such as Tribal Councils.

2. In considering our long-term policy, we must seek the reasons for which the NPC are so adamant now in demanding a separate State. After the conclusion of our formal meeting with the Negotiating Body, my officers took

7. Assam Governor's note for discussion with Nehru, Gauhati, 16 April 1960. File No. 57/138/59-Poll(1), MHA.

the opportunity of private discussions with the President of the NPC and some of the more important members. The Negotiating Body tried to make out during these discussions that they had really expected that Government would accept their demand for a separate State. They referred more than once to the sympathy with which the late Governor, Shri Fazl Ali, had viewed their demands, and seemed, in fact, to have taken it for granted that the constitution of NHTA in 1957 was intended as the first step towards the granting of a separate State. In his monthly report to the President of India regarding the resolution of the NPC Conference of August, 1957, Shri Fazl Ali, while stressing that the association between the Naga Hills and Assam State would have been good for the Nagas themselves in many ways, observed that "unfortunately they have made up their minds to sever themselves from Assam." While touching on the "final" arrangement (as against the "interim" arrangement of constituting NHTA), he suggested that "the question of there being some kind of association with a neighbouring State, which is in a position to provide all kinds of facilities for the Nagas, might be one of the points to be brought before the Nagas". In commenting, again, on the suggestion of the then Chief Minister that the new unit could be constituted under certain provisions of the Sixth Schedule, the Governor pointed out that "the obvious objection to this course would be that any reference to the Sixth Schedule or anything suggesting that the new unit would continue to be a part of Assam would not be acceptable to the Nagas". The Governor had also anticipated, in a note for discussions with the Assam Cabinet, that "having regard to the present temper of the Nagas, when the final settlement comes, there may be a demand again for complete separation from Assam, but let us, for the present, allow the future to take care of itself."

3. One of the main considerations on account of which separation from Assam is now being resisted is the likely repercussion in the remaining Hill Districts. There has been a demand for some years for amending the Sixth Schedule so as to ensure a much wider measure of autonomy for all the Autonomous Hill Districts. It might be argued that the most logical course would be to expedite legislation for the radical liberalisation of the provisions of the Sixth Schedule, so that all the Autonomous Hill Districts might share with the Naga Hills a wider measure of local authority. Though this may seem logical, however, the Nagas would not, at this stage, accept an arrangement which gives them only the same status as the Autonomous Districts. They would claim that, unlike the Autonomous Districts, they had resisted their inclusion in the Sixth Schedule from the very beginning and that their people had shed precious blood for the fulfilment of their demands. Any radical amendment of the Sixth Schedule in the direction of granting a still wider measure of autonomy does not, therefore, provide us with a solution to the present Naga problem.

The Nagas will insist on special treatment. Even the State they have asked for is not to be an ordinary State, but a "special State under the Ministry of External Affairs."

4. It is necessary to view the Naga problem in the context of our general frontier policy as a whole. We have to weigh whether the present urge in the Naga Hills to break away entirely from Assam may not, in due course, grow in other regions as well. If that were to happen, we might be faced with demands for separate States, with separate Governors, all along our north-eastern frontier. The Assam Government have been doing their utmost to hold together their tribal Districts and to prevent disintegration. In spite of their sympathetic and generous approach, however, the cry for a Hill State keeps raising itself, and it is mainly through careful and tactful handling that the tribal elements have so far been kept together. What, however, we have to guard against is a situation where, as in the case of the Naga Hills, other tribal Districts may also, with the growth of tribal political consciousness, try to force Government into granting them a completely separate entity. Rather than allow conditions to develop as a result of which Assam might progressively lose her entire tribal population, we might consider some constitutional form under which her present tribal population would feel able to fulfil their aspirations and some of the neighbouring territories might also, perhaps, be attracted to associate with her. Whether the time is ripe for any such development is a matter to be carefully weighed. In trying to solve the Naga problem, we must not risk creating fresh problems all along the frontier. We have to bear in mind, on the other hand, that the Naga trouble has been continuing for over 12 years and it is not clear that any of the approaches hitherto adopted, military or political, have provided the final solution. It is possible, of course, that military operations may, in the course of years, produce a sufficient sense of weariness amongst the people that they will give up their demand for a separate State, as a fairly large section of the people have given up their demand for Independence. Naga morale, which has been supported for so long by the hope of intervention by UNO or other countries such as Pakistan, has declined with the gradual realisation that such assistance would not be forthcoming. There is also a limit to the amount of arms and ammunition upon which they can expect to draw. Much will, of course, depend on the extent to which we can afford to maintain considerable concentrations of troops practically infinitely in this area and the degree of intensity with which they are permitted to operate. Shri Fazl Ali had himself observed that "for a successful political settlement, it is necessary that the armed content of the underground must be eliminated." The Third Convention might well have been postponed, in this view, for a further year or so, by when Government would have emerged in a stronger position.

5. We must now, therefore, tell the Negotiating Body that Government are not prepared to accept the proposals in their present form, but would be ready to discuss any alternative administrative or political apparatus short of a separate State and of a further break from Assam. We might even draw up the frame-work of such a set-up ourselves and inform them that we have authorised the Commissioner to start operating it with the least possible delay. If they refuse to co-operate in working the proposals, they will have only themselves to blame. It follows then that, while trying to keep the negotiations open, we continue to take the firmest action against the remaining hostile elements. Government will thus eventually be in a stronger and more advantageous position (i.e. after elimination of the hostiles) for bringing about a final settlement.

7. A.M.M. Murugappa Chettiar to Nehru⁸

[Refer to item 108]

Federation House,
New Delhi-1,
18th April, 1960

Respected Shri Jawaharlalji,

Your well-known interest in and deep concern for the rapid economic development of our country through the effective functioning of both the public and the private sectors has encouraged me to address you on some aspects of industrialisation. The Federation has always taken the view, and in recent years has expressed it in unmistakable terms, that the controversy over the sector issue is both meaningless and unnecessary. This is specially so in the context of the pragmatic approach which you personally and the Government have constantly—and if I may venture to say so, quite properly—underlined. The Federation is confident that the scope for the growth and development of the private sector in our country is still very large as so great a leeway has to be made in the economic field. It is also our belief that a spirit of healthy competition between the two sectors and friendly rivalry of the right type is not only good for the maximum utilisation of our resources but is essential to ensure constant improvement in the efficiency of the units operating in the two sectors.

2. While there is this agreement on the fundamentals and the role that the private sector has played in recent years is generally appreciated, an impression seems still to prevail that the private sector in India is unable to come up to

8. Letter; laid on the Table of the House on 24 August 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXX, cols 2017-2021.

expectations in industrial development and is far too dependent on financial assistance from Government to an unwarranted extent. As regards the manner in which the private sector has risen to the occasion and more than fulfilled expectations, the index of rise in industrial production is the clearest proof.

3. The impression that the private sector is far too dependent on financial assistance from Government cannot, in our humbler opinion, be substantiated. In the first place, I would like to point out that there is hardly any industry in India which receives subsidy from Government, either State or Central. There are, however, cases where Government through some of its institutions have rendered financial assistance either to the starting of new industries or to the rehabilitation and modernisation some of industrial units. In this manner the growth and development of some Indian industries has been encouraged by Government and we believe this encouragement is due to the conviction of the authorities that for various reasons, some not directly connected with the promotion of these industries, such assistance is found necessary. Considerations of regional development or of maintaining in employment workers who would otherwise have been out of such employment and similar reasons have led to some units receiving financial assistance from Government.

4. Indian business attracts, as business in other countries does, savings of the people either directly or through Banks or through other financial institutions. Such institutions may be private or Government-sponsored. In our country, it has been found necessary to set up a number of financial institutions and agencies such as the Industrial Finance Corporation, the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation, the Re-Finance Corporation, the National Industrial Development Corporation, and various State Finance Corporations. I would like however to point out that in terms of the total investments made in the private sector, the assistance extended by these institutions is a small percentage and, though such assistance may be vital to some of the units, taking the private sector as a whole, the total assistance is not of any serious magnitude.

5. The Planning Commission has estimated that the overall gross fixed capital investment that has been made and is likely to be made in large and medium manufacturing industries during the Second Five Year Plan period will be of the order of Rs. 825 crores and will be roughly financed as follows:-

	(Rupees Crores)
<i>Loan from Institutional Agencies—</i>	
Industrial Finance Corporation of India	40
State Finance Corporations	17
National Industrial Development Corporation	10

Industrial Credit & Investment Corporation	14	
Re-Finance Corporation	6	say 85
	<hr/>	
Direct Loans participation by Central And State Governments		20
Foreign Capital		200
New Issues		120
Internal and other resources:— (Depreciation Reserves, Retained Profits, Borrowings from Banks, Advances from Managing Agents, etc.)		400
	<hr/>	
Total		<u>825</u>

It may be noted that quite a substantial portion of the loan assistance rendered by the Industrial Finance Corporation and the State Finance corporations and the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation has gone to a sector which it is the declared policy of the Government of India to assist by all possible means. The difficulty in obtaining foreign exchange for the purchase of Plant and Machinery has also had a bearing on the extent to which some of the institutions have been resorted to by the private sector for financial assistance. I may add that even the small dependence on the financial institutions sponsored by Government would not be there if the fiscal policy of Government left adequate savings in the hands of individual. I need not elaborate this point for our view on the subject is well-known to Government. Further, as is well-known, our banking system has not been enabled to play its part in providing term loans for industrial development as has been the case in countries like Germany and Japan where banks have played a notable role in their rapid industrialisation. The figures taken in conjunction with the reasons given above will give a proper appreciation of the extent to which private sector has depended upon Government funds for its development.

6. I have craved your time and attention to peruse the above lines so that it may be clear that the private sector has lost none of its vigour and will play its proper role according to the plan of the Government in developing the industrial resources of the country.

Lastly I would like to assure you, Sir, that we in the Federation are only too keenly conscious of our responsibility to work for a more rapid rate of industrial

development. In our tentative outline of the Third Five [Year] Plan, we have indicated that a faster rate of growth in the industrial sector is possible. I hope and trust that our submissions will receive due consideration at the hands of your Government and the Planning Commission.

With high regards and respects,

Yours very sincerely,
A.M.M. Murugappa Chettiar

8. (a) H.C. Heda to Nehru⁹

[Refer to item 46]

NEW DELHI-1

April 19, 1960

Respected Panditji,

Herewith I enclose a copy of the Report of the Secretaries to the Party. The Report requires discussion by the Executive prior to its submission to the General Body. Under the rules 10 days' time for such an Annual General Body meeting is required. Therefore, I propose to turn the meeting to be held on 28th April into an Annual General Body meeting. Would it be possible for you to give some time for the meeting of the Executive to consider the Report as well as the audited Accounts? Alternatively, we can hold the meeting in your absence to satisfy the provisions of the Party Constitution.

You are extremely busy these days. Therefore, I have taken particular care and I hope a cursory glance through the Report would give you satisfaction. However, we the Secretaries have made a departure this time and have submitted certain suggestions to the Party. I am enclosing these suggestions as a separate enclosure, though in the Report they will form a part of it and would be placed in the beginning.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
H.C. Heda

8. (b) Suggestion in Secretaries' Report¹⁰

[Refer to item 46]

Making a departure from the usual practice, your Secretaries would like to put a word or two as a plea with a view to strengthen the Party apparatus and try to fulfil the organisational role destined to it.

2. Party has a definite and positive role to play in a parliamentary party. Firstly, we have to build the Bureau of Parliamentary Research. The present shape and size may be accepted as a mere embryo. It stands nowhere in comparison to similar Bureaus in U.K. and U.S.A.

3. Adequate resources may be found out for this expansion. Long range plan is also necessary. We are glad to note that few books and pamphlets that you have published this year by the Bureau had been well received in the Party circles and outside.

4. According to the present constitution we elect 3 Secretaries, one from Rajya Sabha and 2 from Lok Sabha every year. The term seems to be too short. Moreover, there is no continuity. Therefore, we suggest that every Secretary, who is elected, may serve at least for two years. Therefore, we suggest that the term may be extended for two years and every year we may elect alternatively one or two members. This would provide longer term for a Secretary to serve and also the continuity.

5. Thirdly, the various Committees, both State as well as Standing Committees, have definite purpose to achieve. They do not provide merely a meeting ground for a Minister and Members. Their role is on one hand to enable Minister to get the popular reaction of his various policies and general working of his Ministry and on the other, give an opportunity for Members to influence the policy formulation of the Ministry. Positive gain for a Member in such a Committee should be to be able to read not only the present mind of the Ministry but also the future trend. Greater assistance from the office and closer contact with the Bureau of Parliamentary Research are necessary to achieve the above objective.

6. The Standing Committee for External Affairs has an importance of its own. The respect in which our country is being held all over the world demands expansion and specialisation of this Committee on vaster scale. We must have various Sub-Committees of this Committee, to deal with specific regions or a group of countries. We have to find ways and means to maintain individual contacts between Members of this Committee and their counterpart in various

10. Undated. Suggestions for consideration in the Party meetings on 27 and 28 April 1960.

countries of the world.

7. Should there be a possibility for a back-bencher to think constructively and pursue the line and bring concrete results for the benefit of the country in a course of time? The answer cannot be but in the positive. Therefore, the success of the democracy and its getting deep roots would depend upon not only the democratic working of the Congress Ministers and the Government as a whole but on the scope provided to the Congress Members to pursue the line after their heart. The Party has a forum for such constructive activity. It is already providing this forum and we hope that if the above suggestions are accepted, the scope of this forum would be expanded and satisfy the need of the hour.

8. Now we turn to the main report.

9. Lakshmi N. Menon to Nehru¹¹

[Refer to item 197]

I am forwarding a parcel (a painting) left by Mrs. Halina Danuta Bujakowski, who is an Indian citizen and whose husband, one of the ace pilots, died in India during the war. She would like Prime Minister to hand over this picture, which is a painting of Jaimini Roy, to Princess Margaret with her best wishes. The Painting contains the following inscription on its back.

“Steep and high is your path of pilgrimage

O man never descending low.

I have equipped thee with the divine wisdom

and power to live a full and vigorous life.

Come and enter the divine chariot of immortal bliss.”

11. Note, 21 April 1960. File No. 8/132/60-PMS.

10. Jivraj Mehta to Nehru¹²*[Refer to item 124]*

Sachivalaya, Bombay
22nd April, 1960

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Many thanks for your letter No. 944-PMH/60, dated the 17th instant with which was sent a copy of Mr. [Mrs] Drew's letter of the 13th instant addressed to you from London, in regard to the architectural considerations to be thought of in building the new Capital City of Gujarat. Mr. [Mrs] Drew had also written to me in the same connection. We would no doubt bear in mind what Shri [Shrimati] Drew writes in the matter. I have not had occasion to go to Chandigarh. I hope to do as soon as possible. But I may say that I have heard considerable criticism of the buildings set up in that City.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jivraj N. Mehta

11. Sham Nath to Nehru¹³*[Refer to item 84]*

Town Hall
Delhi,
Dated, 23rd April 1960

Respected Pandit Ji,

A few months back the Mayor of Delhi was invited to the International Mayors' Conference to be held at Chicago on the 11th May, 1960. Recently the Corporation accepted this invitation and asked me to attend this Conference. I, however, have not so far agreed to go.

I, therefore, venture to seek your guidance in regard to the participation in this Conference.

In this connection, I may state that according to my information, Mayors of any other cities of India have not been invited.

In case I go, I shall like to be in U.S.A. for about 3 weeks and then spend about a month in Europe in studying Local Government Institutions of various

12. Letter. File No. 7(210)/60-66-PMS.

13. File No. 7(152)/58-65-PMS.

important countries.

My programme will be finalised only after you have kindly approved of my contemplated participation in the proposed Chicago Conference.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
Sham Nath

12. Morarji Desai to Nehru¹⁴

[Refer to item 123]

25th April 1960

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I have received your D.O. No 945/PMH/60 dated the 17th April with which you sent a copy of letter from Mrs. Jane Drew of London.

The New Capital of Gujarat is proposed to be built in a simple manner and a competent architect is being selected. I don't think we shall need any foreign architect for the purpose, much less the architect who designed Chandigarh as that architecture does not impress us favourably and is very costly.

Yours sincerely,
Morarji Desai

13. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit to Nehru¹⁵

[Refer to item 172]

Your telegram No. Primin 21050 of 24th April. Have informed CRO of position as mentioned by you. CRO has told us that they were only acting as intermediary for making purely administrative arrangements at Lancaster House. Presumably World Bank suggested the signatures during the Prime Ministers conference because apart from the Water Treaty the contributors' agreement has also to be signed at the same time and the Bank may have thought that this could be

14. Letter. File No. 7(210)/60-66-PMS.

15. Telegram, London, 25 April 1960. File No. 38(1)-CWD/51, Vol. XXVIII, Ministry of Irrigation (I.T. Section) 1960. Repeated to Indian Embassy in Washington for Gulhati. Also available in File No. F.1/IWD/58. (Washington Papers) Ministry of Irrigation (I.T. Section) 1958.

done conveniently during the conference as most of those concerned would anyhow be present in London at the time. They have made a note of what we have said but feel that this position should be explained by our representative in Washington to the Bank. I presume your telegram to me has been repeated to Gulhati.

14. Pham Van Dong to Nehru¹⁶

[Refer to item 178]

Translation

Hanoi, April 28, 1960

Your Excellency,

In my letter addressed to Your Excellency on April 15th 1960, I expressed the concern of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam about the agreement between the U.S. Government and the South Vietnam Administration on the introduction of U.S. additional military personnel into South Vietnam, with a view to replacing the officers of the former French Expeditionary Corps.

Recently, I learned that the International Commission in Vietnam had taken a majority decision, accepting the above-mentioned action by the U.S. Government and the South Vietnam Administration. Once again I deem it necessary to expound the stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on this subject to Your Excellency and to the Government of the Republic of India.

The Geneva Agreements clearly stipulate that the French Expeditionary Corps should, be withdrawn from Vietnam, at the same time, they prohibit any introduction of foreign military personnel into Vietnam. According to the spirit of these Agreements, the military organisation called "MAAG", formerly a U.S. instrument of intervention in the aggressive war in Indochina should have been withdrawn from Vietnam like the French Expeditionary Corps. It has been, however, maintained and reinforced into a U.S. instrument of aggression in the southern part of our country. In my previous letter to Your Excellency, I pointed out what "MAAG" was doing in South Vietnam, and how an increase of its strength would be contrary to the Geneva Agreements.

The South Vietnam Administration has refused to hold the consultations and the general elections aimed at reunifying Vietnam, it has massacred and.

16. Letter. File No. 1700(19)-S.D./60, MEA.

terrorized former resistance members and introduced U.S. armaments to replace the French ones. Now it has gone so far as to act hands in gloves with the U.S. Government in openly introducing American military personnel into South Vietnam in replacement of French Expeditionary Corps officers. Does it not mean that, in future, a U.S. army of aggression will come to replace step by step the former French Expeditionary Corps? We are facing a dangerous violation of the Geneva Agreements and a very serious threat to peace and security in Vietnam, Indochina and Southeast Asia.

I deeply regret that the International Commission, instead of preventing, has accepted, by a majority vote, this illegal and dangerous move by the U.S. Government and the South Vietnam Administration, namely to increase the strength of "MAAG", allegedly to replace the military personnel of the French Expeditionary Corps already withdrawn.

For the sake of the Vietnamese people's aspirations for peace and national unity, and in the interests of lasting peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia, I earnestly hope that Your Excellency and the Government of the Republic of India will pay special attention to the serious situation now obtaining in South Vietnam as a result of the violation of the Geneva Agreements, and will timely intervene with the International Commission in Vietnam with a view to stopping the implementation of the decision to accept the reinforcement of MAAG in Vietnam, and ensuring a correct execution of the Geneva Agreements, thereby preventing and checking the danger of military reinforcement in preparation for war in South Vietnam.

I take this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency, and to the Government of the Republic of India, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Pham Van Dong
Prime Minister
Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

15. Agreement on Jeeps Case¹⁷

[Refer to item 89]

Agreement made this 18th day of April Nineteen hundred and sixty BETWEEN the President of India (hereinafter referred to as the Government of India) of the One Part and (1) S.C.K. (Agencies Limited), (2) General Sir James Marshall

17. Placed on the Table on the Rajya Sabha, 28 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, cols 2390-2393.

Cornwall, KCB, CBE, DSO, MC and (3) S.G. Klein of the Other Part.

WHEREAS the Union of India (hereinafter referred to as "The Government of India") has instituted an action in the High Court of Justice, Queens Bench Division, Bearing No: 1955 I No: 6995 against S.C.K. (Agencies) Limited and against General Sir James Marshall-Cornwall and S.G. Klein as guarantors in respect of certain claims arising out of a contract for supply of jeeps made between S.C.K. (Agencies) Limited and the President of India as set out in paragraph (i) of the Statement of Claim in the said action hereinafter referred to as the Jeeps Contract;

AND WHEREAS S.C.K. (Agencies) Limited and General Sir James Marshall-Cornwall have made a counter-claim against the Government of India in the said action;

AND WHEREAS S.C.K. (Agencies) Limited have commenced arbitration proceedings against the Government of India for recovery of certain claims arising out of a contract for supply of strim grenades and other goods made between S.C.K. (Agencies) Limited and the President of India on the 16th day of January 1951;

AND WHEREAS General Sir James Marshall-Cornwall and S.C.K. (Agencies) Ltd., have also commenced arbitration proceedings against the Government of India and the Trustee of the property of Group-Captain Francis Henry Louis Searl, a bankrupt, for recovery from the Government of India certain claims arising out of a contract for supply of ammunition made between General Sir James Marshall-Cornwall and Group Captain Francis Henry Louis Searl of the One Part and the President of India of the Other Part on the 24th day of July 1950 as thereafter varied;

AND WHEREAS the said action and the said two arbitration proceedings are pending;

AND WHEREAS S.C.K. (Agencies) Ltd. and General Sir James Marshall-Cornwall have offered to relinquish and give up all their claims whatsoever against the Government of India arising out of the aforesaid two contracts dated the 16th day of January 1951 and the 24th day of July 1950 as thereafter varied including the claims made in the aforesaid arbitration proceedings, and have further together with the said S.G. Klein offered to relinquish and give up all their claims whatsoever arising out of the Jeeps contract including the counter claim made in the aforesaid action by S.C.K. (Agencies) Ltd., and General Sir James Marshall-Cornwall in satisfaction of the Government of India's claim arising out of the Jeeps contract;

AND WHEREAS considering all the facts and circumstances the Government of India has agreed to accept the said offer and arrive at a final settlement of all mutual claims arising out of the Jeeps contract and the said

contracts dated the 16th day of January 1951 and the 24th day of July 1950 as thereafter varied;

NOW THEREFORE it is hereby agreed by an between the Parties as follows:

- (1) S.C.K. (Agencies) Ltd. hereby withdraw and relinquish all their claims against the Government of India made in the arbitration proceedings arising out of the contract dated the 16th day of January 1951.
- (2) General Sir James Marshall Cornwall and S.C.K. (Agencies) Ltd. hereby withdraw and relinquish all their claims against the Government of India made in the arbitration proceedings arising out of the contract dated the 24th day of July 1950 as thereafter varied.
- (3) The Government of India hereby withdraws and relinquishes all its claims against S.C.K. (Agencies) Ltd., General Sir James Marshall-Cornwall and S.G. Klein made in the aforesaid action.
- (4) S.C.K. (Agencies) Ltd. and General Sir James Marshall-Cornwall hereby withdraw and relinquish the counter-claims made by them to the aforesaid action against the Government of India.
- (5) S.G. Klein hereby withdraws his claim for contribution and indemnity made against S.C.K. (Agencies) Limited and General Sir James Marshall-Cornwall.
- (6) The Government of India, S.C.K. (Agencies) Limited and General Sir James Marshall-Cornwall shall bear their respective costs to the aforesaid two arbitration proceedings.
- (7) The Government of India S.C.K. (Agencies) Limited, General Sir James Marshall-Cornwall and S.G. Klein shall bear all their respective costs in the aforesaid action notwithstanding any order made by the court in regard to such costs.
- (8) The Government of India shall be at liberty to withdraw the money deposited in court in the aforesaid action as security for costs.

AND IT IS HEREBY FURTHER AND FINALLY AGREED BETWEEN the Parties that by virtue of this overall settlement the Government of India waive and release all claims whatsoever that have been asserted or may hereafter be asserted or may in any way arise against S.C.K. (Agencies) Limited, General Sir James Marshall-Cornwall and S.G. Klein or any of them in connection with the aforesaid three contracts or any dealings between the parties relating thereto or to the subject matter thereof and S.C.K. (Agencies) Limited, General Sir James Marshall-Cornwall and S.G. Klein waive and release all claims whatsoever that have been asserted or may hereafter be asserted or may in any way arise in connection with the said three contracts or any dealings between the parties relating thereto or to the subject matter thereof, including any claim arising out of the claim made or that may be made by Messrs. Agence Maritime L. Kirwan

et Cie in connection with the aforesaid contract dated the 16th day of January 1951.

AS WITNESSED the hands of the parties here to the day and article first before written.

16. R.C. Asthana to M. Ganju¹⁸

[Refer to item 207]

May 6, 1960

My dear Ganju,

Please refer to your letter No. F.22(6)/60-Edit. dated the 4th April, 1960 to Shri Srinivasan, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, regarding your proposal to bring out Nepali and Tibetan versions of our Prime Minister's autobiography. The Prime Minister has no objection to his autobiography being brought out in Nepali and Tibetan versions in serial form. But he does not want this to be done at Government expense. No other permission is necessary. There is no question of royalty.

A collection of six photographs of the Prime Minister is herewith enclosed as desired.

Yours sincerely,
R.C. Asthana

17. Harold Macmillan to Nehru¹⁹

[Refer to items 132 and 133]

10 Downing Street
Whitehall
May 11, 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

As I promised when we discussed the question of safeguards the other day, I am enclosing a Memorandum giving our view on the subject.

I recognise that the acceptance of safeguards has some unpalatable aspects but I hope very much that you will on reflection come round to the view that it

18. Letter from Asthana, Director, ISI, to M. Ganju, Press Attache, The Residency, Gangtok, Sikkim. JNMF Collection.

19. Letter. File No. U-IV/110(39)/64, MEA.

is in the interests of our two countries to accept a safeguards policy. I regard it myself as an important means of preventing the uncontrolled spread of the capacity to make nuclear weapons and I think that it is one that we should be prepared to adopt in the interests of smoothing the way towards disarmament. As the Memorandum brings out, India is the third country in the free world which is now proposing to import a large nuclear power station and it is hardly too much to say that India's attitude may determine to what extent this policy can be adopted in the future.

Yours sincerely,
Harold Macmillan

Memorandum

Safeguards

The achievement of nuclear disarmament is one of the great objectives to which India and the United Kingdom look forward. Although we now seem to be making good progress towards an agreement for the suspension of nuclear weapons tests, we recognise that this is only the first step in the process of achieving nuclear disarmament. We believe that the latter is as important as an ultimate objective that it is vital to do everything possible in the meantime to prevent a situation arising which would make that objective more difficult to achieve. This could happen if in the next few years a number of countries obtained, without any effective control, the resources from which they could make nuclear weapons material. It is, in our view, therefore, a moral responsibility of all Governments to work together towards a system of safeguards that will prevent new weapons industries from being developed.

2. If the safeguards policy is to serve its purpose it must be applied strictly. It must cover not merely the nuclear material but the use of the reactors, since these can be supplied with uranium fuel from other sources. We would have liked to adopt the view, and this applies particularly in the case of India, that a firm assurance from the recipient country of its intention not to undertake any diversion of material or resources to military use is sufficient, but we do not believe that in the present state of international affairs a world-wide policy can be applied on this basis. Once it were known that a large modern power reactor, capable of producing large quantities of plutonium, had been exported on the basis only of an assurance from the recipient country, we believe it would rapidly become difficult, if not impossible, for us or any other Government to insist on more stringent conditions in cases where we felt less happy about

such assurances.

3. We recognise that if the objective is to be achieved, it must have the support of the governments of both exporting and importing countries. The Americans have adopted a similar policy to our own, and, to the best of our knowledge, if we exclude power reactors supplied by Russia to countries in Eastern Europe on which progress has been very slow, there have been no firm contracts concluded by either the Soviet Union or France to supply an atomic power station to any other country. Therefore it seems to us of the greatest importance that we and our trading partners should continue to give a constructive lead in international control in this field. We are supplying power reactors to Japan and Italy under agreements which include safeguards. India's role, as the next country in the free world to want an atomic power station, is of critical importance. If India will join the United Kingdom in the application of the safeguards policy, we stand a good chance of seeing it continue to be applied generally and of staving off the spread of a nuclear weapons potential while disarmament talks go on. Without India's co-operation, the prospects look immeasurably poorer.

4. We do not regard the Canada/India Agreement as constituting a precedent for general application. First, because we understand the Canadian offer of a reactor was made as long ago as 1955 when the safeguards problem had not attained its present importance; and second, because the Canadian reactor's output of plutonium, though significant, is quite small in comparison with that of a modern nuclear power station.²⁰ But if India were now to obtain one of the latter without safeguards on the reactors, there can be no doubt that it would be widely regarded as a precedent of the greatest importance.

5. We are anxious that other countries, particularly those that are making rapid progress in industrial development, should benefit fully from the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and we wish to assist them to this end. Nevertheless, we consider that we have an obligation to ensure that our exports of nuclear material and equipment will be used, and will be seen to be used, only for peaceful purposes. We believe also that this is not just an obligation for the United Kingdom, but one in which, for the sake of the common objective of eventual nuclear disarmament, both supplying and recipient countries should be willing to co-operate. It is worth pointing out that if we achieve nuclear disarmament, we have long recognised in the United Kingdom that we shall have to subject ourselves to an international control system. Meanwhile, we are asking the Indian Government if they will, in the general interest, accept a

20. The reference is to CIRUS; see SWJN/SS/42/p. 240.

control which is a means, to the sane objective, since we believe that it is India's interest as much as our own to do everything reasonable to smooth the road towards disarmament.

18. George Clark to Nehru²¹

[Refer to item 184]

London Region Campaign
for Nuclear Department
5 Caledonian Road N L
Terminus 0284
12 May, 1960

Dear Pandit Nehru,

Members of the London Executive Committee have asked me to approach you with a view to seeking an interview. All of us appreciate the demands made on your time, however, we feel the matter is of sufficient urgency to make this intrusion.

Enclosed is a policy statement agreed by the campaign at its National Conference in March of this year. Under the item entitled "BACKGROUND" you will see a sentence in the second paragraph, line 8, "...The protest of the Campaign is implicitly as much on behalf of fundamental human rights as it is against nuclear weapons," and under the item entitled "POLICY" in the last sentence of the second paragraph "...We believe our ultimate aim must be multilateral disarmament, the dissolution of all exclusive military alliances and a return to policies based upon the Charter of the United Nations."

We wish to make a proposal to you in connection with the above and would be glad if you could see your way clear to seeing myself on behalf of the Committee. I will hold myself available at the above address in the hope of receiving a favourable reply from your office.

With our good wishes for the work you conduct on behalf of us all.

Yours sincerely,
George Clark

21. File No. 8/132/60-PMS.

19. S.K. Banerji to S. Dutt²²*[Refer to item 76]*

F.S. may kindly see the note of the Lok Sabha Secretariat and the attached invitation sent by the President of the French National Assembly to the Speaker, inviting a Parliamentary delegation from India. The French also spoke to me about this *vide* paragraph 1 of my note of conversation dated 5-5-1960.

2. A visit by a Parliamentary delegation to Paris would be useful in many ways, not the least being in conveying to Members of the French National Assembly the feeling in our Parliament about the early *de jure* transfer of Pondicherry. Coming soon after Prime Minister's meeting with President de Gaulle, this might impress the French National Assembly sufficiently to produce the two third majority required for the transfer.

20. (a) Memorandum²³*[Refer to item 185]*

Indian Workers Association, Great Britain
(Hindustani Mazdoor Sabha)
13, Artillery Passage,
London, E.1.

to: Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru,
Prime Minister,
Republic of India.

Dear Sir,

1. On behalf of the Indian Workers Association of Great Britain and Indian Nationals in U.K. we welcome you on your visit to London. It is almost three years since our delegation met you here in London last time in June 1957. Since then many important events and major changes have taken place, not only in India but also in the international arena. Undoubtedly, under your able guidance and forceful leadership India has made great progress in solving its many critical problems and is still fighting to eradicate some of the very bad diseases that we inherited along with the independence of India, such as

22. Note to FS, 13 May 1960. File No. 6(20)-Eur(W)/60, MEA.

23. Memorandum presented to Nehru on 13 May 1960 during his visit to UK by the Central Executive Committee of the Indian Workers' Association of Great Britain. File No. 16 (31)/PV III/60, MEA.

corruption, black market, nepotism, favouritism and communalism etc. The foreign policy of India that is a policy of peace, has been greatly appreciated by all countries. The policy of peace has been a dominating factor which has increased our prestige to a large extent abroad. Our Prime Minister's stand on recent incidents in South Africa and Apartheid policy has also been greatly appreciated. The racial question concerns the Indians in the U.K. very much. Had we received the full co-operation of the High Commissioner our voice would have carried weight in solving problems confronting Indians. The relationship and the contact between the High Commission in London and our organisation has been very inadequate. In succeeding paragraphs we have quoted some instances which will show how workers were treated indiscriminately during her term as High Commissioner in this country. We are sure that our frank opinion expressed here will lead to our closer relations rather than create any misunderstandings. The lack of contact has been the major factor as a result of which the Passport Racket developed on a large scale.

2. Passport Racket and Indians sent back with alleged forged passports:

Not very long ago, fifty-two Indians were sent back from England to India in a special chartered plane paid for by the British Government. These simple people, deliberately exploited by the crooked agents were kept in British and Indian jails for more than a month. Many Indians are still stranded in Italy. They live in camps without any means or proper arrangement for their lodging and accommodation.

Whereas for two weeks, these events were given headlines in the British National Press, Radio and Television, the Indian National Press, Radio and the Indian Parliament failed to give them adequate and due consideration. This publicity in the U.K. has caused serious difficulties, embarrassment and humiliation to Indians resident here. It has lowered the prestige of the Indian Government in the eyes of the common man and accentuated the atmosphere of colour prejudice. Every Indian is suspected of possessing a forged passport and it is becoming a compulsion for Indians to produce their passports while applying for or taking any jobs. And yet the Government of India does not seem to have taken any effective measures against this racket.

3. Indians resident in Great Britain and passport problem

Passports held by a number of Indians residing in Great Britain are not fully endorsed, although these have been issued by the proper (Passport) authorities of the Indian Government. Some of them are forged also. We have

not come across a single forged passport, in which the forgery was committed by the holder. In all cases, the illiterate people were duped by the agents, who charged exorbitantly high prices as fees for these irregular documents. The Indian Government is fully aware of this fact. Some time ago your Excellency, (Mr. Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister) told the Indian Parliament that during the period in which the Government issued only 5000 passports, 17,000 Indians arrived in Great Britain. This raises a twofold problem, that of stopping the passport racket and of issuing proper documents to those who have already come to Great Britain and are settled there for the present. Under the British law, a Commonwealth citizen has a right to a passport after one year's stay in the country. Why the Indian Government should force their own nationals to give up Indian Nationality is hard to understand, for to refuse to issue passports to Indians residing abroad, is to force them to change their nationality very much against their will. This is discreditable. The Government of India may well take precautions to avoid recurrence of such cases in the future, but it is essential that Indian Nationals abroad possess a proper passport issued to them by the Government of India.

Last year as an extradition case under warrants issued from Bombay two innocent Indians were taken back to India from England because they had come through an agent who gave them forged passports. It is the normal practice of the British and International Police to get the smuggler and the person in whose possession the goods are found does not matter so much. But, surprisingly enough, the Indian Police finds it more convenient and easier to work quite the other way round. They find it more convenient to arrest and prosecute the man who possesses a forged passport and they have not taken trouble to get the real culprits responsible for the forgery. Many agents are still at large and they travel all over the world and they are holding genuine Indian passports, which the Indian Government have not bothered to take away from them so far.

4. Meeting of a Delegation of the Indian Workers' Association, Great Britain, with Mr. Nehru.

When Your Excellency, Mr. Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister, visited London in June, 1957, a delegation of the Indian Workers' Association of Great Britain met you at India House. Besides presenting a memorandum to you, we also told you about the Passport racket and about the shortcomings of the Passport office of the Indian High Commission in London. Your Excellency said that he was aware of the fact that the passport racket was being operated also by certain agents in London, who made frequent use of chartered planes and

ships for this illegal traffic. You advised the delegation to meet Madam Pandit, the Indian High Commissioner in U.K. to go into details. You also assured us that prompt action would be taken against the agents. The High Commissioner was present at the meeting. Subsequently the Indian Workers' Association requested to meet her, but despite our repeated requests, she did not receive our delegation until August 1959, but no useful purpose was served as the High Commissioner did not give adequate time and consideration to solve the problem brought to her notice.

5. Meetings of the Indian Workers' Association, Great Britain with Officials of the Indian High Commission in U.K.

Under these circumstances a meeting was arranged between the representatives of the Indian Workers' Association and the Counsellor to the High Commissioner for India and some other officials of the Indian High Commission. This meeting took place in India House on 16th December, 1957. The representatives of the Indian Workers' Association gave a full account of the Passport racket and explained that many people were frightened to come forward with evidence, because for them, to speak against an agent was to court trouble. The Secretary of the Consular Department and the Counsellor told that five agents operating in London had been blacklisted and that in future they will not be permitted to carry on any business with the Passport Office of the Indian High Commission in the U.K. To bring this racket to an end, certain proposals were made by the representatives of the Indian Workers Association and these were accepted by the officials of the Indian High Commission. However, most of these assurances and promises were not given effect, and the agents carried on their usual business with the Passport Office. Impression gained ground that some officials of the Passport Department were even associated with these so-called agents. Several protests were made without any result. A Travel Agency with its head office in London, and branches in Liverpool, Jullundur and Delhi seems to have been in the forefront in the black market of forged passports. Fifty-two Indians who were sent back to India were brought to this country by this agency on forged passports. This agency was supposed to be one of those that were blacklisted. To crown all this, the agency conducted its publicity through the official organ of the Indian High Commission in the U.K., the "*India News*".

6. Irregularities and forgeries committed by certain agents in London in conjunction with certain Agents in India.

(a) A large number of passports had been collected by certain agents under false pretences from a number of Indians residing in Great Britain. It seems that these were taken to India and sold at prices ranging up to Rs. 6000 each. Many such cases in which these travel documents have been thus irregularly used have come to light. Some of these were reported to the office of the Indian High Commission. But no effective action seems to have been taken against the agents.

(b) In an effort to eradicate this racket, a number of public meetings were held under the auspices of the Indian Workers Association and joint requests were made by the Indian Workers Association and the officials of the Indian High Commission for concrete evidence against the agents.

Amongst other cases, an Indian came forward in August 1958 and gave evidence against an agent operating in London to the Secretary of the Consular Department in the presence of some representatives of the Indian Workers' Association. He had been provided with a new passport in lieu of a forged one at a cost of £50 paid to the agent who had attested all documents. The particulars attested by the agent for £50, were actually of a person who was not in the U.K. The actual age of the person was 28 years and his height 5 feet 6 inches. In the documents these particulars were 58 years and 6 feet 1 inch respectively. The identifying scars mentioned on this new passport bore no relationship to the person to whom the passport was supposed to belong.

A lot of falsifying of the person's and his father's name was involved. All these attested documents were in the files of the Indian High Commission. When the evidence had been completed, the Secretary of the Consular Department, rather than making any remarks against the agent, accused the person who had volunteered all this information in response to our appeals. A further meeting had to be arranged with the Counsellor, who assured that prompt action would be taken against the agent and the volunteer redressed by providing him with a proper passport. No action has yet been taken.

Under these circumstances it is apparent that no more volunteers were forthcoming. It is, however, certain that if full investigation is held, a large number of similar cases of forgery and falsification by the agents will come to light.

(c) The agent and the agency involved in the above case are now operating on a much bigger scale.

One of the articles concerning this racket which appeared in the Press is reproduced below:-

News Chronicle (London) 28th October, 1959.

"Indian names agents in forged passport racket by Norman Lucas

A 26 year old Sikh who is a Master of Science was responsible for the detention of 36 Indians who attempted to enter Britain on forged passports.

From the Italian ship *Neptunia*, in which he was travelling with them, he sent letters to the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, the Indian High Commissioner in London, Mrs. Pandit, and the Home Office giving information about the attempts to land.

Last night the Sikh, Gurmit Singh Nandra, gave me the names and addresses of the agents who have for some time been peddling forged passports.

One agent lives in London. He is in constant touch with another, a relative, who lives in the Punjab.

Nandra was detained in Canterbury Jail. He embarked upon the *Neptunia* at Cochin, Southern India, on October 9 to join his father, a carpenter in Wolverhampton.

This is the story he told me: "I studied chemistry at Punjab University and obtained an honours degree as Master of Science.

OPEN TALK: I have now been accepted at Manchester's College of Science and Technology where I shall study for three years for my Doctor of Philosophy degree.

I had no difficulty in obtaining my passport from the passport office at Delhi, but I was only allowed to bring 75 rupees (£5) out of the country.

When I joined the *Neptunia* about 70 of the 100 Indians on board were openly talking about the forged passports they had.

Some of them were Indian passports and others were British. Names had been changed on the passports in many cases. In others, the holder of the passport had changed his name to the name of the genuine owner of the passport.

Most of the Indians aboard came from small villages in the Punjab. Many were farm labourers. But among them were several men who said that they had criminal records in the Punjab.

They had all sold all their family possessions to buy the passports for which they paid between 5,000 and 7,000 rupees. (£377 to £528).

When I began inquiring about the identities of the passport agents they were freely given to me. I was told that the men operating the

racket had made well over a million pounds by sending out about 200 Indians a month.

So far as I know over 30 on the ship with forged passports have slipped through the net."

Nandra left the ship at Genoa. He missed a boat train, which left for Calais with his passport in his luggage.

When he arrived at Dover without a passport, he was assumed to be one of the parties of Indians who had travelled with forged passports and was sent to Canterbury Jail until his identity was established.

Said Nandra: "I persuaded 17 other Indians in the jail to tell the truth when they talked to your immigration officials.

DISCREDIT: Why did he send off the letters warning the authorities of his countrymen's arrivals? He said "I feel very strongly about anything which brings discredit upon my country. I think that this racket does."

There are 6,000 Pakistanis and Indians in Bradford, some of whom may have been sold forged passports.

Last night I gave the addresses of the agents named by Nandra to the Home Office. Today these will be handed to Scotland Yard's Special Branch, who will carry out a full investigation.

Of the 36 Indians still detained in jails in Essex and Kent, a Home Office spokesman said, "nothing more will be done until tomorrow. Checking on them is taking a long time."

(d) Police authorities have been investigating the case of a man who was threatened by an agent at Delhi Airport either to bring two persons to London as his children or to suffer the consequences. Under threat, the man yielded and when they arrived in London, they were taken care of by an agent in London. As far as it is known, no action has yet been taken by the Government of India against the agents concerned.

(e) for the last five years, a large number of Indians residing in Great Britain have paid as much as £50 to the agents for endorsement on or renewals of their passports. Government of India and the Indian High Commission are aware of this but nothing has been done about it.

(f) Some time ago Your Excellency (Mr. Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister) disclosed to the Indian Parliament that during the period 1954-57, only 5000 passports were issued for U.K., and that during the same period 17,000 Indians arrived in Great Britain. It is inconceivable that a stable and

strong Government should be helpless to stop such large-scale allegedly-illegal exodus. Why the people responsible for issuing forged travel documents have not been found out and punished is hard to understand.

7. Passport Office of the Indian High Commission and the High Commissioner in U.K.

(a) It seems that some officials of the Indian High Commission have been on such good terms with a number of these agents that they spared no effort in deliberately postponing and purposely modifying the decisions reached at the joint meetings of the representatives of the Indian Workers' Association and the Indian High Commission to suit the agents.

(b) Madam Pandit, the Indian High Commissioner in U.K. has been so preoccupied in her other duties that despite our urgent requests, she not only failed to give this matter due attention but also ignored the efforts of the Indian Workers' Association to bring the details of this racket to her and the Government of India's notice.

The off-handed manner in which the High Commissioner treated the delegates of Indian Community from all over U.K. and her indifferent and uncooperative attitude towards workers is a matter of great concern.

(c) In March 1959 Madam Pandit our High Commissioner agreed to inaugurate the Centralization of the Indian Workers' Association in Great Britain. Her Excellency knew the programme before she accepted to inaugurate. Naturally we had invited other guests, including the Rt. Hon Arthur Bottomley of the Labour Party, Mr. Feather, Assistant General Secretary of the T.U.C. and His Worship, The Mayor of St. Pancras. Mrs. Pandit, as soon as she arrived, insisted that the programme should be curtailed and none of the guest speakers should speak until she left the stage.

Our repeated requests were turned down and she left soon after she finished her speech, while of course 1,000 delegates from all over Great Britain and our guests were sitting. This put us in a very embarrassing position and we had to apologise to our guests. Although our organisation is the largest in Great Britain and has done all the welfare work for many years among the masses, Mrs. Pandit did not even know the name of this organization, she had to ask its name from the President, yet she was to speak and inaugurate the centralization.

(d) The Indian Workers' Association has been requesting the High Commissioner for the last four years to allow a Delegation of the workers to meet and to discuss our problems with her. Your Excellency also advised our Delegation in June 1957 to meet the High Commissioner and to discuss our problems and to find a suitable solution. After all these years the High

Commissioner agreed to receive our Central Executive Committee on 22nd August 1959. While we were stating our problems to the High Commissioner, which did not take more than ten minutes, Mrs. Pandit interrupted and remarked that "you people always do foolish in bringing up the old problems again and again." While we pointed out that since none of the old problems have been solved we feel there is no point in bringing new problems as yet. The High Commissioner ended the meeting in an abrupt manner without having any regard or consideration that Delegates had come all the way from Birmingham, Coventry, Wolverhampton and various other cities. This was our first opportunity during her four years term as a Commissioner in U.K. to acquaint her with our problems.

(e) Far removed from their homeland, with different cultural and social environments and backgrounds, Indians abroad find themselves in a social and cultural vacuum and there is a great hunger to meet their Indian national leaders, High Commissioner and officials of India House, especially on National Days.

Your Excellency also said last time that the High Commissioner should attend such functions. We are very disappointed that the High Commissioner has never attended any such function or celebrated national days, where Indians could be present, whereas the High Commissioner turned down the invitation of the Indian Workers' Association of Great Britain to address Indians on the Republic Day 26th January, 1960, and we were told that the Indian High Commissioner in London had made it a rule not to attend any national functions; the High Commissioner and other officials of India House did find time to go to a dinner party arranged by some other organization to celebrate the Republic Day. We have no objection to High Commissioners going to dinner parties etc., so long as the bulk of the Indian masses is not disappointed on National days of meeting their High Commissioner.

(f) Last year also our High Commissioner refused to come to a meeting of the Workers to celebrate the Independence of India and she preferred to go to Vyjayanthimala's Dance which was organised by some individuals, Commercial Racketeers, functioning under the guise of a so called Society. The Racketeers made a documentary film of the High Commissioner's visit to the Dance which was exhibited for more than three months for the purpose of making money.

(g) In view of the High Commissioner's indifferent attitude towards the Indian Workers Association, the officials and staff of the High Commission took full advantage of the situation and adopted an even more stiffer and un-cooperative attitude in dealings with the Indian Workers' Association and the Public.

8. Passport Racket and Leadership of the Ruling Party in India.

That most of the agents in this passport racket either belong to the ruling party or have great influence with the leadership of the ruling party is undeniable. Many indiscreet agents boast of this relationship and exploit it to the full by threatening and intimidating simple-minded innocent people. This gives a partial explanation of the failure of the Government of India to effectively deal with this deplorable situation. So far only those agents seem to have been prosecuted who have had little or no influence with the ruling circles. An independent investigation into this racket would expose this link between the agents and the present and past leadership especially in Punjab and generally throughout India.

9. In the end we request your Excellency to pay immediate attention and to take prompt action on the following:-

- (a) To institute legal proceedings against the Passport agents who committed forgeries and officials of the Government who are involved in the racket directly or indirectly.
- (b) The Government should hold judicial inquiry about the passport racket to put an end to this racket.
- (c) To stop this racket, the Indian Government should issue passports to all those who have already come and are resident in the United Kingdom. To do this the Government should bring a Bill before Parliament if this is considered necessary.
- (d) In future the Government should liberalise its policy in issuing passports in genuine cases and to the families of those Indians who are now resident in Great Britain.
- (e) The Government should confiscate all funds and properties bought with money derived from this racket and the same should be refunded to those who are entitled and who suffered through the illegal activities of the agents.
- (f) The machinery of India House should be overhauled and the departments dealing mainly with the public should be reorganised to meet present requirements. The Indian High Commissioner may be asked to take keen interest in the problems of the Indians and to cooperate fully with the Indian Workers' Association on the welfare, social and cultural affairs of the Indians.
- (g) A welfare centre should be established which shall contain, Library, Accommodation for visitors, canteen, meeting hall etc. This centre shall be a fountainhead of culture and a national symbol. To meet expenditure

the Indian Workers' Association undertake to collect funds and thus provide part of the total cost.

Finally, Sir, we want to express our heartfelt gratitude and thanks to you for giving us an opportunity to meet you and to bring our problems to your notice.

Through you we take this opportunity to express our good wishes for the prosperity and solidarity of India.

We are,
Yours faithfully,

(signed) The Central Executive Committee of the Indian Workers' Association,
Great Britain.

[Rattan Singh, President, and other members of the committee]

20. (b) M. Azim Husain to Nehru²⁴

[Refer to item 185]

RE: Memorandum from the Indian Workers
Association, London

This representation from the Indian Workers' Association deals principally with the question of Indian nationals coming to the United Kingdom with forged passports and the consequences flowing therefrom. Secondly, it makes a number of allegations against the High Commissioner of lack of interest in their problems, consideration, contact, etc., all of which are wholly unfounded because the High Commissioner has taken a great deal of interest and shown them every courtesy and consideration.

2. As to the problem itself, since 1955 a very large number of Indians have come to this country on forged or irregular passports contravening passport and other regulations. U.K. Government have not thrown them out because of Commonwealth citizenship and they have settled down in this country as workers in factories or peddlars. After they have settled down they wish to acquire regular Indian passports for purposes of travelling, at times for going back

24. Note, London, 12 May 1960. File No. 15-115/60-UKAF, MEA.

home, etc. Apart from this they also request that their families may be given passports in order to join them. Under Government instructions the High Commission is prohibited from issuing regular passports to those who have come on forged passports and the authorities in India do not give passports to the families of those who have travelled on forged passports. The result of this is there has been a great deal of resentment, annoyance and frustration regarding which the High Commission can do little under the existing circumstances. Instructions do, however, permit the High Commission to give endorsements, extensions, etc., to those who have come on irregular (but not forged) passports and in their case Indian authorities permit their families to join them. But the large numbers are those holding forged passports and in fact I have been told by representatives of the Workers' Association in Birmingham, Glasgow, etc., that no less than 70 to 80 per cent of the immigrants hold forged passports. For these people to demand regular passports as of right can hardly be justified because they are subject to criminal prosecution which cannot be launched against them because they are not in India.

3. As regards action against racketeers and agents who trade in forged passports, it is not for the High Commission here but for the authorities in India to take action against them. The High Commission, by assisting the U.K. Government to send back 52 persons holding forged passports, have helped action being taken against them in India and the Indian authorities have taken strong action against them. Control at Indian ports has also been tightened and it may be hoped that the problem of those coming on forged passports in future will be considerably reduced.

[Azim Husain added in his own hand the following: "PPS desired that this note should be submitted to P.M."]

21. Harold Macmillan to Nehru²⁵

[Refer to item 128]

I expect that you have been following the course of our discussions in Paris. I cannot conceal from you that the result, or rather the lack of it, has been a great disappointment to me. As you know, I have for nearly two years now believed in, and worked for, a meeting between Heads of Governments of East

25. Personal message forwarded to Nehru in Turkey from New Delhi, 19 May 1960. File No. 5 (28)-UN-II/60, MEA.

and West to discuss the urgent problems which increase the tensions and difficulties in the world. The road to the Summit has been long and difficult. There have been many ups and downs. Nevertheless I hoped that we were at last really about to enter upon those serious negotiations which I believe to be so essential to the Peace of the World.

2. It is true that shortly before the Summit Meeting I did receive a letter from Mr. Khrushchev expressing some doubts about the possibilities for the Summit Meeting, in view of what he seemed to regard as a lack of seriousness in the approach which the United States had adopted towards the Meeting. However, although Mr. Khrushchev did refer in his letter to the incident of the United States aircraft, he did not indicate that he would make satisfaction from the United States for this incident the price of taking part in the Meeting. It was therefore a considerable shock to me when, at our first bilateral Meeting, on Sunday, May 15th, Mr. Khrushchev read out a long statement about this incident which contained certain demands on the United States Government. I was still more distressed when, at the first quadripartite meeting, on the morning of Monday, May 16th, Mr. Khrushchev made it a condition of his taking part in the Summit that these demands were met. Mr. Khrushchev asked that President Eisenhower should condemn the flights, and acknowledge that they constituted an act of aggression, also that he should suspend the flights and declare that these would not be resumed. Finally, Mr. Khrushchev asked that President Eisenhower should punish those responsible for the incident. At the opening meeting, which Mr. Khrushchev insisted on regarding as a preliminary one, and not as the first meeting of the Summit Conference, the Soviet Prime Minister added two further points which he had not mentioned to me the day before. These were that the Summit Conference should be adjourned for a period of six to eight months "to allow the question to settle", and that in the circumstances President Eisenhower's visit to the Soviet Union, proposed for June of this year, could not take place. After my talk with Mr. Khrushchev on Sunday, May 15th, I went to see President Eisenhower, and was pleased to learn that he proposed to make a statement in which he would state categorically that the overflights of Soviet Territory had been suspended and were not to be resumed.

3. President Eisenhower made this statement immediately after Mr. Khrushchev's remarks at the meeting on the morning of May 16th. I felt then that Mr. Khrushchev had made his point, and his protest, and that President Eisenhower had gone as far as any head of Government could do in meeting the Soviet demands. Indeed I do not believe that a lesser man, or the head of a smaller state, could have gone as far as the President did. I therefore made a plea that this matter should now be regarded as closed and that in the interests of the Peace of the World the discussions on the substantive questions before

the Summit Meeting should begin. President de Gaulle made a similar appeal. Mr. Khrushchev explained that he himself was determined to publish his own statement in full. Both President de Gaulle and I attempted to dissuade the Soviet Prime Minister from this course. I myself felt that it would have been possible to have drafted an agreed statement, which would have given the gist of the American and Soviet declarations, without introducing unnecessary elements of controversy. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Khrushchev insisted on full publication of his own remarks, and President Eisenhower thereupon also published his statement.

4. At this point I still felt that there was some hope that the conference could continue, since the "threat" of which Mr. Khrushchev complained had been removed by President Eisenhower's categorical assurance. I therefore paid visits on the evening of Monday, May 16th, to President de Gaulle, President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Khrushchev in order to see if any basis existed on which the conference could start. I appealed particularly to Mr. Khrushchev to take the larger view and to accept the fact that his points had been met. In the event, as you know, the Soviet Prime Minister felt himself unable to accept my appeal, and continued to insist on full satisfaction. This was obviously impossible for President Eisenhower to accept, and after some further attempts by President de Gaulle to bring Mr. Khrushchev to a Summit Meeting it became clear that he would not come and it was therefore impossible to hold the Conference.

5. At the moment I cannot say what the final results of these events will be. Certainly they cannot fail to have a bad immediate effect upon the international climate, and I fear that the prospects of a detente, already fragile, will be much reduced. I take some comfort from Mr. Khrushchev's continued declarations that he is in favour of peaceful co-existence, and of the settlement of disputes by negotiation. In particular his suggestion for an adjournment of the Summit Conference for six to eight months leads me to hope that Mr. Khrushchev does not intend, by bilateral action in the meanwhile, to shatter the prospects for a new negotiation. On the other hand it is possible that Mr. Khrushchev may sign a separate Peace Treaty with Eastern Germany and attempt unilaterally to end the rights of the Western Powers in Berlin. Should this happen, we shall be faced with a very serious situation. We must and will be ready for either eventuality.

6. I had, as you know, hoped that through the Summit Meeting it might have been possible to make progress towards the conclusion of a Nuclear Tests Agreement. In the circumstances this was naturally impossible but from the indications which we had from the United States and Soviet Governments, and from a statement by Mr. Khrushchev at his Press Conference in Paris, it

does appear that the Geneva Negotiations on Nuclear Tests²⁶ still stand some chance of success. Nevertheless the process of discussion is bound to take longer than I had hoped. As regards Disarmament, we found that the Soviet position was inflexible, and I do not see much hope of the Geneva negotiations on this front proving fruitful. Nevertheless we shall continue to negotiate in a sincere attempt to reach agreement.

7. Whatever may be the result of these tragic events, I think that you will agree that Her Majesty's Government have done all in their power to secure a serious discussion of the problems facing the world. While it would be foolish to be optimistic, I refuse altogether to abandon hope that progress may yet be made, and if there seems to be any chance of a movement I shall try to seize it.

Harold Macmillan

22. K.P.S. Menon to Nehru²⁷

[Refer to item 126]

In your telegram No.168 May 19, two questions have been put: (a) Why Khrushchev broke up Summit Conference and (b) What his present intentions are? I shall reply to first question straight away. Answer to second will be clearer after Khrushchev's speeches in Berlin and Moscow today and tomorrow.²⁸

2. For understanding Khrushchev's attitude it is important to remember sequence of events. On May 5th Khrushchev disclosed plane incident at Supreme Soviet. On May 6th American story of a meteorological plane involuntarily straying into Soviet territory was published. On 7th at Supreme Soviet Khrushchev nailed this lie on the head disclosed that pilot²⁹ was alive and gave graphic details of what happened. Khrushchev however went out of his way to absolve Eisenhower of responsibility. U.S.A. Government now admits it was an American plane but flight undertaken without authority. On 9th Herter made amazing statement that such flights were being undertaken as a matter of policy under the general instructions issued by President. On 11th at impromptu press conference in Gorky Park where wrecked plane was exhibited Khrushchev

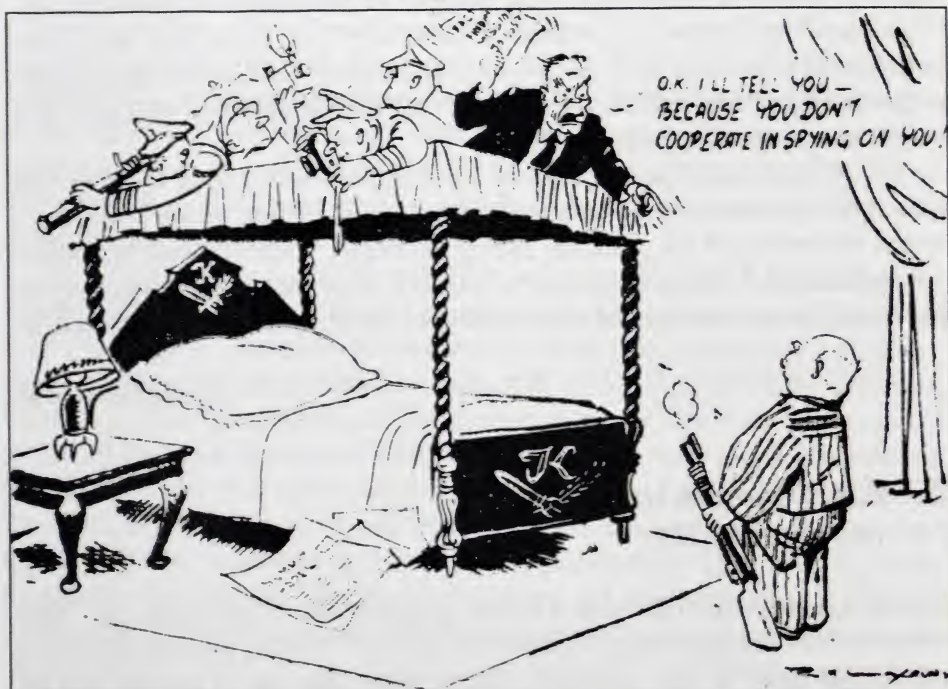
26. See SWJN/SS/58/item 2.

27. Telegram, Indian Embassy, Moscow, 20 May 1960. File No. 5 (28)-UN-II/60, MEA.

28. Khrushchev left Paris on 19 May for East Berlin en route to Moscow.

29. Francis Gary Powers.

Striking at the Base



(From *The Times of India*, 13 May 1960, p.7)

criticised this attitude severely. Of Eisenhower personally he spoke more in sorrow than in anger. He still reaffirmed his determination to go to the Summit Conference. Within a few hours came Eisenhower's own statement elaborately justifying such flights and asserting that they would continue. On 12th a report that such flights had been suspended was officially contradicted. On 13th the Presidium met; it must have been then that decision was taken to demand full apology from United States Government including an expression of regret assurance against recurrence of such incidents and punishment of officials concerned. On 14th Khrushchev left for Paris.

3. Khrushchev might still have had a faint hope that Summit Conference could be saved. He genuinely felt that the least reparation U.S.A. should make in the circumstances was to offer an apology. He could not have regarded demand for apology as something extraordinary. He himself had gone to Belgrade and had sincerely apologised to President Marshal Tito when he felt his Government had seriously wronged Yugoslavia. Recently United States Government itself had apologised to Cuba for an unauthorised flight. Moreover Khrushchev must have expected that Macmillan and de Gaulle would sympathise

with him. He said so at Gorky Park and it was to obtain their support that he went to Paris two days before the Conference.

4. Eisenhower's statement in Paris did not contain a word of regret. On the contrary he still said that such flights were a distasteful necessity. True, he added such flights had been suspended and would not be resumed in his time as President but he could not bind his successor. This Constitutional nicety was something Khrushchev could not appreciate. Decision to stop "Piratical flights" said Khrushchev should be the political decision of a Government, not the personal decision of an individual.

5. On the whole Khrushchev cannot be accused of having wanted voluntarily wrecked the Summit Conference. At the same time he must have been prepared for this outcome. Response to his demand for an apology would have been a test of Eisenhower's good faith. If it was not forthcoming Conference was doomed to failure; and it was better that Conference should not be held at all than that it should meet and break up in confusion. Soviet public opinion in the present enraged mood would have resented Khrushchev coming back empty handed from Summit Conference.

6. In proposing postponement of Conference for about eight months Khrushchev must also be thinking that new President of U.S.A. will at least be less wobbly than Eisenhower with whom he has been thoroughly disillusioned. If next election does not produce a President of the calibre of Roosevelt said Khrushchev, the next but one might. Or next but two. The Russian Government can afford to wait. Time is on their side.

7. Despite the bravado it must have been heartbreaking for Khrushchev to give up the Summit on which he had set his heart and to reverse—one hopes, temporarily—the policy he had been steadfastly following ever since he came to power. In this ordeal he must be counting on your own sympathy and understanding. There is no one whose good opinion he values more.

23. Dwight D. Eisenhower to Nehru³⁰

[Refer to item 127]

In view of the happenings of the last few days, you may have some interest in my assessment of the trends regarding events—or rather the lack of them—at the Paris meeting, and their significance to all of us.

30. Message forwarded to Nehru in Turkey by S. Dutt on 20 May. It was delivered to S. Dutt in New Delhi on 20 May afternoon by Ambassador Bunker. File No. 5 (28) – UN-II/60, MEA.

As you recall, when I had the honor to visit your great country this last December,³¹ we shared the hope that some relaxation of tensions in the world might be achieved at this Summit meeting. We sought at least slight progress toward reduction of armaments and true mutual understanding.

Unfortunately these hopes proved further away than I realised at the time. As a result of a chain of events within the Soviet Union which is not clear to me at this time, Mr. Khrushchev must have concluded before coming to Paris that progress at a Summit meeting would be either undesirable or impossible. Accordingly, he embarked on a calculated campaign, even before it began, to insure the failure of the Conference and to see too that the onus for such failure would fall on the West, particularly the United States.

As a device, Mr. Khrushchev seized upon his successful downing of an unarmed United States civilian reconnaissance plane, which admittedly was flying over Soviet territory. I need not assure you that this activity was not intentionally provocative and certainly not aggressive; it constituted one phase of an intelligence system made necessary for defence against surprise attack on the part of a nation which boasts of its capability to "Bury" us all—and one which stubbornly maintains the most rigid secrecy in all its activities.

At the least this incident, while regrettable in the extreme, could not by any stretch of the imagination be of such magnitude as to justify the polemics and the abuse which Mr. Khrushchev saw fit to heap upon the United States. By so distorting and exaggerating this incident, he of course put an end, for the time being, to any hopes of progress.

My purpose in writing this letter is primarily to assure you that my objectives, in spite of the occurrence at this meeting, remain completely unchanged. I am sure that this experience will serve to strengthen the ties that bind your country and mine, and that it will point up the long-term challenge to the free world that requires the utmost in unity and cooperation.

I have every hope that as time goes by, the world will come to appreciate ever more strongly the urgent need for control of armaments, for mutual understanding, and for mutual respect among all men.

31. See SWJN/SS/55/items 184-188.

24. Hammarskjöld to Nehru: Israeli Interception of Nehru's Flight³²

[Refer to item 164]

20 May 1960

Dear Mr. Nehru,

I have just received the report from UNEF on the incident which occurred on your arrival at Gaza on 19 May.

As has certainly been explained to you, our aircraft on approaching the airstrip in Gaza for landings, must briefly overfly Israel. In this case, our investigation establishes that the crossing of the Armistice Demarcation Line was to a depth of 100 metres or so just northeast of the airstrip. The landing conditions, of course, are well known to the Israel authorities, as landings and take-offs of United Nations aircraft from the Gaza airstrip are very frequent occurrences.

I regret most deeply that on the occasion of your visit this technically necessary crossing led to an interception by Israel planes, which may even have exposed you to some danger. I thus extend to you at once my sincere apologies for any embarrassment which the incident may have caused you; I am happy to note, however, that, given the circumstances, the United Nations personnel share no blame for the occurrence.

I am most happy that you found an occasion to visit the UNEF, and I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express to you our gratitude for the unfailing cooperation given by the Government of India, together with other governments, and for the splendid service rendered to the Force by all Indians, from General Gyani to every man in the ranks.

With respectful and warm regards,

Yours sincerely,
Dag Hammarskjöld

32. Letter. File No. 34-B (15)-WANA/60, MEA.

25. Sri Prakasa to Nehru³³

[Refer to item 111]

Maharashtra Governor's Camp,
(Mahabaleshwar)
May 25, 1960

My dear Jawaharlal,

I hate troubling you like this with endless matters of detail, when I know how you are positively drowning in work. Still people worry me to approach you despite my protestations, and not knowing where else to go, I have to go to you for everything. You will surely excuse. Prof D.G. Karve, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Poona, met me the other day, and expressed the desire of his University to invest you with one more honorary doctorate, of which you have already quite a number. I asked him to write, so that I could convey his wishes to you. His letter has now come, and is enclosed.

I am hoping that you would be coming to Poona for the A.I.C.C. Chavan tells me that you may be expected on the evening of the 2nd or the morning of the 3rd. The Vice-Chancellor himself is going out for a Conference at Srinagar on the 4th. If, therefore, you could spare a few minutes on the 3rd, I shall inform him, and he could prefer the request to you personally. The annual Convocation is usually held towards the end of September. If you agree to accept the degree, they can have a special Convocation just before it for this ceremony. I have myself nothing to add to what the Vice-Chancellor says. If you agree to accept the doctorate, perhaps you will also agree to deliver the Convocation Address of the year. That indeed would be a great honour for us all.

Hoping all is well, and looking forward to meeting you.

I am,

Yours affectionately,
Sri Prakasa

33. Letter from the Governor of Bombay. File No. 8/144/60-PMS.

26. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit to Nehru³⁴

[Refer to item 193]

INDIA HOUSE,
ALDWYCH, LONDON, W.C. 2.

May 26, 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

You will remember that you spoke to me on the subject of Guided Weapons after Moolgavkar had shown the films on the FIRESTREAK and the BLOODHOUND missiles on Sunday, 15th May. Since you had felt strongly that we should not get involved in this Missile business, I feel you should

[Defence Down the Drain]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



Have you dropped a coin in the drain? Don't cry, boy—
the Defence Ministry pours lakhs into it and yet looks so happy.

(From *The Times of India*, 27 April 1960, p.1)

34. Letter. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit Papers, NMML.

know that on instructions from the Ministry of Defence, within the last few months, both my Air and Military Advisers have been in touch with the Ministries here for the purchase of missiles and their guidance systems. Some of these, I understand, are required for instructional purposes in the first instance. On the other hand one or two teams of missile experts from here have visited Delhi very recently and high level meetings were held with them in the Ministry of Defence. I do not wish to question the decisions or actions of any of your Ministries in these matters but I felt you should know how things stood at this end so that there should be no conflict of opinion on matters of such serious consequence.

Yours
Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit

27. S.N. Sinha to Nehru³⁵

[Refer to item 83]

August 4, 1960

My dear Panditji,

As desired by you in your confidential D.O. No. 1011-PMH/60, dated April 25, 1960, I got enquiries made into the complaint contained in the anonymous letter received by you about sub-letting of MPs houses.

It was established that Smt. Lila Devi. Member, Rajya Sabha, and the late Shri Paragi Lal, Member, Lok Sabha, had sub-let their flats in an unauthorised manner. Show cause notices were accordingly served on both the members which have culminated in the cancellation of allotments in both cases.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
S.N. Sinha

35. Letter. File No. 45(8)/57-65-PMS.

28. Memorandum from Andhra Pradesh Congress MPs³⁶*[Refer to item 58]*

Andhra Pradesh, Telangana in particular, is underdeveloped. When the First Five Year Plan was drafted, Andhra Pradesh formed part of the States of Madras and Hyderabad. When the Second Plan was drafted, the Andhra State had come into being but the Telangana Region was still a part of the erstwhile Hyderabad State. Only now when the Third Plan is on the anvil, will it be possible to take a comprehensive view of the needs of Andhra Pradesh as a whole. Unless this is kept in mind, the disadvantage already suffered by the areas now forming part of Andhra Pradesh in the first two plans may not be rectified and existing regional disparities may continue to increase. A less developed region in a rapidly developing India becomes both an economic and a political drag on the rest of the country.

2. For all practical purposes the Third Plan is Andhra's First Plan and Andhra Pradesh needs special consideration to enable it to "even up" to the development level of other States.

3. The two preconditions for development are irrigation and power. As it is, due to the industry of its farmers, Andhra is giving the rest of India a 6 lakh tons of surplus of rice annually. If only more area in Andhra can be irrigated the food surplus, especially rice, would increase to the benefit of the country and save us much needed foreign exchange. In this context we urge that special consideration be given to the Pochampad Project on the river Godavari which is a medium project and would irrigate over 3½ lak [lakh] acres at a cost of only 15 crores of rupees. To enable the Pochampad Project to be sanctioned the Andhra Pradesh Government are prepared to give up the 9 crores Second Plan Deonoor Project and make good the balance of 6 crores from the Telangana securities. There would thus be no additional burden on the plan finances on account of this special dispensation. It is our request that Pochampad Project may be included in the Second Plan as an alternative to the Deonoor Project.

4. The "citing" of projects is important and should not be overlooked in overall planning, if optimum utilisation is desired. Projects like DVC and Hirakud are located in areas of heavy rainfall. Naturally, if an area has an assured heavy rainfall of over 60 inches a year, the farmer would not be enthusiastic to take advantage of the available Canal Waters unless there be a scarcity due to vagaries of monsoon. On the other hand, if projects are located in areas of sparse population like the Rajasthan Canal, projects which are surely necessary from

36. Undated. File No. NR-2(13)/59, Planning Commission.

the long-term point of view, development would yet be slow. Rapid development of areas under irrigation projects presupposes two things. The thirst for water by the agriculturists and a sufficient density of population. It is in this perspective that the Pochampad Project is important. It is located in an area which is fertile and where there is no sufficient rainfall and where there is an adequate density of population to make for rapid development. It is also an ideal project from the point of view of "Cost".

5. However, it appears that the Government of Bombay has raised some objection to the Pochampad project.

6. The Planning Commission after technical scrutiny in 1951/52 had allocated about 500 T.M.C. (494 T.M.C.) of the Godavari waters to Hyderabad State. About a third of former Hyderabad State (Mahatwada) [Marathwada] now forms part of Bombay State. The then Government of Hyderabad with the approval of the Planning Commission had allocated 105 T.M.C. to projects in Marhatwada [Marathwada]. Even on a area-wise basis Bombay State can now claim as the share of Marhatwada [Marathwada] not more than 1/3 of the 494 T.M.C. allocated to former Hyderabad (i.e. 165 T.M.C.) leaving a balance of 329 T.M.C. as the share of the Telangana Region which now forms part of Andhra Pradesh. Of this vast amount of water going waste to the sea, the Pochampad Project now envisaged, would utilise only 60 T.M.C. for the Pochampad Project be raised, sustained or even considered.

Apart from the Pochampad Project being admittedly an excellent project and an ideal one, benefit would accrue in two years and a backward area like Telangana would be set on the road to development. The sanctioning of this project has also become a vital issue in the State and any delay would lead to undesirable repercussions. It is urged that immediate consideration be given to this matter and an early decision taken to sanction the Pochampad Project, as a Second Plan project in place of the Deonoor Project, and work on the Project initiated early.

29. C.P. Banaul to C. Rajagopalachari³⁷*[Refer to item 88]*

Respected Rajaji,

For your knowledge and information I am herewith sending a sensational news of the working of better farming in my village Saonga Tah-sauzer, Distt. Chhindwara.

After the Nagpur Resolution of cooperative farming in my village at the initiative of Shri Bhikulal Chandak, MP and Shri V.G. Shinde, Member of the executive of District Congress Committee, Chhindwara in M.P. Shri Shinde was then the Secretary. Shri Shinde in the month of August 1958 took the delivery of 500 bags of Ammonium Sulphate and Superphosphate worth Rs. 14000 for distribution to the shareholders. Bags were loaded in truck and all these bags were diverted via Nagpur to some place in Gujerat. The Manager of the said Cooperative Society refused to make any false entry in the account books. On this he was forced to resign. The Secretary made the false entry showing the distribution. On the report of Manager, necessary investigation was made. But unfortunately it is said Deputy Minister asked the Collector not to take any necessary action as the Secretary is Member of District Congress Committee and close associates of Shri Bhikulal Chandak, MP.

C.P. Banaul
Saonga Tah Sauser
Distt. Chhindwara

30. K.R. Damle to Cabinet Secretariat³⁸*[Refer to item 107]*

Summary for the Cabinet

“Intensive Agricultural District Programme”

In our food production efforts all the features essential to rapid expansion of production are not simultaneously provided even in favourable areas. Essential requirements, like fertilizers, pesticides, etc., are at present met only to about 45% even in areas of assured water supply. The potential effect of a single

37. Undated letter from Saonga Tah Sauser, Distt. Chhindwara.

38. Undated note by K.R. Damle, Secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture. File No. 4/5/CF/60, Cabinet Secretariat.

improved practice, such as use of fertilizers, is usually limited if it is not supported by technical assistance, sufficient credit or other elements, which, when combined together, would result in much more rapid expansion in production. With a view to exploiting to the full the production potentialities of some favourable areas with maximum irrigation facilities and minimum natural hazards, the Department of Agriculture has prepared a scheme entitled "the Intensive Agricultural District Programme", through which in seven selected Districts all the essential elements for increasing production would be combined into an integrated programme.

2. In the selected districts, an intensive effort will be made to reach all farmers through cooperatives and panchayats and to organise village production plans which will progressively involve all agricultural families. In the past, the coverage in community development areas has been limited for various reasons, such as time-lags in the utilisation of irrigation and inadequate supplies of fertilizer, improved seeds and credit. It is hoped to overcome these deficiencies in the selected areas where there will be a greater concentration of resources and the total effort of the community will be organised and developed as fully as possible. Under the intensive agricultural district programme, the object will be to promote the adoption of the minimum combination of improved practices by all farmers. In addition, a smaller number of cultivators will be encouraged to adopt a total farm improvement plan on their lands.

The programme would include:

- i) adequate provision of agricultural credit through strengthened Cooperative Societies and with the cooperation of the Reserve Bank;
- ii) full supplies of fertilizers, pesticides, improved seeds, improved farm implements and other production needs to carry out the production plans;
- iii) marketing arrangements and other services through the Cooperative Societies which will enable the cultivator to obtain the full market price for his marketed surplus;
- iv) intensive educational efforts for the dissemination of improved agricultural practices through existing and additional trained staff which will also be concerned with the preparation of production plans for the farmers. The transport arrangements will be strengthened to ensure mobility of technical staff and supplies;
- v) local works programmes to include (a) projects involving the use of unskilled 36 semi-skilled labour e.g. irrigation and flood control projects, land reclamation schemes including water-logging and drainage, afforestation and soil conservation schemes; (b) works undertaken by the community or by the beneficiaries in accordance with the

obligations laid down by law such as construction and maintenance of field channels; (c) works to be undertaken with some measure of assistance from the Government such as village tanks, fuel plantations and fisheries; (d) schemes to provide a minimum programme for amenities such as drinking water, village approach roads etc. and. (e) supplementary works programmes to be organised in areas in which there is a high incidence of unemployment.

- vi) while emphasis on production would be placed, particularly on rice, wheat and other food crops, village planning for increased production would include livestock improvement programmes, strengthening of village organisations like Cooperatives, Panchayats, Development Councils and Village Leadership.
- vii) Analysis and evaluation of the programme from its initiation till it is completed.

3. The scheme will be implemented in the first instance in 100 Blocks in seven selected districts in Madras, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan and Bihar covering 5.8 million acres mainly under rice, wheat and millet. The Planning Commission have agreed to the proposal and have suggested its extension to one full district in each State. On the basis of rough estimates furnished by the State Governments, the expected increase in production in the 5th year of the programme will be of the order of 40-60% over the base year (1958-59) production.

4. The Ford Foundation is willing to participate financially in the scheme as similar measures were recommended by a Ford Foundation Study Team on agricultural production in India. Annexure 1 gives at a glance the tentative expenditure involved for operating the scheme for five years and the share of the Government of India, the State Governments and the Ford Foundation. The actual expenditure is about Rs. 7.93 crores for five years including credit arrangement fund of Rs. 2.4 crores to stimulate the flow of additional credit from the Reserve Bank downwards. The share of the Government of India will be Rs. 1.76 crores. The State Governments are expected to meet an expenditure of approximately Rs. 2.77 crores including cost of normal works programmes. The Ford Foundation is making an outright grant upto a maximum of 9.265 million dollars or Rs. 4.37 crores approximately (vide annexure I).

5. The attention of the Cabinet is specially invited to the following two special features of the scheme.

- i) During the first two years of the scheme foreign exchange would be required to import the additional fertilizers amounting to 1.24 lakh tons and a few pesticides for the entire five year period. From the third year onwards, it is expected that the internal production of

fertilizers would meet the total additional requirements of fertilizers. To tide over the foreign exchange difficulties, the Ford Foundation has agreed to the utilisation of upto 6.925 million dollars of their total grants immediately for import of fertilizers and pesticides and for credit of the equivalent money in rupees to a Ford Foundation account to meet their share transition would also generate an extra profit to the Government of India of about Rs. ₹ 1.24 crores because of the difference in price of fertilizers in the world market and in India. This amount would be available to the Government of India to offset, to an appreciable extent, their contribution to the project.

- ii) Considerable increase in credit is required for the production programme. The extra credit for the 100 Blocks is estimated roughly by the State Governments at Rs. 22 crores (short term) and Rs. 7 crores (medium term). The expansion of credit of the magnitude mentioned will require considerable efforts by the primary Cooperative Societies, Central Banks, Apex Banks, the State Governments and the Reserve Bank. To enable the Reserve Bank and the Cooperative Societies to assume this extra obligation involving risk, it has been suggested by the Ministry of C.D. & Cooperation and the Reserve Bank that, among certain other measures, the Primary Societies should be paid an outright grant equal to 4 % of the extra amount lent over the previous year. This grant would be a permanent addition to the owned resources of the Society. The funds thus obtained will be kept as a deposit and can be drawn upon only for the purposes of meeting the losses suffered by the Society. In addition, 2% of the excess amount lent will be credited to a guarantee fund from which assistance would be available to Primary Societies if their losses exceed the outright grants made to them. For Central Banks there would be a further guarantee fund of 2% of the excess loans given in one year over the previous year. The total provision required for meeting the outright grant and the guarantee funds would be about Rs. 2.4 crores and will be offset to some large extent by extra profit of Rs. 1.24 crores to the Government of India from the fertilizer transaction.

The Department of Agriculture have made proposals to the Planning Commission and the Department of Cooperation on the lines mentioned above. The details of the credit arrangements are being gone into separately by a group composed of the representatives of the Planning Commission, the Departments of Agriculture and Cooperation, the Ministry of Finance and the Reserve Bank of India, in the light of the recommendations of the Committee on Cooperative Credit which will

be shortly concluding its work. While recognising that credit facilities on a larger scale will be required for the selected districts, the Planning Commission wishes to ensure that the principles adopted in these areas are broadly in line with those which are adopted as general policy for the development of cooperative credit during the next few years.

6. The scheme with the special features mentioned has been seen by the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation, the Department of Economic Affairs, the Ministry of External Affairs and the Ministry of Finance. The Planning Commission have approved of the scheme with the suggestion that it should be extended to one district each in all the States. The Ministry of Finance have accepted the scheme subject to the condition that in these additional districts, since there will be no participation of the Ford Foundation, the pattern of financial assistance will have to be different from the one proposed here. The State Governments concerned have accepted the scheme. Minister of Food & Agriculture has also seen and approved of the scheme. The Cabinet may kindly give general approval of the scheme. Thereafter a formal agreement will be executed with the Ford Foundation with relation to the obligations to be assumed by each participant in the scheme.

7. As the State Governments are anxious to launch the scheme to take advantage of the ensuing Kharif, they have been advised, with the concurrence of the Planning Commission and the other Departments concerned, to proceed with the preliminary arrangements for implementing the scheme. Government of Madras announced the Scheme on the 13th April.

GLOSSARY OF CHINESE NAMES

As in the Text	Wade-Giles	Pinyin
Chang Ching-Wu	Chang Ching-wu	Zhang Jingwu
Chang Han Fu/ Chang Han-fu/ Chang Han-Fu	Chang Han-fu	Zhang Hanfu
Chang Kuo-Hua	Chang Kuo-hua	Zhang Guohua
Chang Wen Chin/ Chang Wen-chin/ Chang Wen-Chin	Chang Wen-chin	Zhang Wenjin
Chang Yen	Chang Yen	Zhang Yan
Chao Hsing-chieh	Chao Hsing-chieh	Zhao Xingjie
Chao Ling-chung	Chao Ling-chung	Zhao Lingzhong
Chen I-fan (Ivan Chen)	Ch'ên I-fan	Chen Yifan
Chen Kuo-lung	Chen (or Ch'ên) Kuo-lung	Zhen Guolong/ Chen Guolong
Chen Yi	Ch'ên I	Chen Yi
Cheng Yuan-kung	Cheng Yüan-kung	Zheng Yuangong
Cheng-tu [accepted spelling then Chengtu]		Chengdu
Chi Chao-chu/ Chi Chao-Chu	Chi Chao-chu	JiZhaozhu
Chian Chin-tung	Ch'ien Chin-tung	QianJindong
Chiang Kai Shek /Ching Kai-shek		Jiang Jieshi
Chiao Kuan-hua /Chiao Kuan-hun	Chiao Kuan-hua	Jiao Guanhua
Chien Chia-tung /Chien Chia Tung [probably Chen, not Chien]	Chen Chia-tung	Zhen Jiadong
Chinghai	Ch'ing-hai	Qinghai

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

As in the Text	Wade-Giles	Pinyin
Chou En-lai	Chou En-lai	Zhou Enlai
Chou Nan	Chou Nan	Zhou Nan
Chu Chi-yu	Chu Chi-yü	Zhu Jiyu
Chuang Wei	Chuang Wei	Zhuang Wei
Chungkiang/Chungking		Chongqing
Gyantse	Chiang Tzu Chen	Jiangzizhen
Hulong	Hu-lung	Hulong
Hung Ta-Chen	Hung Ta-chen	Hong Dazhen
Ivon Chen/Ivan Chen, Chen I-fan, see Chen I-fan		
Kang Mao-chao	Kang Mao-chao	Kang Maozhao
Kangsu	Kiangsu	Jiangsu
Kao Liang	Kao Liang	Gao Liang
Khotan (Ho-tien)	Ho-t'ien	Hetian
Khunlun mountain	K'un-lun	Kunlun
Ko Lei	Ko Lei	Ge Lei
Kung Heng-cheng	Kung Heng-cheng	Gong Hengzheng
Kuomintang	Kuomintang	Guomindang
Li Shu-huai	Li Shu-huai	Li Shuhuai
Liao Teh-yun	Liao Teh-yün	Liao Deyun
Liao Teh-Yen	Liao Teh-yen	Liao Deyan
Lingzitang	Ling Tsu-t'ang	Lingzitang
Lo Ching-chang	Lo Ching-chang	Luo Jingzhang
Longju/Longzu	Lungchü	Longju
Lufeng Mines	Lu-fung	Lufeng
Lungpa	Lung-p'a	Longpa
Mao Tse Tung /Mao Tse-tung	Mao Tse-tung	Mao Zedong
Ni Yung Heh	Ni Yung-ho	Ni Yonghe
Pien Chih-chiang	Pien Chih-chiang	Bian Zhijiang
Shen Shou-yuan	Shen Shou-yüan	Shen Shouyuan
Shensi		Shaanxi
Shih Kuo-pao	Shih Kuo-pao	Shi Guobao
Sikang	Hsi-k'ang	Xikang
Sinkiang		Xinjiang
Sung Teh	Sung The	Song De
Szechwan		Sichuan

GLOSSARY OF CHINESE NAMES

As in the Text	Wade-Giles	Pinyin
Tienma/Tienmo/ Tiensin [accepted spelling then Tientsin]	T'ien-ma/T'ien-mo	Tianma/Tianmuo Tianjin
Tu Hsiu-hsien	Tu Hsiu-hsien	Du Xiuxian
Tu Kuo-wei	Tu Kuo-wei	Du Guowei
Tu Pei-lin	Tu Pei-lin	Du Beilin
Tuan Lien-cheng	Tuan Lien-cheng	Duan Lianzheng
Yarkand River /Tarim system /Yi-er-Chiang	Yeh-erh-ch'iang He	Ye'erqiang He
Yu Min-sheng	Yü Min-sheng	Yu Minsheng
Yuan Shih-Kai	Yüan Shih-k'ai	Yuan Shikai
Yunan [accepted spelling then Yunnan]		Yunnan

GLOSSARY

(Including abbreviations and names of places)

AFP	Agence France-Presse
AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIDEF	All India Defence Employees Federation
AIIMS	All India Institute of Medical Sciences
AIR	All India Radio
AIRF	All India Railwaymen's Federation
AITUC	All India Trade Union Congress
anchalik sabha	regional council
Baroda	Vadodara
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
Bombay city	Mumbai
Bombay State	Maharashtra and Gujarat
Burma	Myanmar
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
Calcutta	Kolkata
CENTO	Central Treaty Organisation
Ceylon	Sri Lanka
CIRUS	Canada-India US Reactor
Cochin	Kochi
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPP	Congress Party in Parliament
CRO	Commonwealth Relations Office
CWC	Chang Wen-ching
DCC	Defence Committee of Cabinet
DRVN	Democratic Republic of Vietnam
DVC	Damodar Valley Corporation
FICCI	Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
Formosa	Taiwan
Gauhati	Guwahati

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

GOC	General Officer Commanding
IAF	Indian Air Force
ICSC	International Commission of Supervision and Control
INC	Indian National Congress
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
J & K	Jammu and Kashmir
KMT	Kuomintang
MAAG	Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) US
Madras State	Tamilnadu
maund	about 38 kilograms
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MJP	Mahagujarat Janata Parishad
MP	Either Member of Parliament or Madhya Pradesh
Mysore State	Karnataka
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NHTA	Naga Hills-Tuensang Area
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
North Vietnam	Democratic Republic of Vietnam
NPC	Naga People's Convention
OPEX	United Nations Technical Assistance Scheme for Operational and Executive Personnel
Orissa	Odisha
PIB	Press Information Bureau
PM	Prime Minister
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
Pondicherry	Puducherry
PS	Private Secretary
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PTI	Press Trust of India
PWD	Public Works Department
Rajasthan Canal	Indira Gandhi Canal
Saigon	Ho Chi Minh City
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organisation
South Korea	Republic of Korea
South Vietnam	Republic of Vietnam
SWJN/FS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, First Series</i>
SWJN/SS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, Second Series</i>
TUC	Trades Union Congress, UK

UAR	United Arab Republic
UK	United Kingdom
UN/UNO	United Nations/United Nations Organisation
UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force
UP	Uttar Pradesh
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
West Germany	Federal Republic of Germany
White Paper I	Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, <i>Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreements Signed Between the Governments of India and China, 1954-1959, White Paper [No.I] (n.p., n.d.)</i> [New Delhi, 1959]
White Paper II	Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, <i>Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged Between the Governments of India and China, September- November 1959, White Paper No. II</i> [New Delhi, 4 November 1959]
White Paper III	Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, <i>Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged Between the Governments of India and China, November 1959- March 1960, White Paper No. III</i> [New Delhi, 29 February 1960]
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- Chou En-lai told Radhakrishnan that if he smiled the Indian papers said it was a false smile and that if he did not smile they said that he was grave.
- Chou En-Lai observed, "just as India has its Jaiprakash Narayans so do we have ours in China. The difference is that we do not allow them to have free say to mislead our people."
- Sardar Swaran Singh said: "I am not enamoured of the name MacMahon. You confirm it and call it "Chou" Line. Chen Yi later suggested: "After we have drawn a line based on actual jurisdiction, historical data, surveys, etc. by mutual understanding we may call it Chou-Nehru Line or Peace and Friendship Line."
- On the difference between initialling and signing the Simla Agreement of 1914, Chen Yi told Swaran Singh: "The Chinese Government representative only initialled that document and did not fully sign it." To which Swaran Singh replied: "But this distinction of initialling the map by the Chinese Government plenipotentiary and signing it is not quite clear to me. The result is the same whether it is initialled or signed."
- Morarji Desai told Chou En-lai on 22 April 1960 that India had lost her freedom "not only to the British but also to Muslims."
- The exchange between Chou En-lai and Morarji Desai drove each other to exasperation: "Mr. Chou En-lai said that the Finance Minister had said enough. The Finance Minister said that the Chinese Prime Minister had said even more."
- For a detailed discussion on the difference between "clarification" and "understanding", see the record of talks between Chiao and Dutt on 25 April 1960.

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